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A Critical and exegetical

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Isaiah. Vol. 1.

The International Critical Commentary

on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF

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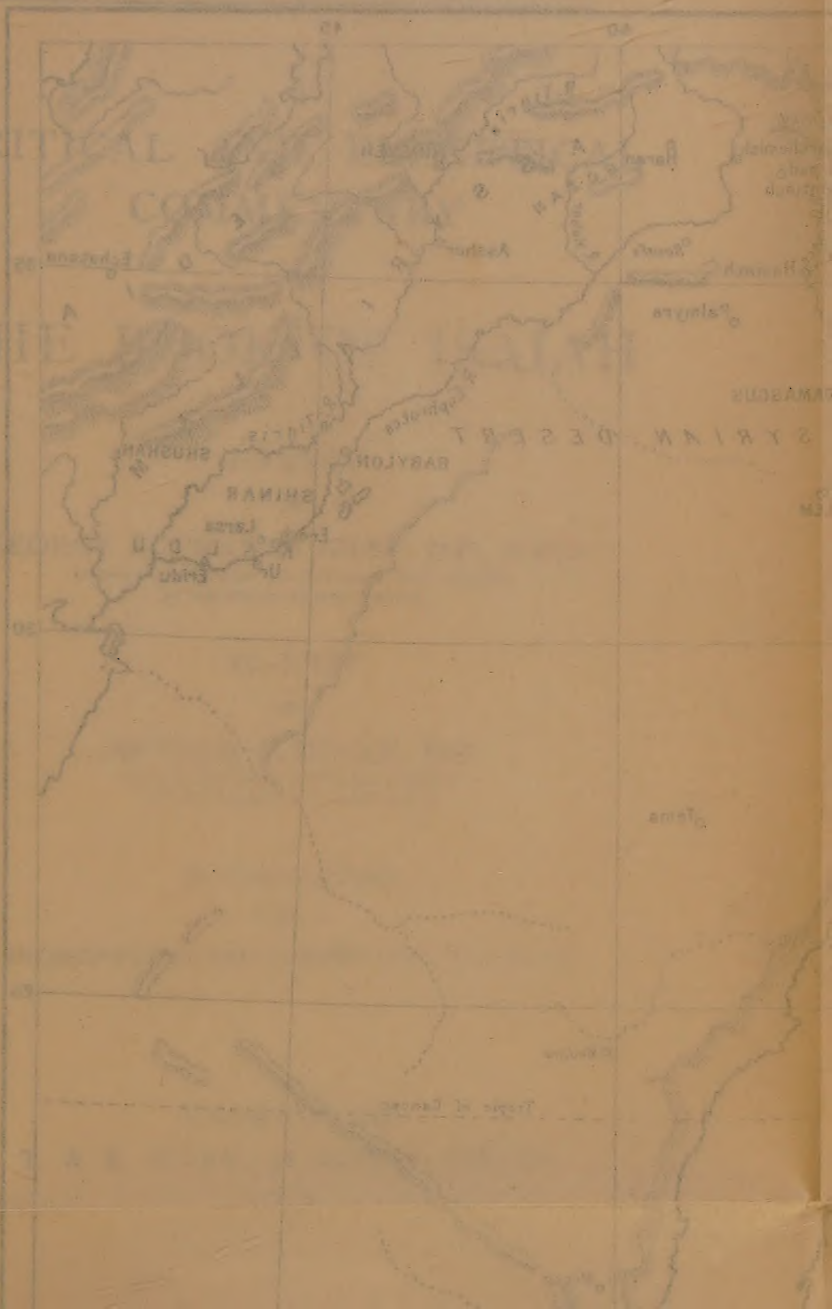

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THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY

A

CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY

ON

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

I–XXXIX

BY

GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, D.D., D.LITT.
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IN MANSFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD

XL–LXVI

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

INTRODUCTION, AND COMMENTARY ON I–XXVII

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PREFACE.

THIS Commentary should have been written by another; and all who are in any way familiar with the work of the late Dr. A. B. Davidson, and conscious of the profound sympathy and penetrating insight that he always brought to the interpretation of Scripture, must regret that he had made no substantial progress with the Commentary, which the editors of this series had entrusted to him, at the time when Christian scholarship and Christian life were left the poorer by his death.

After Dr. Davidson's death, the editors, with a view to the speedier completion of this series, decided to make the Commentary on Isaiah the work of two writers; and at their request I undertook the preparation of the Commentary on chs. 1–39. For the present volume I am, then, entirely responsible; and, owing to the unequal size of the two main parts of the Book of Isaiah, the conclusion of my work must be held over for the second volume, which will also contain Dr. Peake's Commentary on chs. 40–66, completing the work.

For the general Introduction to the entire book I am also solely responsible, though Dr. Peake, who has read it, is in general agreement with it, and in particular with such references as it contains to chs. 40–66. The more special Introduction to those chapters will be written by him, and appear in vol. ii. The second volume will also contain full Indexes to the whole work.

I cannot claim, as I could in writing my Preface to

the *Commentary on Numbers*, in this series, that the lack of recent Commentaries is in itself sufficient justification for the publication of a new one. Once again I have been able to avail myself of the learning of Dillmann, with on this occasion the additions or corrections of Kittel; but as a commentator on Isaiah, Dillmann stands far less alone. Like all who have devoted themselves to the study of Isaiah since 1892, I am profoundly indebted to the Commentary of Bernhard Duhm, as my frequent references to him may be left to show; frequently agreeing with him, I have also frequently differed from him; but often when I have differed, I have differed because I first have learnt from him. In some respects Duhm seems to me to have led those astray who have followed him too closely, and particularly by his line- and strophe-divisions; but that is only a small offset to the really great service which he has rendered. Marti in brief compass has found it possible to advance frequently beyond Duhm; and to his work I have constantly turned, and seldom unrewarded. But to come now nearer home. Two names of Oxford scholars should always be associated with the study of Isaiah: they are those of Robert Lowth (Introduction, § 44) and T. K. Cheyne. The Commentary of the latter at the end of last century for long stood out conspicuous, in the general dearth of good English Commentaries on the Old Testament; it was itself the successor of earlier and valuable works on Isaiah, and it has been succeeded and, in some measure superseded, by his later works, especially (though even these are not his latest discussions of Isaiah) his edition of the Hebrew text and of an English Translation with notes in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. But the English student is also happy in the possession of excellent shorter Commentaries by Skinner (*Cambridge Bible*), Whitehouse (*Century Bible*), and Wade (*Westminster Commentaries*). The last appeared too recently to be of much use to me in the preparation of this volume. Briefer still, but admirable also, and to be commended in

particular because, as in Dr. Skinner's, the text is printed in poetical form, is McFadyen's Commentary in *The Bible for Home and School.* Of works not taking the form of a Commentary it must suffice to refer to Driver's *Isaiah: His Life and Times*, the famous volumes in the *Expositor's Bible* by the distinguished Principal of Aberdeen University, and to the translations in poetical form by Box (1908), Glazebrook (*Studies in the Book of Isaiah*, 1910), and Kent (in the *Students' Old Testament: The Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*, 1910). But my purpose here is not to compile a catalogue, or to repeat what will be found elsewhere (pp. xvi ff.); sufficient has been said to show that recent works on Isaiah are lacking neither in quality nor in quantity. One other work in French may be referred to; I have found Condamin's *Livre d'Isaïe* (1905) valuable not only for its intrinsic merits, but because it is based on a different theory of rhythm, and it frequently criticises the work of writers with whom, in general, I am in greater agreement.

I have made no attempt to record opinions with anything approaching the fullness of reference that marks Harper's *Commentary on Amos and Hosea* in this series. Consideration of space alone forbade it; two volumes for a commentary on what, after all, is a short book may seem ample, yet they are but little when compared with the 1600 double-columned folio pages of Vitringa, or even the 1600 smaller pages of Gesenius. But I have endeavoured to discharge that part of my duty which consists in attention to the history of exegesis: if I have seldom or never referred to some Commentaries of the 19th century, though they were excellent in their day, it is because much that was said in them, as much that is said in my own, has an earlier origin. I have made constant use of Jerome's Commentary as a good example of patristic scholarship and exegesis, and as the source of so much that served throughout the Middle Ages, and of not a little that is rightly repeated to-day. Another important source of

interpretation is to be found in the work of the mediaeval Jewish scholars, among whom I have chiefly consulted Rashi, Ḳimḥi, and Ibn Ezra. I have made more occasional use of, or at least more limited reference to, Calvin, Grotius, Vitringa, and Koppe; but with Gesenius' great Commentary (1821) comes a fresh and plentiful source of valuable information and suggestion; it still repays constant use of it; Hitzig and Ewald, among those who fill up the time before the recent writers to whom I have referred, also made characteristic contributions to the interpretation of Isaiah.

The task of interpreting the Book of Isaiah is by no means complete; and this is largely because the philological basis is as yet far from secure. This cannot be conveniently discussed in briefer commentaries; but as a contributor to the present series I have, as in duty bound, devoted much attention to it. I might be more satisfied with the result of my labours if I could feel that two or three important fields of inquiry were really worked out. As it is, I must at least indicate here what appear to me certain general grounds for considering much of the interpretation tentative and uncertain.

1. The text is frequently corrupt, frequently at least open to suspicion of corruption, even where it has very generally been accepted without demur. Ultimately in many passages we shall always be driven back on conjecture; but I am persuaded that the evidence of the Greek version has not been as yet completely and accurately sifted (cp. Introduction, § 4).

Another but partially worked out subject that bears very considerably on the soundness of the text, and often in consequence on interpretation, is that of metre or rhythm. I came to the study of Isaiah still sceptical on the subject of Hebrew metre; I remain sceptical of the finality of any existing theory of it; but the approximation to regularity in the parallel periods is too striking to be neglected, and I have systematically drawn attention to it in the small print notes prefixed to the trans-

lations: at the same time I have endeavoured to make the irregularities, which in the present text at all events are frequent, as obvious as the approximations to regularity. At the present stage metrical arguments alone appear to me a precarious textual criterion, but as confirmatory of other considerations they often have value. I discuss the matter more fully in the Introduction (§§ 44–57).

2. Uncertainty of another kind is due to the insufficiency of our historical knowledge. The brilliant genius of Winckler, in particular, has started many theories of ancient history, geography, and thought which, if sound, would largely modify the interpretation of the Book of Isaiah, as well as most of our conceptions of the history of Israel and the influence of the Jews on religion and history. I have not found myself able to go very far in adopting these theories, but the discussions of Winckler and others serve at least to throw into relief the inadequacy of our knowledge of the facts (as distinguished from theories based upon them) of that history which must form the background to the Book of Isaiah.

The plan of the present series provides for a translation of the poetical parts of the Old Testament: this has called for a translation of by far the greater part of the Book of Isaiah, virtually, indeed, of the whole of it apart from chs. 36–39. I have aimed at making my translations the pivot of the Commentary; apart from it they have, indeed, little claim to consideration; I have deliberately, where necessary, sacrificed form and style, in order to make them as expressive as possible of what I understand the Hebrew text to mean, but also of the numerous uncertainties which appear to me at present to beset the text. For this reason I have introduced many marks of interrogation; and as additional marks of interrogation I would suggest that the single inverted commas, which indicate emendation, should be regarded: few emendations are certain, though many enable us to approximate more closely to the original thought of the

writer than do the prevalent conjectural translations of the existing Hebrew text. By conjectural translation I mean translations that rest on ancient or modern guesses at the meaning of words or phrases, and either lack support in usage and etymology altogether, or obtain the semblance of such support only by means of improbable inferences from actual usage (see, *e.g.*, p. 458 top). In some cases, if any translation at all is attempted, there is no escape from guessing, and it is merely a question whether the guess shall take the form of conjectural emendation, or of conjectural translation.* Where the sense seemed to me hopelessly obscure, and any prevalent conjectural rendering or reading more likely to conceal than to illumine the meaning of the passage as a whole, I have preferred to leave words or lines entirely untranslated.

I would draw attention here to what I have discussed more fully in the Introduction: the line divisions of the translations are determined by regard for parallelism and with disregard of rhythm or metre, where this conflicts with parallelism.

In general, I have given entire in the translations what appears to me to constitute a single poem, and no more; occasionally, for particular purposes, I have, however, brought together in translation what may be a collection of one or more poems, or fragments, rather than a single poem (see, *e.g.*, $1^{1\text{-}17}$ $5^{8\text{-}24}$). The small print in the translations indicates the possibility that the words in question are intrusive; but the degree of uncertainty so indicated varies greatly; in some cases it is very slight.

So many features of these Commentaries are now familiar that they call for no special explanation here. But to one detail I must refer. I have in general followed

* I have discussed these alternatives in an essay entitled *English Versions and the Text of the Old Testament* (in *Mansfield College Essays, presented to the Reverend A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.*, London, 1909), and both in that Essay and in Hastings' *Smaller Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Text, Versions, and Languages*, § 40, I have given illustrations of conjectural translation in the EV. See also S. R. Driver, *Expositor*, Jan. 1910, p. 23.

Swete's text of the Greek version, accepting his authority in matters of accentuation, etc., when I had no occasion to question it. But one principle of accentuation followed in that text is misleading in relation to many, of the more or less minute, points of philology. I refer to the accentuation of the proper names and of transliterations of Hebrew words, for which there is no authority in the oldest Greek MSS. In Swete's text the accentuation of the later MSS is abandoned, and the Greek forms in question are accentuated in accordance with the accentuation of the vocalised Hebrew of the Massoretic text.* Unfortunately, owing to a misunderstanding, the accentuation of Swete's text has been allowed to stand in some of the transliterations cited in this Commentary; it was intended that all such words should have been consistently, as they are frequently, left without accent as in Lagarde's edition, and in the names cited in *EBi.* For the same reason, breathings (which in Swete's text are inserted in accordance with the existing Massoretic Hebrew text, so that they possess no authority of their own) are omitted.

Unless, in common with most modern writers on Isaiah, I am fundamentally wrong in the conclusion that the Book of Isaiah is not, as we have received it, the work of Isaiah, it must be one of the main tasks of a commentator on the book to disengage the work of that prophet from the accretions which it has received, and so to recover, as I have attempted to do in the last division of the Introduction, the spirit and teaching of a single personality in place of the confused and composite form that must present itself, if we attempt to treat the entire book as the work of a single mind. This, I say, is one of the tasks of the commentator; another is, of course, to do the same service for the author of the main part of chs. 40–55. But there is yet another; and that is to do justice to other contributors to the book, and, above all, to approach with sympathy the work of, perhaps, many nameless writers that now forms so large a part of it.

* Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, i. p. xiii.

No full justice can be done to a book which is a great monument of Jewish religion after the Exile, if all our attention is devoted to determining whether this or that passage is "genuine," and dismissing it as not "genuine," if it is not the work of Isaiah. In reference to works such as the Book of Isaiah, the term "genuine" is indeed misleading. None of these nameless writers may have possessed the religious genius of Isaiah, but together they represent the play of the earlier prophetic teaching on the Jewish Church. In religion, as elsewhere, great personalities count first, and it is the privilege of a student of the Book of Isaiah to come face to face with one, if not two, such personalities: but the religious community is the necessary outcome, or field of action, of the great religious personality and his teaching, and the student of the Book of Isaiah has but half entered into his inheritance, if he communes with Isaiah and the great exilic prophet, but fails to feel the life of that post-exilic religious community which not only preserved for themselves and for us the words of the earlier prophets, but preserved them in books which were also made to breathe the hopes and aspirations that sustained the Jews through centuries of isolation, oppression, and temptation.

I cannot bring this Preface to a close without acknowledging my gratitude to Dr. Driver for the help which I have again received from his reading of my proofs, and the numerous suggestions which he has made with regard to them. These have withheld me, at times at least, from unsafe places, and they have enabled me to enrich my Commentary; my only regret is that, without more extensive alteration of the printed sheets than seemed reasonable, I could not enrich it still more from the same source.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

December 1911.

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

1. Texts and Versions.

Aq.	Aquila (p. xxvi).
AV.	Authorised Version.
EV.	English Version.
MT	The Massoretic Text (*i.e.* the vocalised text of the Hebrew Bible). Variants in the Hebrew codices have been cited from De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Vet. Test.*, vol. iii., or R. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica.*
OT.	Old Testament.
RV.	Revised Version.
𝔊	The Greek (LXX) Version of the Old Testament (ed. Swete, Cambridge, 1887–1894). The readings of the codices are, when necessary, distinguished thus:—$\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ (Alexandrian, Vatican, etc.). For the cursives, reference has been made to *Vet. Test. Graece, cum variis lectionibus*, ed. Holmes, Oxon. 1798, which is cited as HP followed by a numeral.
𝔐	Jewish recension of the Hebrew (unvocalised) text, *i.e.* the consonants of the ordinary Hebrew MSS and printed Bibles.
$\mathfrak{M}^{1}$	The consonants of the traditional Hebrew Text (𝔐) irrespective of the present word divisions and after the removal of the vowel consonants: see p. xxv.
𝔏	Old Latin version of 𝔊: see p. xxix n. *
𝔖	The Syriac Version (Peshiṭto).
Symm.	Symmachus (p. xxvi).
𝔗	The Jewish Aramaic Version or Targum (p. xxvi).
Theod.	Theodotion (p. xxvi).
𝔙	Vulgate.

2. Author's Names and Books.

[See also the literature cited at the beginning of several sections of the Commentary; the works thus given are, within the section, often cited by the author's name only.]

AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.*
ATAO	See Jeremias.
Baud.	W. W. von Baudissin, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 1901.
BDB	*A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament based on the Lexicon and Thesaurus of Gesenius*, by F. Brown, C. A. Briggs, and S. R. Driver, Oxford, 1906.
Box, G. E.	*The Book of Isaiah*, 1908.
Breasted, J. H.	(1) *A History of Egypt*, 1906; (2) *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1906 (a collection of Egyptian historical texts, transliterated, translated, and annotated).
Bredenkamp, C. J.	*Der Prophet Jesaja erlaütert*, 1886–1887.
Che[yne], T. K.	*PI* = *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, ed. 5, 1889; *Introd* = *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895; *SBOT*, see *SBOT* below.
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 ff.
Cond[amin], A.	*Le Livre d'Isaïe*, 1905.
COT	*The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT.*; a translation (London, 1885), by O. C. Whitehouse, of the second edition of *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament* (abbreviated *KAT*), by Eb. Schrader. References are given to the pages of the 2nd German edition which are marked in the margin of the translation. A third edition of the German work (*KAT*^{3}) has been edited (and indeed entirely rewritten) by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler (1903).
Dav[idson], A. B.	*Hebrew Syntax* (Edin. 1894).
DB	Dictionary of the Bible, and in particular *A Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by James Hastings (Edin. 1898–1902).
Del[itzsch, Franz]	*Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (translated from the 4th edition, 1889), Edin. 1890.
Del.	In reference to Assyrian matters stands for Friedrich Delitzsch (especially *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 1896).
Di[llmann, A.]	*Der Prophet Jesaja*, 1890.
Dr[iver, S. R.]	(1) *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (ed. 3, Oxford, 1892). (2) *An Introduction to the Literature of the OT*

	(abbreviated *LOT*), cited according to the pagination of ed. 8 (Edin. 1909), which is also that of editions 6 and 7.
Du[hm, B.] . .	*Das Buch Jesaia*, 1892 (ed. 2, 1902).
EBi. . . .	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, 1899–1903.
Eich[horn, J. G. L.]	(1) *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, ed. 2, 1787; (2) *Die Hebräischen Propheten*, 1816–1819.
Ew[ald, H.] . .	*Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, ed. 2, 1867, 1868.
Exp. . . .	*The Expositor.*
Ges[enius, W.] .	*Der Prophet Jesaja*, 1821.
Ges–B. . . .	*Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament . . . bearbeitet von Frants Buhl*, 1910.
Giesebrecht, Fried. .	*Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, 1890.
G–K. . . .	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch . . . second English edition, revised in accordance with the twenty-eighth German edition (1909)*, by A. Cowley, 1910.
Gressmann, H. .	*Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, 1905.
Hal[évy, I.] . .	*Le Livre d'Isaie* (in course of publication in *Revue Semitique*: carried down to ch. xxii., July 1911).
Hackmann, H. .	*Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, 1893.
Hitz[ig, F.] . .	*Der Prophet Jesaja*, 1833.
Houb[igant, C. F.] .	*Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latina, t. IV, Prophetae posteriores*, Paris, 1753.
HPN . . .	*Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, by G. Buchanan Gray, 1896.
Ibn Ezra, Abraham († 1167)	Hebrew Commentary on Isaiah in Buxtorf's *Biblia Rabbinica.*
JBLit. . . .	*Journal of Biblical Literature* (Mass., U.S.A.).
Jer[ome] († 420) .	*Commentariorum in Isaiam libri octo et decem*, in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 24.
Jeremias, A. . .	(1) *ATAO* = *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (ed. 2, 1906); English translation by C. L. Beaumont (1911); (2) *BNT* = *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, 1905.
JPh . . .	*Journal of Philology.*
JThS . . .	*Journal of Theological Studies.*
KAT . . .	See *COT.*
KB . . .	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. Eb. Schrader (Berlin, 1889 ff.). A collection of Assyrian and Babylonian texts transliterated and translated into German by various scholars.
Kennett, R. . .	*The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, 1910.

Ḳi[mḥi, David] († 1230)	Hebrew Commentary on Isaiah in Buxtorf's *Biblia Rabbinica.*
Kit[tel, R.] . .	(1) *Der Prophet Jesaja*, a new edition (1898) of Di.; (2) *Biblia Hebraica*, 1906.
Kön[ig, Ed.] . .	*Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 1881, 1895: the concluding volume (cited as Kön. iii. or simply Kön.) appeared in 1897 with a fresh title, *Historisch-Comparative Syntax der Hebräischen Sprache.* The references to the Syntax are to the sections, but the references to the earlier volumes are to the pages.
Koppe, J. B. . .	*D. R. Lowth's Jesaias . . . mit Zusätzen und Anmerkungen*, 1779 ff.
Kue[nen, A.] . .	*Historisch-critisch Onderzoek . . . Tweede deel, De Profetische Boeken des ouden verbondes*, 1889.
Lag[arde, P. de] . .	(1) *Semitica*, i., 1878; (2) *Uebersicht über die . . . übliche Bildung der Nomina*: abbreviated *BN.*
Levy, J. . . .	*NHB = Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch.*
Liebmann . .	See p. 397.
LOT . . .	See Dr.
Lowth, R. . .	*Isaiah: a new translation; with a preliminary dissertation, and notes, critical, philological, ana explanatory*, 1778 (ed. 3, 1795, has been used).
Luzzatto, S, D. .	*Il Profeta Isaia volgarizzato e commentato ad uso degl' Israeliti*, 1867 (an Italian translation with Hebrew Commentary).
Marti, K. . .	*Das Buch Jesaja*, 1900.
Meinhold, J. . .	*Die Jesajaerzählungen Jesaja 36–39*, 1898.
NHB . . .	See Levy.
Numbers . .	*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Numbers*, by George Buchanan Gray, 1903.
NSE . . .	Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
NSI . . .	G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903.
Onom. . . .	*Onomastica Sacra*, ed. Lagarde (Gött. 1887). This contains several ancient Onomastica, including those of Eusebius and Jerome.
Oo. . . .	H. Oort (see p. 397).
Or[elli, C. von] .	*The Prophecies of Isaiah* (English translation by J. S. Banks, 1889), [3]1904.
Ottley, R. R. . .	*Isaiah according to the Septuagint*, 1904, 1906.
PEFQuSt. . .	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.*
PRE . . .	Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*; 3rd edition, by A. Hauck.
Rashi . . .	R[abboni] Sh[elomoh] Y[iṣḥaḳi] (1040–1105). Hebrew Commentary on Isaiah in Buxtorf's *Biblia Rabbinica.*

Rev. Bibl.	*Revue Biblique Internationale publiée par l'École pratique d'Études Bibliques établie au couvent Dominicain Saint-Étienne de Jérusalem* (Paris).
Rogers, R. W.	*A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, ed. 2, 1901.
Saad.	Saadiah († 942).
SBOT	*The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, ed. Paul Haupt. (Part 10, *The Book of Isaiah*, by T. K. Cheyne—Hebrew Text, 1899; English translation, 1898.)
Sievers, E.	*Metrische Studien.* i. *Studien zur hebräischen Metrik*, Erster Theil; *Untersuchungen*: Zweiter Theil; *Textproben* (including Is 1–5. 14. $37^{22ff.}$ 40). These studies are published in the *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Classe der König. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Ein-undzwanzigster Band* (1901).
Skinner, J.	*The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (vol. 1 (i.–xxxix.), 1896; vol. 2 (xl.–lxvi.), 1898), in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.*
Smith, G. A.	*The Book of Isaiah*, 1889, 1890.
Sta[de, B.]	*Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik*, 1879.
Th. Ti[*jd.*]	*Theologisch Tijdschrift* (Leiden).
TSK	*Theologische Studien u. Kritiken* (Gotha).
Vitr[inga, C.]	*Commentarius in librum prophetiarum Jesaiae* . . . editio nova, Leovardiae, 1724.
Wade, G. W.	*The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (1911).
Whitehouse, O. C.	*The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (*Century Bible*), i., 1905.
ZATW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift des deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*

Biblical passages are cited according to the Hebrew enumeration of chapters and verses: where this differs from the English enumeration, the reference to the latter has commonly (except in the philological notes) been added in a parenthesis.

The sign †, following a series of references, indicates that all examples of the phrase, word, or form in question, occurring in the OT, have been quoted.

The single inverted comma (*e.g.* "and 'he' strikes bargains," 2^{6}) is used to indicate departures from the Hebrew consonantal text; such readings are not necessarily conjectural; many rest on the evidence of 𝔊.

al. = *alii* (others).

Cp. = Compare.

Ct. = Contrast.

NH = New Hebrew (the language of the Mishnah, etc.).

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

P. 69 (phil. n. on 3^{14}); also p. 80 (n. on 4^{4}), p. 86 (n. on 5^{5}), p. 111 (n. and phil. n. on 6^{13}). Whether or not בער, *to exterminate*, also developed the specific meaning *to exterminate by depasturing*, or whether or not בעיר, *a* (domestic) *beast*, gave rise to a denominative vb. meaning *to depasture*, depasturing seems to be in the writer's mind both in 3^{14}, where the treatment of the vineyard, however reckless and destructive, is yet probably conceived as yielding some profit (cp. v.^{14d}) to the persons addressed, and in 5^{5} where destruction by animals is suggested by the parallel מרמס. In these passages, therefore, even if *depasture* could not be defended as a literal rendering, it might be admitted as a paraphrase bringing out the particular form of destruction which was probably in the writer's mind. If the text of 𝔊 in Ex 22^{4} was sound, and not, as it probably is, corrupt (see, *e.g.*, Dr. *ad loc*), בער might perhaps be a denominative of בעיר, *beast*; in this case it might either mean *to depasture*, or merely (being quite synonymous with רעה) *to graze*. But, apart from the very doubtful evidence of Ex 22^{4}, nothing suggests that בְּעֵר was a denominative of בעיר; on the other hand, בעיר may rather be a noun created after the root had developed the meaning *to depasture*. If the meaning attaching to בער, when it is used of animals, is a direct development from the root, so far from being merely synonymous with רעה, *to graze*, it should be *to graze destructively*, *to remove* (*or destroy*) *by grazing*, *to depasture*; for the idea of total removal, or destruction, is so fundamental to, or so closely associated with, the root בער and its derivatives, that, as applied to animals, it would naturally call up the idea of the destruction which they do, rather than the profit they receive, by feeding; בער would therefore be entirely fitting in reference to the reckless indifference of the persons addressed in 3^{14} and to the destructive browsing of the beasts let in through the broken walls and hedges of 5^{5}, but (unless the word lost much of its force) לבער would not be a suitable substitute for לרעת in a promise such as Budde would make of 6^{13} (see n. there)

Setting aside the meanings *to burn*, *to blaze* (*e.g.* Ex 22^{5}, Is

1^{31} 9^{17} 10^{17} 34^{9} 42^{25} 43^{3} 62^{1}, and so in the Aramaic of ℭ), as probably going back to a distinct root, a possible connection between most of the remaining meanings of בער can be discerned. In Syr. ܒܥܪ bears the meanings *to search out*, and then *to glean* (*i.e.* to search out the last grapes and remove them): see Payne Smith, *s.v.* ܒܥܪ, and cp. 1 K 14^{10} (Pesh.) ܐܣܦ ܝܩܛܠ ܒܥܪ̈ ܕܟܪܡ. *To glean* would suit Is 3^{14} admirably: Ye have gleaned my vineyard to the last grape; but since it would not also suit 5^{5}, it would be rather hazardous to postulate *glean* as a meaning of בער in Hebrew. The idea of *total removal* (e.g. of הרע, Dt 13^{6}; גלל, 1 K 14^{10}; הקדש, Dt 26^{13}), which is so conspicuous in Hebrew, may also start from the meaning *to search out*. If the idea of total removal of pasture by cattle was early developed, the Heb. and Syr. בעיר, ܒܥܝܪ, *a* (domestic) *beast*, Ar. بعير, *a camel*, and, more rarely, *an ass*, Eth. *be'rawi*, *an ox*, may have meant literally *total removers* (of herbage), *depasturers*. *Possibly* also בֹּעַר, ܒܥܪ, *dung*, was so called as that which is *put away*: cp. 1 K 14^{10} באשר יבער הגלל. Other denominatives will then have arisen with meanings derived directly from בעיר, *beast*, and בֹּעַר, *dung*; cp. בער (Kal, Niph., Piel, Hiph.), *to be brutish*, *stupid* (see, *e.g.*, Is 19^{11}), ܒܥܪ (Peal and Ethpeal), *to be fierce*; for derivatives from בֹּעַר, *dung*, see Lane.

P. 321, line 26. The entire collection of the Elephantine papyri is now published; see E. Sachau, *Aramäische Payprus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-kolonie zu Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911. It now seems clear that the Jewish colony at Elephantine was military in origin.

P. 382, l. 8 of small print. שבנא is probably, if a Hebrew name, a hypocoristicon of שבניה(ו), as is עזא of עזיהו, and שמעא of שמעיהו. In the OT שבניה(ו) occurs only in Chr., Ezr., Neh. But on seals, some of which are probably pre-exilic, it occurs with some frequency; שבניהו, probably also שבניה, and perhaps בני[ש] too, occur stamped on jar handles found at Tell el-Judeideh (about 22 miles from Jerusalem). See M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, pp. 40, 45; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 119 f.; Clermont-Ganneau, *PEF Qu. St.*, 1902, pp. 264–266; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 183 (cp. p. 182), ii. 70.

INTRODUCTION.

§§ 1–3. *Title and Place in the Canon.*

1. The Book of Isaiah is one of the eight sections, or volumes, entitled נביאים, *Prophets*, which constitute the second of the three parts of which the Hebrew Scriptures, תורה נביאים וכתובים, consist. This part, according to a mediaeval Jewish distinction,* subdivides into נביאים ראשנים, *the Former Prophets*, consisting of the four books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and the נביאים אחרנים, *the Latter Prophets*, consisting of the four books, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve" (the "Minor Prophets," as the last named is commonly called, constituting a single volume).

In Hebrew printed Bibles, in Hebrew MSS, and in Hebrew tradition, the eight books called "Prophets" form a group which is never broken either by omission or intrusion; moreover, when and where the custom of confining a single roll † to a single book ‡ did not exclusively prevail, and many books were written in the same roll or codex, the "former prophets" always precede the "latter prophets" without variation of order. On the other hand, there is evidence of some variation of order within the group of the latter prophets.

In Hebrew printed Bibles, Isaiah immediately follows Kings, and is then followed by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve"; and this is the order of the latter prophets in the earliest extant Hebrew MSS, such as the codices at St. Petersburg,

* H. E. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 228.

† H. St. J. Thackeray argues that in early times each book occupied two rolls: see *JThS* ix., 85–98; *Grammar of the OT in Greek*, p. 65.

‡ Lk 4^{17}; *Baba Bathra*, 13*b*.

dated in the years which correspond to A.D. 916 and 1009 respectively, and commonly in other MSS, except those written in Germany or France. On the other hand, according to a Rabbinic decision recorded in *Baba Bathra*, 14*b*,* the correct position of Isaiah is after Ezekiel; this order is also found in many MSS, especially those written in Germany or France. In other MSS, *e.g.* a Paris MS dated 1286 and Brit. Mus. MS Oriental 2091, a yet different arrangement is found, viz. Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve"; see, further, C. D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (1897), pp. 1 ff. For different views of the relative antiquity of the different arrangements and for the reasons of them, see Ryle, *Canon*, pp. 225–229; E. König, *Einleitung in das AT*, p. 458.

2. In 𝔊 the "latter prophets" are separated from the "former prophets," Kings being followed by Chronicles, and, in most MSS, by other books also, before any of the "latter prophets" occur. In the arrangement of the group, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve," the MSS of 𝔊 differ: in some, *e.g.* B (and consequently in Swete's edition of 𝔊), A, and V, the minor Prophets precede Isaiah, which is followed by Jeremiah (together with Baruch, Lam., and the Letter of Jeremy) and Ezekiel. In א, Isaiah stands first of the group. Varieties of arrangement are also found in various lists of the Jewish Scriptures in Greek and Latin writers: thus Isaiah stands first of the group, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve," in lists of the Eastern Church, such as those of Melito (latter half of 2nd cent. A.D.), Origen († 254), Leontius († *c.* 543), and in lists of the Western Church, such those of Ruffinus († 410), and Cassiodorus († *c.* 570); but it stands after "The Twelve" in the Eastern lists of Athanasius († 373), Epiphanius († 403), Amphilochius († after 394), John of Damascus († before 754), the Laodicene Canons (*c.* 360), and in the Western lists of Hilary († 367), Augustine († 430), and the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397). See, further, Swete, *Introd. to the OT in Greek*, pp. 197–230.

3. The title of the Book in Heb. MSS and commonly in Hebrew references is simply ישעיה, *Isaiah*; so in 𝔊 it is Ησαιας. Occasionally in references to the book fuller titles are found, such as *Isaiah the prophet* (Acts 8^{30}, Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην; cp. v.^{28}), *the book of the prophet Isaiah* (Lk 4^{17} βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου

* The passage is translated at length in Ryle, *Canon*, pp. 273 f.

Ἡσαΐου): in 𝔊^{Q} the title runs Ησαιας δραματιστος (rd. δραματιστής); but the full title of EV does not rest on MS authority.

The form of the name in the Title—ישעיה (Origen, Ιεσσια)—differs from that which is used in the Book itself, viz. ישעיהו. So also of other prophets whose names ended with the divine name, the shorter form occurs in the title, whether that or the longer form occurs in the books: see ירמיה, עבריה, צפניה, וכריה. That is to say, the form of the name in the title is governed by the usage of the age when the title was added, not by the usage of the Book to which it is prefixed. On the earlier use of both forms, see Bonk, in *ZATW*, 1891, pp. 126 ff.: at the end of proper names the shorter form יה is already exclusively employed in the Assouan and Elephantine Papyri (5th cent. B.C.).

§ 4. *Text and Versions.*

4. It is unnecessary to write at length on the Text and Versions of the Book of Isaiah, for all that is of peculiar importance to the study of this book is limited to the question of the value of the Greek version; for the rest the conditions are those which are discussed in any general treatment of the Text and Versions of the Old Testament,* and which have also been briefly described by the present writer in Hastings' *Smaller Dictionary of the Bible*, art. *Text and Versions*. Elaborate accounts of the Versions of Isaiah in particular are given by Ges. (i. 56–106), and (with special reference to chs. 24–27) by Liebmann, in *ZATW*, 1902, pp. 1–56, 285–304.

In the present work the symbol 𝔐^{1} is used as a convenient abbreviation for the consonants of the traditional Hebrew text, irrespective of the present word divisions and after the removal of the vowel letters (ה, ו, י). It is important to observe that the symbol denotes in any particular instance a hypothetical text; for though there can be no question that these vowel letters were much more sparingly used in the period when the prophecies were written than later (cp. G–K. § 7), and that they still were more sparingly used as late as the date of the Greek version (see, *e.g.*, the phil. nn. on 8^{16} 21^{2}); yet to some extent and for some purposes, especially, for example, to indicate a final vowel, they were employed as early as the age of Isaiah (cp. the Siloam Inscription, Mesha's Inscription, etc.). Nevertheless, in all cases it is important to consider what meaning a passage may have borne apart from these vowel letters; for there can

* See also Dr., *Samuel*, Introd. §§ 3-4 (ed. 1, pp. xxxvi–lxxxiv).

never be any certainty that they are due to the original author, and at times their presence or absence makes a serious difference to the meaning; see, *e.g.*, 1^{11-13}.

The variations * between the existing Hebrew MSS, the earliest of which is dated A.D. 916 (§ 1), present as usual but little of interest. Nor are the variants from the consonants of the Hebrew text suggested by the Vulgate, the Targum,† or the Syriac Version,‡ or the surviving fragments § of the Greek translations (2nd cent. A.D.) of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, numerous or important; more frequently these versions show a different interpretation from that which is embodied in the vowels added by the Massoretes (6th–8th cent. A.D.) to the consonants of the Hebrew text; cp., as an interesting example, 3^{12}, where Aq. 𝔗 render נֹשִׁים, but MT points נָשִׁים.

But in spite of this evidence that the text of Isaiah, in common with that of the rest of the Old Testament, has been handed down with great care since the 2nd cent. A.D., there can be no question that between 700 B.C. and A.D. 100 it suffered in many passages serious corruption. This is clear from internal evidence, as the discussion of numerous passages in the Commentary must be left to show. It is also clear that the Greek version, the date of which was probably not much later than 150 B.C. (§ 22), was made from a text differing considerably from 𝔐. But though the difference between the Hebrew original of the Greek version (𝔊) and the traditional Hebrew text (𝔐) is clear, the exact form, and in many cases even the approximate form, of the Hebrew original of 𝔊 cannot be determined. Indeed, it has been questioned whether 𝔊 is of any appreciable value for the determination of the original text. For example, Mr. Ottley, to whom we are indebted for a useful edition of Codex Alexandrinus (A) of Isaiah, with introduction and notes, writes, "In Isaiah I find it hard to see that the LXX gives any

* Collected in De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Vet. Test.* (1786), vol. iii.

† Lagarde, *Prophetae Chaldaice* (1872). Cp. Bacher, *Kritische untersuchungen zum Propheten-Thargum*, in *ZDMG*, 1874. See, further, the Bibliography in Stenning's art. *Targum*, in *DB*.

‡ D. L. Warszawski, *Die Peschitta zu Jesaja* (*Kap. 1–39*), *ihr Verhältnis zum massoretischen Texte, zur Septuaginta u. zum Targum*, Berlin, 1897.

§ Collected in F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt.*

proof at all (unless in a few isolated exceptions) of an older and superior Hebrew text: because the translators seem to have been so constantly mistaken in reading their Hebrew, or unable to translate it, as to deprive their witness of all authority" (i. 49); and again (p. 50), "the failures of the translator (or translators) in reading his original may have been largely justified by illegibility of MSS, and very likely by abbreviations also; the actual script may have been difficult. But over and above all this, it seems as if his knowledge of Hebrew was imperfect: and if this was so, he may have thought that he saw before him not merely something different from the reality, but something such as no skilled Hebrew writer would have written. The hypothetical Hebrew underlying his Greek need not therefore be always good or classical Hebrew, and this must be taken into account. If this view be correct, it takes away yet more from any claim of the LXX to give decisive witness as to a Hebrew text older than we have, or can trace from other sources." There is much here that rests on correct observation; but the conclusions drawn are unsound. There can be little question (1) that the translators sometimes, and even often, misread the Hebrew before them; (2) that their knowledge of Hebrew was imperfect; (3) that the Hebrew which they thought they saw before them was such as no skilled Hebrew writer would have written. But over against this we have to observe: (1) the possibility that a translator misread his text is balanced by the equal or almost equal probability that copyists of the original text also at times misread; moreover, what was obviously misreading on the part of the translators does not in all cases seriously conceal the reading which was actually before them, and which may be a valuable variant of the reading in 𝔐, just as while some misprints are extremely confusing, or, simply because they make some sense, dangerous, others that make nonsense are immediately detected and understood. We must then reckon with the possibility of mis-copying, whether we follow 𝔐 or whether we follow 𝔊,* and we have no more ground for refusing to con-

* Mr. Ottley, indeed, would meet this by a dogmatic consideration, "Some minds, moreover, will still not refuse to entertain the idea that the Heb. text has been guarded, not only by the watchful care of the Jews, but also by the special providence of the Almighty" (ii. p. xvii). Yet even if dogmatic considerations were in place here at all, it is difficult to see why the

sider the evidence of 𝔊, because the translators' sometimes misread their original, than we have for refusing to consider the evidence of 𝔐; (2) the lack of knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the translators may in some passages make the recovery of the text which they translated difficult, or impossible; on the other hand, in other cases it may be the surest pledge of the actual existence of a particular reading; even translators with inadequate knowledge do not make nonsense of their translation in mere wilfulness: if only the nonsense in the translation can, as is sometimes the case, be seen to be the equivalent (or an obvious misreading) of Hebrew letters that, rightly understood, make good sense, we have about the best evidence we can possess that such a Hebrew reading actually existed; the translators of Judges, as is well known, makes nonsense by rendering the precative בִּי, ἐν ἐμοί; but an ἐν ἐμοί making nonsense is better proof than if it made sense that the translators actually read the Hebrew letters בִּי; (3) "Hebrew such as no skilled Hebrew writer would have written" is to be found not only in the Hebrew which the Greek translators in some passages attempt to render, but in the present Hebrew text itself; and in some places where the Hebrew is impossible, or at least poor and improbable, in the present Hebrew text, it is good in what appears to have been before the translators of 𝔊.

The main difficulty in the use of 𝔊 is occasioned by its tendency, which is at times very conspicuous, to paraphrase. But though it is important that this should be fully recognised, and duly allowed for, it is still the fact that the mass of the translation is either not paraphrastic at all, or not paraphrastic in such a manner as to prevent the recognition of the Hebrew text lying behind it. Generally speaking, 𝔊 renders three different forms of service: (1) where it agrees with 𝔐, it proves the existence of the reading in question at least as early as *c.* 150 B.C.; (2) where it differs from 𝔐, and the Hebrew lying behind it is obvious, it proves the existence of a reading differing from 𝔐 about 150 B.C.; (3) even when it is obviously paraphrastic it may more or less clearly support 𝔐 (cp. *e.g.* 8^6 n.), or raise a more or less serious suspicion of 𝔐.

Almighty granted to the text of the Jews a special Providence which He withheld from the Greek Text, which became the Bible of the Christian Church.

Much more work needs to be done, both on the text of 𝔊 itself, which at present needs in many passages to be laboriously sought for,* and on the idiosyncrasies of the translators; and till this has been accomplished, the actual evidence of 𝔊 cannot be either exhaustively or in all cases accurately determined. At present it is necessary for each succeeding investigator of the Book of Isaiah to test critically the suggestions of his predecessors, for readings have been claimed for 𝔊 on very questionable grounds; and, on the other hand, there are readings latent in 𝔊 that have not been considered. A difficult practical question, however, arises, viz., how in a commentary of limited scope to discuss with fullness † the evidence of this version, or to indicate it with brevity without at the same time misleading the reader. It has been found impossible to include a reference to all variants or possible variants, and it has seemed best where the Hebrew equivalent of 𝔊 is ambiguous to quote the Greek rather than, if not as well as, a possible Hebrew equivalent. Occasionally the Greek has been cited without comment where it may seem to some at least to raise or strengthen a reasonable suspicion of the correctness of the text of 𝔐.

Valuable special studies of the Greek translation of 𝔊 and the Hebrew text underlying it are those of Liebmann (see p. 397 below) on chs. 24–27, and Zillesen on ch. 53, in *ZATW* xxv. 261–284.

§§ 5–7. *The Book of Isaiah a post-exilic Compilation.*

5. It is probable that the title "Isaiah," attached to the entire book (§ 3), was intended to imply that the prophet Isaiah was the author of the whole, and that the book, as we now have it, owed its form to him. It is true that it would be in accord-

* Swete, *OT in Greek*, vol. iii., prints the text of B with the variants of ℵ A O Q Z Γ; other variants must be sought in Holmes and Parsons, *Vet. Test. Graece*, iii. For attempts to group the MSS of Isaiah, see Liebmann, in *ZATW*, 1902, pp. 9ff.; Ottley, i. 8ff. The proportion of the Old Latin Version of 𝔊 that has survived is fortunately large—about three-quarters of the whole; see Petrus Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum versiones antiquae*, ii. 515–639.

† A reference to the notes on 2^6 $25^{8f.}$ 34^{12-14}, in *ZATW*, 1911, pp. 111–127, will show what is the present writer's conception of adequate fullness, and the consequent impossibility of discussing all the passages that need it, with any approach to fullness in the present work.

ance with Jewish practice to entitle the book from a prominent word in the opening sentence,* and such is the name Isaiah, though title and book differ as to the orthography of the name (§ 3); true, too, that the Talmud, in the passage already (§ 1) referred to, records that "Hezekiah and his college wrote Isaiah" —whatever that may mean.† Yet the simplest supposition is that the titles of the "latter prophets" implied authorship from the first, as they certainly suggested it later. Be this, however, as it may, the references in the NT (§§ 11 f.) are sufficient evidence that it was customary, as early as the 1st cent. A.D., to attribute anything and everything in the book so entitled to Isaiah, and the passage in Sir. discussed below (§ 14) carries back this custom to the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. It is precarious to infer the existence of a conflicting theory, or tradition, from the fact that Isaiah, according to some authorities, had its place in the Canon after Jeremiah and Ezekiel (§ 1).

But ancient as the theory that Isaiah is the author of all that is in the book that bears his name may be, it is certainly very erroneous. The book is badly arranged: to refer to but a single point, the account of the prophet's call stands not at the beginning, where we might expect it (cp. Jer 1, Ezk 1, Hos 1, but cp. Am $7^{14f.}$), but in ch. 6. Yet bad arrangement *by itself* need prove nothing more at most than that the *arrangement* of the material was not due to Isaiah: the material arranged might still be entirely his; Moḥammed was the author, though not the arranger, of the entire Ḳoran, and an analogy for the position of the account of Isaiah's call in the middle of the book may be found in the fact that Moḥammed's call is only recorded towards the close of the Ḳoran (Sura 96).‡

6. The proof that Isaiah is, nevertheless, not the author of the Book of Isaiah, lies in the fact that a large part of the Book was written at the least two centuries after his time, and some of it later still. *How* large a part is subsequent to the age of Isaiah it may be difficult to determine; but even a superficial critical survey of the Book must discern that so much is subsequent

* Cp. *e.g.* במדבר as a title of Numbers: *Numbers*, p. xx.

† Cp. Driver, *LOT*, p. vii f.; Cheyne, *Introd.* p. xviii.

‡ Cp. G. B. Gray, *The Comparative Study of Semitic Literature*, in the *Contemporary Review*, July 1907, pp. 84 ff.

to his age that it is incorrect and misleading to speak or think of *the Book* as the work of Isaiah; it is, on the other hand, a compilation of the post-exilic period, containing, it is true, prophecies of Isaiah which were already ancient when the Book was compiled, but containing also, and in larger quantity, prophecies and narratives of much more recent date.

Just as parts of the Book unmistakably presuppose the conditions of the 8th century B.C. as those under which they were written, so others as clearly pre-suppose the conditions of the 6th century. Thus 9^7–10^4 pre-supposes the existence of the Northern kingdom, which came to an end in 722 B.C., and predicts its fall; chs. 40–55 pre-suppose the Babylonian Exile, which began in 597 (586) B.C., as an existing fact, and predict its approaching end, pre-suppose that Cyrus has already advanced far in his victorious career, and predict that he will become master of Babylon (which as a matter of fact he did in 538 B.C.), and release the Jewish exiles. A prophecy, unless it can be shown to be a *vaticinium ex eventu*, must have been written before what it predicts, but after what it pre-supposes; 9^7–10^4 was therefore written before 722 B.C., and 40–55 before 538; but the latter section, since it *pre-supposes* that Cyrus has already achieved remarkable victories, must have been written after *c.* 550 B.C. Much of chs. 56–66 *probably* pre-supposes conditions that prevailed nearly a century later—in the middle of the 5th century; but this is less superficially obvious and as yet less generally admitted. Ch. 13 pre-supposes an age when Babylon was still "the glory of kingdoms" (13^{19}) but already threatened by the Medes: the conditions, not predicted but pre-supposed as already existing, are again not those of the age of Isaiah, when Assyria was the dominant world-power; they are those of the 6th century B.C., the age of the Babylonian exile, which is almost unmistakably pre-supposed also in $14^{1f.}$; thus 13^2–14^2, like 40–55, was written long subsequent to the age of Isaiah. On similar grounds, not to speak here of passages of more ambiguous origin, $21^{1\text{-}10}$ 24–27. 34 f. must have been written *not earlier* than the 6th century B.C.

7. Thus, then, we have to recognise in the Book of Isaiah *at least* these different elements: (*a*) prophecies of the 8th century B.C., (*b*) prophecies of the 6th century B.C. or later, and (*c*) the work of an editor who brought together these prophecies which,

though so widely separated in time, are intermingled in a single compilation.

The fact that the Book of Isaiah is not the work of the prophet of Isaiah, but a post-exilic compilation, ought to be the starting-point in all detailed criticism, or interpretation of the Book. In a continuous work, such as the historical narratives of Josephus or Thucydides, alien matter may have intruded; but, unless signs of interpolation can be detected, the presumption is that any section of the whole is of the same origin as the rest. On the other hand, in a compilation of disconnected pieces of different authorship and different ages, no such presumption holds: each piece must be judged by itself. It does not follow that a passage is not Isaiah's because it contains no unmistakable evidence that it was written in the 8th century; but just as little does it follow that a passage must be Isaiah's because it bears no unmistakable marks of belonging to a later age. It may well be that much in this or any similar compilation must, for lack of decisive evidence, remain of uncertain date and origin. But the fact that much proves uncertain or ambiguous, when we attempt a more detailed and exact analysis of the Book and its contents, cannot invalidate the conclusion that follows from what is obvious, viz., that the Book is a post-exilic compilation: nor is it wise to minimise the significance of this conclusion.

We may now proceed to a more detailed examination of the origin of the Book of Isaiah: and in the first instance to an examination of the external evidence to the existence of the Book.

§§ 8–19. *Origin and History of the Book of Isaiah:* (1) *External Evidence.*

8. Apart from the significance of the Greek version (§§ 20–22), and the history of the Prophetic Canon (§§ 23–26), external evidence shows: (1) that the Book of Isaiah in its present form and extent existed at latest by the end of the 1st century A.D. (§§ 10–13); (2) that a Book of Isaiah having certain of the most conspicuous features of the present Book, if not the present Book itself, existed about 180 B.C. (§§ 14–17); moreover, certain external evidence suggests (3) that part of the Book of Isaiah,

viz. chs. 40–66 in whole or in part, about 300–200 B.C. passed in certain circles under the name of Jeremiah (§§ 18, 19). The most reasonable inference from the evidence is that neither the present Book of Isaiah nor a book either approaching it in extent or possessing its outstanding features existed long before 200 B.C., but that either this present Book or a book possessing the same outstanding features and attributed to Isaiah existed not long after that date.

9. The nature of the Book of Isaiah, as indicated in §§ 5–7, necessarily limits the significance of certain forms of external evidence. A quotation of known age from any part of a work like the histories of Thucydides or Josephus would determine the *terminus ad quem* of the entire work, even though it were anonymous; but a mere quotation, say from ch. 66 of the Book of Isaiah, while it would determine the *terminus ad quem* of that particular prophecy, would prove nothing as to the date of the Book of Isaiah; for the quotation might be from ch. 66 before that chapter was included in the compilation that now bears the name of Isaiah, just as a quotation (Jer 26^{18}) from a prophecy now included in "The Twelve" (Mic 3^{12}) only proves that Micah's prophecy existed before Jeremiah's time, and proves nothing with regard to the date of "The Twelve," which as a matter of fact also contains prophecies of the 5th cent. (Malachi), and cannot have been compiled for at least two centuries after the quotation in Jeremiah.

10. But there is other evidence that is available for proving not only the date of some particular passage, but of the book in which such passages are incorporated.

It is unnecessary to labour the point that the conclusion of the Canon of the Jewish Scriptures, which may be fixed about the end of the 1st cent. A.D., prevented henceforth any addition to, or alteration in, the books included within it; and that since Isaiah formed part of this Canon, the Book at that time existed in its present form and extent. It will suffice to refer, for a matter so generally admitted, to standard works on the Canon of the Old Testament.

But in view of recent theories (§ 17) that would place the final stages in the compilation of the Book of Isaiah much later than was formerly considered possible, it is worth collecting the evidence of the New Testament of which some (*e.g.* Romans)

carries us back to the middle of the 1st cent. A.D., and all to some part of that century.

Quotations from, or allusions to, the Book of Isaiah in the NT may be divided into three classes: the first class consists of those quotations which specify Isaiah, or the Book of Isaiah, as the source; the second specify or imply the Jewish Scriptures as the source; and the third, mostly allusions rather than quotations, specify no source. Only the first two classes are of interest here.

11. The passages from Isaiah (𝔐 or 𝔊) cited in the NT with direct reference to that book, and the NT passages in which the citations are made, are as follows:

Is 1^{9}	cited in	Ro 9^{29}.
$6^{9f.}$	,, ,,	Mt $13^{14f.}$, Jn $12^{40f.}$, Ac $28^{26f.}$; cp. Mk 4^{12}, Lk 8^{10}.
8^{23} 9^{1} ($9^{1f.}$)	,,	Mt $4^{15f.}$.
$10^{22f.}$	,, ,,	Ro $9^{27f.}$.
11^{10}	,, ,,	Ro 15^{12}.
29^{13}	,, ,,	Mt $15^{8f.}$, Mk $7^{6f.}$.
40^{3-5}	,, ,,	Mt 3^{3}, Mk 1^{3}, Lk 3^{4-6}, Jn 1^{23}.
42^{1-4}	,, ,,	Mt 12^{18-21}.
53^{1}	,, ,,	Ro 10^{16}, Jn 12^{38}.
53^{4}	,, ,,	Mt 8^{17}.
$53^{7f.}$	,, ,,	Ac $8^{32f.}$.
$61^{1f.}$	,, ,,	Lk $4^{18f.}$.
$65^{1f.}$	,, ,,	Ro $10^{20f.}$.

12. The passages cited with some formula implying that they are derived from the Jewish Scriptures, or in some cases more specifically from "the prophet(s)" (Mt 1^{22}, Jn 6^{45}, Ac 7^{48}), are:

Is 7^{14}	cited in	Mt 1^{23}.
8^{14} ($+28^{16}$)	,, ,,	Ro 9^{33} (1 P 2^{8}).
$8^{17f.}$	,, ,,	He 2^{13}.
25^{8}	,, ,,	1 Co 15^{54}.
$28^{11f.}$	,, ,,	1 Co 14^{21}
28^{16}	,, ,,	Ro 9^{33} 10^{11}, 1 P 2^{6}.
29^{10} ($+6^{10}$)	,, ,,	Ro 11^{8}.
29^{14}	,, ,,	1 Co 1^{19}.
(40^{6-8})	,, ,,	(1 P $1^{24f.}$).

Is 45^{23}	cited in	Ro 14^{11}.
49^{6}	„ „	Ac 13^{47}.
49^{8}	„ „	2 Co 6^{2}.
52^{5}	„ „	Ro 2^{24}.
52^{7} (= Nah 1^{15})	„ „	Ro 10^{15}.
52^{11}	„ „	2 Co 6^{17}.
53^{12}	„ „	(Mk 15^{28}), Lk 22^{37}.
54^{1}	„ „	Gal 4^{27}.
54^{13}	„ „	Jn 6^{45}.
55^{3}	„ „	Ac 13^{34}.
56^{7}	„ „	Mt 21^{13} = Mk 11^{17} = Lk 19^{46}.
$59^{20f.}$	„ „	Ro $11^{26f.}$.
64^{4}	„ „	1 Co 2^{9} (free).
$66^{1f.}$	„ „	Ac $7^{49f.}$.

13. In addition to these quotations in the NT, the following quotations from Josephus (*BJ*, written about 73–75 A.D., and *Ant.*, written about 93 A.D.) and other works of the 1st century A.D. may be given here:

Is 1^{10}	is referred to	Isaiah	in	Asc. Is 3^{10}.
19^{19} *	„	„	„	Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3^{1}; *BJ* vii. 10^{3}.
44^{28} 45^{1}	„	„	„	Jos. *Ant.* xi. $1^{1f.}$.
43^{2}	„	„	„	4 Mac 18^{14}.

Philo (first half of the 1st cent A.D.) refers Is 1^{9} to "a certain prophet, the kinsman and friend of Moses (*Quaest.* 43)."

14. We may next consider the evidence of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, which was written about 180 B.C.† The author in his praise of famous men (44^{1}–50^{21}) writes thus of Isaiah ($48^{22\text{-}25}$): ‡ —

* It would perhaps be arguable, though the point is not here put forward as having any probability, that Jos. refers to an uncanonical pseudepigraphon whence Is 19^{19} was subsequently incorporated in the present Book; he speaks not only of *a* or *the* Book of Isaiah, but also of his books: see *Ant.* xi. 1^{2} *τὸ βιβλίον τῆς αὐτοῦ προφητείας ὁ Ἡσαΐας κατέλιπε*; *Ant.* x. 2^{2} *ἅπανθ' ὅσα προεφήτευσεν ἐγγράψας βίβλοις κατέλιπεν.*

† Mr. Hart (*Ecclesiasticus in Greek*) argues ingeniously, but unsuccessfully (cp. *e.g.* Kennett, p. 89), that Ecclesiasticus was written *c.* 280 B.C.

‡ Du. (p. vii) remarks, without, however, alleging any reason, that it is by no means certain that Ben Sirach wrote $48^{22\text{-}25}$.

22 For Hezekiah did that which was good,*
And was strong in the ways of David,†
Which Isaiah the prophet commanded (him),
Who was great and faithful in his vision.‡
23 In his days § the sun stood still,‖
And he added life to the king;
24 By the spirit of might he saw the end,
And comforted the mourners in Ṣion:
25 For ever he declared things that should be,
And hidden things before they came.

Just before this passage, in vv.[18ff.], Ben Sirach had summarised, as the most significant events of Hezekiah's days, the approach and overthrow of Sennacherib, and, referring to the prayer of the people to God, had said, playing on the name of Isaiah (cp. Is 7^{18}), as in v.[22b] he plays on the name of Hezekiah, that Yahweh "saved them by the hand of Isaiah" (ויושעם ביד ישעיהו).

15. From the main passage we can infer with certainty that this writer referred, and that apparently without any uncertainty, chs. 40–66, or at least what is most characteristic in those chapters, to the prophet Isaiah. V.[24] refers unmistakably to the recurrent arguments from prophecy in, *e.g.*, $41^{21\text{-}24}$ 43^{9} 46^{9} $48^{7ff.}$, and vv.[24f.] are intentionally coloured with the phraseology of Is 40–66: what the idols could not do, Isaiah by the spirit of might (cp. Is 11^{2}) could: cp. חזה אחרית . . . עד עולם הניד נהיות ונסתרות (Is 46^{10}), מניד מראשית אחרית ומקדם אשר לא נעשו with לפני בואן (Is 41^{22}). Cp. also וינחם אבלי ציון with יגידו לנו את אשר תקרינה (Is 40^{1}), נחמו נחמו עמי (Is $61^{2f.}$).

* 𝔊 (𝔖) את הטוב: 𝔊 *τὸ ἀρεστὸν Κυρίῳ.*

† *Of David*, 𝔊𝔖; *+his father*, 𝔊.

‡ Vv.[22c. d. 23] are missing, through mutilation of the MS, from 𝔊. Vv.[22c. d 23] above are translated from 𝔊. For [22d] 𝔖 has ܒܫܒܚ̈ܝ̈ܗ̇ܘ, *the (most) praiseworthy of the prophets.* 𝔊 is probably correct. Ἐν ὁράσει αὐτοῦ, *in his vision*, probably corresponds to בחזונו in the original; cp. ὅρασις =חזון in 40^{6}, and also, *e.g.*, in Is 1^{1}, Nah 1^{1}; but it might also =במראהו: cp. 11^{2} 49^{3}; that it renders ברברו (cp. 46^{15}), as Peters infers, is improbable, more especially if ὁράσεως in 46^{15} is a gloss from 48^{22} (Smend, Peters).

§ Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ: 𝔖 ܒܝܕ̈ܗ̇ ܕܥܒܕ, *because by his hand*: cp. 46^{4}.

‖ Ἀνεπόδισεν=עמר, 46^{4} in reference to Jos 10^{13}; here, too, probably ἀνεπόδισεν renders עמר, though the allusion is to ותשב השמש, καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ ἥλιος, Is 38^{8}.

16. We can, further, infer with great probability that in Ben Sirach's Book of Isaiah chs. 40–66 were already preceded by chs. 36–39, and certain visions, or prophecies (cp. n. on חזון in 1^1 in the Commentary), corresponding to some or all of chs. 1–35. V.^{23} certainly refers to the narrative that appears both in 2 K 20 and Is 38; Ben Sirach has already (vv.$^{18\text{-}21}$) drawn on the group of narratives (2 K 17^{13}–20 = Is 36–39) to which this belongs in his praise of Hezekiah; his recurrence to it in praising Isaiah is best accounted for by the supposition that these chapters stood in his Book of Isaiah: for he selects in praising the prophets Jeremiah ($49^{6f.}$) and Ezekiel ($49^{8f.}$) certain phrases or incidents from the books that bear their names. The entire first part of Is., viz. chs. 1–35, would be summarily recalled by the term *vision* in v.^{22d}, if that word already stood in the title to the whole Book of Isaiah (1^1)

17. The great characteristic of the Book of Isaiah as it now exists is that it consists of a group of prophecies, chs. 1–35, which we will call A; a historical section, chs. 36–39, B; and another group of prophecies, chs. 40–66, C. The present book, then, expressed in a formula, is A + B + C.

It is highly probable, if not certain, that the Book of Isaiah as it existed *c.* 180 B.C. already consisted of A + B + C, just as the "Book of the Twelve" must already have contained twelve sections referred to twelve different prophets; cp. Sir 49^{10}.

But the question remains: were the three parts as they existed then co-extensive with the three parts as they exist now?

This is a question which the direct testimony of external evidence does not answer. Till recently the identity of Ben Sirach's Book of Isaiah and our own was not questioned. But Du. and several others since have claimed that both A and C received accretions after 180 B.C. It is entirely a question of probability which must be estimated in the light of internal as well as external evidence.

18. Meantime we may proceed to consider the evidence of 2 Ch $36^{22f.}$ = Ezr $1^{1\text{-}3}$. This appears to give a *terminus a quo* for the Book of Isaiah, to show that when Chronicles was written, *i.e.* not earlier than 300 B.C., and perhaps later, though a Book of Isaiah may have existed, and doubtless did exist, it was less extensive than the present Book; that as yet chs. 40–66 formed no part of it.

The last verses of Chronicles read as follows:

20b And they (viz. the exiles) were servants to him (Nebuchadnezzar) and his sons, until the rule of the sovereignty of Persia, 21 in order to fulfil (למלאות) the word of Yahweh by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land enjoyed her sabbaths: all the days of its desolation, it kept sabbath to fulfil seventy years. 22 And in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, in order to complete (לכלות) the word of Yahweh by the mouth of Jeremiah, Yahweh stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, and he made proclamation through all his kingdom and also (put it) in writing, saying, 23 Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, "All the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahweh, God of Heaven, given to me, and he hath commanded concerning me that I should build for him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah: whosoever then is among you of all his people, Yahweh his God be with him, and let him go up (Ezr 1^3) to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and build the house of Yahweh, the God of Israel."

In v.21 the Chronicler quite obviously, and even explicitly, refers to the fulfilment of the prophecy in Jer 29^{10} that the Exile would last seventy years and then come to an end. In vv.22f. and Ezr 1^3 = Ezr 1^{1-3} it seems equally obvious that the Chronicler is referring to the fulfilment of Yahweh's words in Is 44^{28}, Cyrus "shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built, and to the Temple, Thy foundation shall be laid," just as the words that immediately follow in Is. "Thus saith Yahweh to . . . Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him and to loose the loins of kings" (45^1), obviously seem to prompt the opening words of Cyrus' decree in Ezr 1^{2a}.

19. But this prophecy in Is 44^{28} is referred not to Isaiah, but to Jeremiah! unless, therefore, appearance deceive us, Is 40–66 was attributed by the Chronicler, and if so, certainly not by him alone, to Jeremiah; in this case chs. 40–66 as yet formed no part of a Book of Isaiah.

Du. seems to have been the first to recognise the obvious significance of 2 Ch $36^{22f.}$ for the history of the Book of Isaiah. It had been obscured previously, and is still obscured, by a prevalent, but most improbable, interpretation (*e.g.* see Ryle, Bertholet, Curtis on the passage): according to this interpretation, v.22 as well as v.21 refers to the prophecy of seventy years; but (1) v.22 is far more naturally taken as giving an *additional* statement to

v.[21] rather than a mere repetition, as referring to a further fulfilment rather than repeating a reference to the same; note, "*and* in the first year," etc.; (2) though לכלות, v.[22], might be a mere synonym of למלאת, v.[21], it is at least as probable that it means in order to complete the fulfilment of what Jeremiah said: Jeremiah had prophesied that the exile must last seventy years: it had done so, and that prophecy was fulfilled (v.[21]): Jeremiah had also (in Is 44^{28} 45^{1}) prophesied that Cyrus would secure the rebuilding of the Temple; in order to complete the fulfilment of Jeremiah's predictions, Yahweh had moved Cyrus to give the Jews permission to return and build the Temple; (3) whether we admit the distinction in (2) or not, v.[22] is closely linked with v.[23], and the prophecy to be fulfilled, referred to in v.[22], is most naturally identified with the prophecy cited by Cyrus in his decree in v.[23]; only so is the entire form of vv.[23f.] really explained; if v.[22] was merely to repeat v.[21], the writer would rather have said simply, In the first year of Cyrus, Yahweh brought up the people, or moved Cyrus to let the people return, to Judah; the double reference to the building of the house clearly indicates that this is the point to which the writer in v.[22] moves forward.

It would be preferable, if the interpretation just suggested were proved impossible, to infer that *Jeremiah* in v.[22] has been accidentally substituted for *Isaiah*, or that the entire clause לכלות דבר יהוה בפי ירמיהו in v.[22] is a misplaced variant of למלאות דבר יהוה בפי יר׳ in v.[21]. But inasmuch as other considerations tend to show that the Book of Isaiah was certainly not complete much, if at all, before 180 B.C., and there is certainly no evidence to show that chs. 40–66 were attributed to Isaiah much earlier than Sir $48^{22\text{-}25}$ (*c.* 180 B.C.), it is *unnecessary* to assume textual corruption, and very unwise to prefer an unnatural to an obvious interpretation * of 2 Ch 36^{23}.

§§ 20–27. *Origin and History of the Book of Isaiah*: (2) *The Greek Version and the Prophetic Canon.*

20. In addition to the direct external testimony to the existence of the Book of Isaiah before the 1st cent. A.D., there are two important matters that indirectly testify to it—the existence of an early Greek version of the Book, and the existence of a

* It is interesting to observe how Josephus, intentionally or unintentionally, softens down the difficulty; and it is significant that he quite clearly and naturally sees in 2 Ch 36^{23} a fulfilment of Is 44^{28} 45^{1}: see *Ant.* xi. $1^{1.\,2}$, especially § 2, where he says: "Now Cyrus knew this (ταῦτα, viz. that Cyrus' name had been foretold by the 'prophets,' etc.) from reading the book of his prophecies which Isaiah left behind him: for this (prophet) said secretly (ἐν ἀποῤῥήτῳ) that God spoke thus to him: 'My will is, that Cyrus, whom I have appointed king of many and great nations, send my people to their own land, and build my Temple.' This Isaiah foretold 140 years before the Temple was demolished. Accordingly, when Cyrus read this . . . an earnest desire and ambition seized upon him to carry out (ποιῆσαι) what was so written," etc.

prophetic canon prior to the conclusion of the entire Canon of the Old Testament at the end of the 1st cent. A.D.

(*a*) The Greek Version.

In respect of the relation between the Hebrew text and the Greek version, the Book of Isaiah presents a striking contrast to the Book of Jeremiah. The Greek version of the Book of Jeremiah differs widely from the present Hebrew text both in extent and in arrangement: from this fact it is a reasonable inference that at the time the Greek version was made the form and extent of Jeremiah had not been firmly fixed, and it is a tolerably certain inference that at that time even the prophetic books were not protected from re-arrangement and expansion by any theory of the sanctity of Scripture such as protected the entire Canon from the 1st cent. A.D. onward. In *arrangement* the Book of the Twelve also differs in the Hebrew and Greek Bibles. On the other hand, *both in extent and arrangement*, the present *Hebrew Text and the Greek Version of the Book of Isaiah are* substantially *identical.* Two or three verses (2^{22} 38^{15} 40^{7} 56^{12}), present in 𝔐, are absent in 𝔊, and in sundry other places 𝔊 is shorter than 𝔐 by a clause or two; and in much the same number of cases 𝔊 has clauses not found in 𝔐. There is no difference of arrangement.

The most natural and obvious conclusion to draw is that, *at the date when the Greek version was made, the Book of Isaiah had already reached its present form and* also, with the possible exception of some or all of the slight + and − of 𝔊, *its present extent.*

21. An alternative conclusion is, indeed, *possible*: a Book of Isaiah, smaller than the present, may have been translated into Greek at a certain date; additions may have been made after that date to the Hebrew text, and these additions may have been subsequently translated into Greek, and added to the existing Greek version, yet so that their position in the version corresponded exactly to their position in the original (ct. Jeremiah). But if this were actually the case, the additions to the original Greek version should reveal themselves as such by differences of style and method, for even quite brief additions to the original text of 𝔊 are commonly betrayed by stylistic differences.* But as a matter of fact the Greek version of Isaiah is marked in general

* See nn. on 11^{3} and the references in Thackeray, *Grammar*, p. 294, under "Interpolations."

by greater homogeneity of style than the versions of Jeremiah and "the Twelve": such differences as exist are not perhaps sufficient to prove difference of translators, and, if they are sufficient, they would point to chs. 40–66 (or perhaps 40–55, 56–66) proceeding as a whole from one translator and chs. 1–39 as a whole from another; they would lend no probability to a theory that such parts of the Book of Isaiah (*e.g.* chs. 24–27) as have been regarded by some recent writers as the latest parts of the book, and not written before the last third of the 2nd cent. B.C., were translated by a different hand from that which translated the main body of chs. 1–39.

Thackeray has argued that whereas three hands are distinguishable in the Greek version of Jeremiah (*α.* chs. 1–28; *β.* 29–51; *γ.* 52—Greek enumeration) and two in Ezekiel (*α.* chs. 1–27 and 40–48; *β.* 28–39, including a heterogeneous section *ββ.* $36^{24\text{-}38}$), there is no similar evidence pointing to the work of different translators in Isaiah; he is able to point to common characteristics that run through the whole Book of Isaiah, for example, the transliteration of צבאות in the phrase יהוה צבאות, which, rarely found outside Isaiah, occurs in Isaiah fifty-three times; the phrase *μικρὸς καὶ μέγας*, or *ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου*, occurs in five places ($9^{14\ (13)}$ $22^{5.\ 24}$ $33^{4.\ 19}$), where the Hebrew does not immediately suggest it; the phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον* is used seven times in Isaiah, and elsewhere only in Ex 14^{13}, Bar 3^{32} (cp. *τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον*, v.[13]), Jth 15^{10}: and in general Isaiah is marked by greater correctness of style than Jeremiah and Ezekiel: see *JThS* iv. 245–266, 398–411; *Grammar*, 11 f. I have myself drawn attention to differences as between chs. 1–39 and 40–66, and amongst others to differences in the use of the article and in the rendering of כה and נאם; the particles *πάλιν*, *δή*, *διότι*, and *τοίνυν*, which are frequent in chs. 1–39, are almost entirely absent from chs. 40–66: see *JThS*, 1911, pp. 286–293.

22. What, then, is the date of the Greek version? Briefly stated, the most important evidence is as follows:—(1) the author of Wisdom, commonly supposed to have written about 50 B.C.,* must have been familiar with the existing version of Isaiah, for in 2^{12} he quotes the very peculiar version of Is 3^{10} 𝔊: cp. also Wis 15^{10} with Is 44^{20} 𝔊. Other later or more uncertain but interesting traces of 𝔊 are to be found in 4 Mac $18^{14\text{ff.}}$ (cp. Is 43^{2}), Orac. Sibyll. iii. 606 (cp. Is $2^{19\text{ff.}}$), 708 ff. (cp. Is $11^{6\text{ff.}}$); (2) the translator of Ecclesiasticus in his prologue (*c.* 132 B.C.) refers to (Greek) versions of "the law and the prophecies (*αἱ προφητεῖαι*) and the rest of the books"; (3) the style and language of the version.

* Thackeray (*Grammar*, 61 f.), on grounds of Greek orthography, proposes an earlier date, *c.* 130 B.C.; cp. *Church Quart. Review*, Oct. 1910, pp. 209 f.

It is possible that a more thorough and detailed investigation of the style and language of 𝔊 may yield more convincing results than have been obtained at present. Thackeray (*JThS* iv. 583, x. 300–303) adduces considerations, worthy indeed of attention, but by no means final or conclusive on this particular issue, to show that Isaiah was translated earlier than the other prophetical books: (1) the Greek of Isaiah approaches more nearly than that of the other prophetical books to the classical style: in the *Grammar*, Thackeray classifies it as good κοινὴ Greek with the Pentateuch, translated in the 3rd cent. B.C., but also with 1 Mac. which cannot have been written before the end of the 2nd cent. B.C.; (2) "the greater ease of style, and the tendency to give a free rather than a *verbatim* rendering," *may* be "marks of a comparatively early date," though the analogy of the Aramaic Versions would, so far as it had any value, point to the opposite conclusion; the earliest Targum is far less free than the later Targums; (3) some of the renderings in Isaiah agree with renderings in the Book of Exodus; there are also, it may be added, affinities with renderings in other books of the Pentateuch; see Ges. i. 56, and cp. the use of ἄρχων as an equivalent in Pent. and Is. (also in Ezk.) of נשׂיא, to which H. Wiener draws attention in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1911, pp. 491 ff. In the *Grammar*, Thackeray "conjectures" that Isaiah may have been translated near the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., the other prophetical books nearer its close. The occurrences in Isaiah of the form οὐθείς (μηθείς) and οὐδείς (μηδείς) would indicate a date not much, if at all, before 132 B.C., if we could trust the orthographical tradition: unfortunately we cannot do so; see Thackeray, *Grammar*, pp. 58 ff. It is scarcely safe at present to assert more than that proof is not yet forthcoming that the language and style of the version are less compatible with a date *c.* 150 B.C., or even earlier, than with a later date.

The Greek version, then, is certainly not later than the Book of Wisdom, *i.e.* than the first half of the 1st cent. B.C. Moreover, either (*a*) this version is earlier than 132 B.C., or (*b*) the prophecies referred to in the Prologue to Sir. did not include Is., or (*c*) the version known to the author of the Prologue and the existing version are not identical. Of these alternatives (*a*) is the most probable, though neither (*b*) nor (*c*) can be ruled out as absolutely impossible; and, indeed, if Thackeray is right in considering the version of large parts of 2–4 Kings to be not earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., then the προφητεῖαι of the Prologue to Sir. were at all events not co-extensive with the books of the "prophetic Canon" (cp. § 1).

Failing good evidence to the contrary, it will be wise to reckon with the probability that the Greek version of Isaiah existed, if not even earlier, at least very soon after 150 B.C., and consequently that by the same date the Book of Isaiah had attained its present extent, except for any sections which can be

shown to have been translated into Greek by other hands than those responsible for the main body of the work (cp. § 21).

23. (*b*) The "prophetic Canon."

After the final determination of the Canon of Scripture at the end of the First Century A.D., every book included in it was protected from expansion or alteration (§ 10). But the final determination of the Canon was, probably, the last of three stages, of which the first was the acceptance of the Law, *i.e.* the Pentateuch, in the 5th cent. B.C. (Neh 8); the second consisted in the constitution of a second group of sacred writings, which continue to exist as the second part of the Hebrew Bible, "the Prophets" (§ 1). This second stage was probably reached early in the 2nd cent B.C.; for Daniel, written *c.* 167 B.C., though it would naturally belong to the group, as a matter of fact forms no part of it.*

24. Can we then argue: The prophetic Canon was complete before the middle of the 2nd century B.C., probably even before *c.* 165 B.C., the Book of Isaiah forms part of that Canon, therefore the Book of Isaiah can contain nothing of Maccabaean origin, can scarcely contain anything written after the close of the 3rd cent. B.C.? The argument has been used, and its validity has been disputed. It is scarcely safe to press it too far, or to rely on it exclusively. The *final* determination of the entire Canon falls at a period (1st–2nd cent. A.D.) when we have evidence that a very strict theory of the letter of Scripture was developing. But we are not justified in assuming that the same theory existed in the 2nd cent. B.C., and that it was applied to the earlier and smaller bodies of Scripture that had gained, or were then gaining, form and recognition. As a matter of fact, we have evidence that such a theory, even if it existed, was ineffective: "the Law" received additions after the time of Ezra (*Numbers*, p. xxxi ff.), the Books of Jeremiah and "The Twelve" differ in extent or arrangement or both in 𝔊 and 𝔐, Isaiah (𝔐) itself has in all probability received some very slight additions even after the date of 𝔊, and harmless additions to the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch (*Numbers*, p. xxxviii f.)

* For a fuller discussion of the summary statements of this section, reference must again be made to standard works on the Canon. It is to be observed that Du. (p. vi f.) disputes the value of the argument from the absence of Daniel.

show a similar tendency in the neighbouring Samaritan community.

Thus the rigid theory of the finality of Scripture and the strict division between Scripture and its interpretation, which prevailed from the 1st cent. A.D. downwards, had been preceded by a period during which the ancient words of the prophets were subject to adaptation to the new conditions and needs of later generations. Ancient promise or threat and modern interpretation, application, or modification, were at this period not kept absolutely distinct, but were combined into new written words adapted to present needs.

25. And yet the failure of Daniel to be incorporated in the prophetic Canon shows that in some degree the extent of expansion or change to which "the Prophets" were subjected was limited. Is it likely that entire sections like chs. 24–27, (32) 34–35 were first incorporated in the Book of Isaiah after the middle, or even after the end, of the 2nd cent. B.C.? Daniel and, say, Is 24–27 are, indeed, not quite in the same case: to have included Daniel in the prophetic Canon would have been to expand that Canon by the introduction of the work of a prophet not yet recognised; whereas, if chs. 24–27 had independently established a claim to be Isaiah's, their inclusion merely meant that the work of a prophet already recognised in the Canon was made more complete.

On the whole, it seems improbable that long sections not obviously related to the existing Book, and the place which they now occupy in it, were first incorporated in it after "the Prophets" had become a body of Scripture. They would naturally, like Daniel, have found their way into the "writings."

26. Du. and Marti dismiss the argument from the Canon altogether, on the ground that the History of the Canon must be judged by what it contains and not *vice versa*. This is perfectly true; and if any section of the Book bears unmistakable evidence of having been written at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., it certainly follows that the Book of Isaiah and the prophetic Canon were still open to expansion as late as that. But if it is a case of *probability* merely, if it merely seems probable, without appearing certain, that a section of the Book was written at so late a date, then we are justified in placing probability over-against probability: a possible, but not necessary, theory of the interpretation

and origin of a section may rightly be judged unproven if it conflicts with the probable, even though not certain, history of the prophetic Canon.

27. Reviewing the various lines of evidence which have already been discussed, we should not expect to find much in the present Book of Isaiah that was written after *c.* 180 B.C., still less to find much that was written after *c.* 150 B.C., unless differences in 𝔊 can be established which point to different translators. On the other hand, there is no reason why even much of the Book may not have been written as late as the 3rd cent. B.C., for our present Book, in common probably with the Book of the Twelve, appears to have taken shape within that century, and rather perhaps towards its close than its beginning. Whether matter so late even as the 3rd cent. B.C., and, if any, how much of such matter is to be found in the Book, will be determined mainly by internal evidence.

§ 28–35. *Origin and History of the Book of Isaiah*: (3) *The Testimony of the Book of Isaiah to itself.*

28. When we turn to interrogate the Book itself as to its origin and history, two significant features at once strike us: (1) the arrangement of the matter; (2) the presence of several titles.

To the arrangement of the Book a passing reference has already been made in § 5. Certain principles of arrangement can be detected,* but none is consistently carried through. Regard for the subject-matter may have exercised some influence in keeping, if not in bringing, together kindred prophecies or sections: as in Ezekiel (chs. 25–32) and Jeremiah (chs. 46–51), so in Isaiah (chs. 13–23), prophecies concerning foreign nations are grouped together; yet this principle of arrangement is less consistently carried through in Isaiah, for (1) the foreign prophecies in chs. 13–23 are interrupted by a section, or sections, dealing with Judah in ch. 22; (2) other foreign prophecies appear elsewhere in the Book; Edom is the subject of ch. 34, Babylon of ch. 47; so in the book of "The Twelve" prophecies concerning foreign nations are separated from one another; see, *e.g.*, Am 1 f., Nahum; in this case the reason is obvious: the book of "The Twelve" is a compilation which in

* Ges. pp. 18 ff.; Cornill, *Die Composition des Buches Jesaia*, in *ZATW* iv. 83–105; Che. *Introd.* xxii.

its arrangement is primarily governed by the principle that previously existing books (Amos, Nahum, etc.) should be retained distinct in the compilation: the same principle is probably responsible for the separation in the existing Book of Isaiah of chs. 34 and 47 from chs. 13–23.

Another principle that has exercised some influence in the arrangement of Isaiah is regard for chronology: "the year in which Uzziah died" (6^1), *i.e. c.* 740 B.C., is followed in ch. 7 by a section that refers definitely to the reign of the next king but one to Uzziah, Ahaz (from *c.* 735 B.C.); 14^{28} refers to "the year in which king Ahaz died," which was not later than 715 B.C.; 20^1 refers to the year 711 B.C., and the Assyrian king Sargon; chs. 36–39, to the days of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, the successor of Sargon; 44^{27} etc. to Cyrus, *c.* 550 B.C. Yet a detailed examination shows that, apart from the striking disregard of chronology, which allows ch. 6, the record of Isaiah's call to be a prophet, to stand after a group of his prophecies (chs. 1–5), chronological sequence is frequently violated in the present arrangement of the Book. The extent to which prophecies are out of chronological sequence may be in part due to the inadequacy of the post-exilic (§§ 5–7) editor's knowledge; but in part this also is probably due to the desire to keep distinct the previously existing books which he has incorporated in his compilation. And in any case the extent of chronological inconsequence in the Book of Isaiah is after all no greater than in the Ḳor'an, though that work was arranged within a generation of its composition, and while a considerable amount of valuable tradition as to the age of its several parts was still young.

29. Certainly the presence of various titles strongly suggests that the editor of the Book of Isaiah has incorporated in his compilation previously existing books much as he found them, without attempting any free and general rearrangement of the material thus at his command. This editor may himself be the author of the title in 1^1, but scarcely of the title in 2^1, for 2^1, far from being the heading of a mere section, is as wide in its scope as 1^1; it stands where it does because the editor has here incorporated, title and all, a previously existing book. A further title occurs in 13^1, which runs, "the Oracle of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amos saw," and in the succeeding chapters down to ch. 23 a number of sub-titles follow, "the Oracle of

Moab" (15^1), "the Oracle of Damascus" (17^1), and so forth. Was 13^1 like 2^1 originally the title of a previously existing book which the editor of Isaiah incorporated entire, or was it shorter like the titles of 15^1 17^1 etc., and merely a sub-title of a section? On the one hand, the general title of an entire book containing oracles on several nations would more appropriately have run, "The Oracles which Isaiah the son of Amos saw"; on the other hand, the editor who had already (1^1) prefixed a title indicating Isaiah as author of the whole volume, had no obvious reason for reasserting his authorship in this particular sub-title. On the whole, it seems most probable that chs. 13–23 are derived from an independent "Book of Oracles"; *possibly* this was at one time anonymous, and the later ascription to Isaiah was recorded by attaching a clause to the title of the first section of the Book, while it still circulated separately and before it had come to form part of the present Book of Isaiah.

30. We find no further titles; but other sections of the book are marked off by certain characteristics. Chs. 28–32 consist of a series of sections beginning with the exclamation הוי (28^1 29^1 30^1 31^1 33^1); these are widely separated from a series of shorter sections which begin with the same exclamation (5^{8-24}); these two series of similar sections are probably separated in the present Book of Isaiah because the editor found them in different works which he has incorporated entire: cp. the separation of the prophecies in chs. 34. 47 from chs. 13–23. Chs. 36–39 (except 39^{9-20}) are an extract from the Book of Kings.

The book thus divides into these sections:

a. 1. General Title attributing authorship to Isaiah (1^1), and a small group of prophecies (1^{2-31}).

b. 2–12. A Book of prophecies mainly concerning "Judah and Jerusalem," ascribed in a title (2^6) to Isaiah.

c. 13–23. "Oracles" which the title to the first section (13^1) probably intends to attribute to Isaiah.

d. 24–27. Anonymous Prophecy.

e. 28–33. A collection of poems beginning with הוי.

f. 34 f. Anonymous Prophecy.

g. 36–39. Mainly an extract from 2 Kings.

h. 40–66. Anonymous Prophecy.

Of these sections, g. has its analogy in Jer 52, and the analogy suggests that it once formed the close of a volume

attributed to Isaiah, whether that volume contained the whole or only part (§ 17) of what now stands between the title 1[1] and this historical appendix in chs. 36–39. There is also this difference between chs. 1–39 and 40–66, that whereas much in chs. 1–39 was written later than the age of Isaiah and as late as most, if not all, of 40–66, yet throughout 1–39 we constantly return to direct references to Isaiah, or prophecies unmistakably of his age; but in 40–66 there is no reference to Isaiah, nor are there any prophecies of his age.

31. Probably, then, a stage, if not the latest, consisted in attaching chs. 40–66 to chs. 36–39, which latter chapters were already preceded by chs. 1–35 in whole or in part. Whether this attachment of chs. 40–66 to 1–39 was in the first instance due to the fact that a roll containing a Book of Isaiah—1–39—was filled out with what was understood to be an anonymous prophecy (chs. 40–66), either simply to fill a blank space, or to make the fourth prophetic collection approximate more nearly in size to Jeremiah, Ezekiel and "The Twelve," or whether chs. 40–66 were attached to chs. 1–39 because they had already come to be attributed to Isaiah, are speculations that need be pursued no further here; see, however, Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, iii. (1783) 94; Ges. pp. 17 f.; Cheyne, *Introd.* xvii f., 237 f.

Both books, chs. 1–39 and chs. 40–66, had had their own separate history before they came, whether by accident or design, to be treated as a single work. Chs. 40–66 appear to contain work of at least two periods (*c.* 540 and *c.* 450 B.C.) separated from one another by nearly a century: the matter will be fully argued in its proper place in the Commentary. An editor must have brought together the work of these two different periods, and that scarcely much before, and possibly, even probably, considerably after, the close of the 5th century.

32. It remains to discuss here the separate history and the complexity of chs. 1–39 more fully. From the nature of the case, various alternative theories are often possible: no attempt will be made to discuss or even to mention them all: it must suffice to indicate so much as will suggest the complexity of the problem, and the number of stages by which chs. 1–39 may have attained their present form.

The Book that contained chs. 40–66 was in the first instance anonymous; but the Book that was concluded with chs. 36–39—

the long extract from Kings relating to Isaiah—was probably from the first understood to consist entirely of prophecies by Isaiah and narratives relating to him, in this resembling the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. As a matter of fact, Is 1–39 may contain the work of nearly as many different writers as the book of "the Twelve," but, unlike that book, it passed as the work of, or about, a single prophet.

33. But how much of chs. 1–35 belonged to the Book of which chs. 36–39 formed the closing section? In all probability at least the three sections which are referred by separate titles to Isaiah, viz. (*a*) ch. 1; (*b*) chs. 2–12; (*c*) chs. 13–23. But did this Book also include from the first the anonymous chapters 24–35? Of these chapters, 28–33 (32) contain much that is admittedly the work of Isaiah, whereas chs. 24–27. (33). 34. 35 contain nothing that can with any probability be defended as work of the 8th cent. B.C. A theory that the anonymous sections 24–27. 33. 34. 35 are subsequent interpolations cannot be considered proved, but it would have in itself nothing improbable. Only it would be reasonable to believe that if chs. 24–27. 33. 34. 35 were interpolated into a Book of Isaiah that consisted of 1. 2–12. 13–23. 28–32, they were so interpolated because they were already believed to be the work of Isaiah, or, if we prefer the alternative, because the interpolator wished them to pass as Isaiah's. Again, if these prophecies were added to a book that closed with chs. 36–39, it is easy to see why they were inserted somewhere in the middle among the prophecies rather than appended to the narratives, though the reason for the particular place assigned them may not be obvious. On the other hand, if they were interpolated *after* chs. 40–66 had been already added to a book which consisted of chs. 1. 2–12. 13–23. 28–32. 36–39, it is by no means easy to see why they were interpolated where they now stand rather than at the close of the *prophecies* in chs. 40–66, for they are certainly not very obviously connected with their present setting. From this point of view, then, there seems some probability that, if interpolated at all, chs. 24–27 and 33–35 were interpolated *before* chs. 36–39 and 40–66 were united, *i.e.* before *c.* 180 B.C.; and if this were so, it would follow that chs. 24–27 and 33–35 were written before 180 B.C. The case is rather different with 19[17(19)-25]; if this were written *c.* 160 B.C., it must have been interpolated; but it may equally well have been inter-

polated after the union of chs. 36–39 and 40–66, as before: after 66 it would have stood in no natural connection; in ch. 19 the verses are attached to others which also deal with Egypt.

34. We proceed next to a survey of the sections of which several, if not all, once existed separately as smaller books.

Ch. 1 may have been a prophetic fly-sheet of about the size of the Book of Obadiah, or its several parts may have been first put together by the final editor of the Book: see *Introd.* to ch. 1 in the Comm.

2–12. This section, which opens with its own title and has the main body of its contents enclosed between poems (2^{2-4} 12) relating to the Ideal Future, may well have formed a Book of Isaiah. But if so, like our present Book it had itself had a history. It may be noted that (1) the section is wider in its scope than "Judah and Jerusalem" (2^{1}), for see 9^{7}–10^{4}; (2) the account of Isaiah's call falls in the middle of it, ch. 6; (3) chs. 6–8 are more largely narrative than "vision," חזון (2^{1}; cp. n. on 1^{1}); (4) in 5^{25-29} we have a clear case of misplacement; these verses form the close to 9^{7}–10^{4}; (5) not a little even of these chapters is later than the age of Isaiah.

There is room for various conjectures; 6–8^{18} shows in the main at least a clear chronological sequence, and is drawn in part, if not entirely, from an autobiographical work by Isaiah; chs. 2–5 contain prophetic poems and sayings. It is possible that 2^{1} was in the first instance a title to a small body of prophecy—say 2–4, or 2–5, to which the extracts from autobiographical, or biographical, memoirs—6–8^{18}—were appended, as chs. 36–39 were appended to 1–35.* The remainder of chs. 2–12, including the prophetic poem on Ephraim (9^{7}–10^{4}), may have gained its way into this Book at one time or at several. It is, of course, conceivable that some or all of such additional matter was added by the final editor of the Book: but this is not probable; for had he been freely re-arranging his material, it would have been natural to group 9^{7}–10^{4} with other prophecies concerning Ephraim, such as 17^{1-11} 28^{1-4}.

* It is less probable that the Book, claiming in its title to be prophecies concerning Judah and Jerusalem, contained, in addition to 2–5, 9^{7}–10^{4}, and that 6–9^{6} was subsequently interpolated between 2–5 and 9^{7}–10^{4} (Di.); nor is Di.'s argument that Isaiah himself is answerable for combining 2–5. 6–9^{6} (or 6–11^{16}) at all conclusive.

But if we cannot speak with certainty as to the original contents of the Book to which 2^1 was the prefixed title, or as to its contents when used by the editor who incorporated it into Is 1–39, so neither can we speak with certainty as to the date of the Book, either in its original or expanded form. In its expanded form, however, it must be a work of the post-exilic period: for not a little of 2–12 was first written in that period, ch. 12 by very general consent, probably also other passages, viz. 2^{2-4} 4^{2-6} (9^{1-6}) 11 and parts of 10.

Chs. 13–23. This book consists of (*a*) a series of "oracles" indicated by title (13^1) and sub-titles (15^1 17^1 19^1 $21^{8.\ 11.\ 13}$ 22^1 23^1), (*b*) sections not entitled "oracles" ($14^{24-27.\ 28-32}$ 17^{12-14} 18. (19^{17-25}). 20. 22^{15-25}). The term משא, which appears in the titles that give so striking an external feature to this section, occurs nowhere else in the Book of Isaiah except in 30^6, but it is found in the titles of certain sections of the book of "The Twelve"; see Hab 1^1, Nah 1^1, Zec 9^1 12^1, Mal 1^1. This Book of Oracles, if, as seems likely, the ten sections entitled משא, *oracle*, once existed separately, was a post-exilic work, for some of the oracles were themselves written in the Exile or later—certainly 13^1–14^4 21^{1-10}, possibly also 15 f. 19 (in whole or part), 23; but the Book also contained some work belonging to the age of Isaiah; see ch. 17. It is possible, and indeed far from improbable, that the untitled sections were, most or all of them, added to the "Book of Oracles" before that work was utilised by the editor of Isaiah 1–39; but some at least of the additions, *e.g. c.* 20, must have been made after the "Book of Oracles" as a whole had been attributed to Isaiah.

Chs. 24–27. This anonymous prophecy is certainly post-exilic, and so, too (even though they be of independent origin), are the songs now incorporated with it; see more fully the Introduction to the section in the Commentary.

Chs. 28–33. Externally these chapters are held together by the recurrent הוי at the beginning of sections. A further striking characteristic is the constant interchange of denunciations which bear the stamp of a particular period in Isaiah's career, and passages of glowing promise. *Some* almost certainly, and possibly all, of the passages of promise are of post-exilic origin (see, *e.g.*, on $28^{5f.}$ 29^{17-24} 30^{18-26}). Since this feature does not run through the whole of chs. 1–39, we may infer that it marked these

chapters before they were incorporated in chs. 1–39. In chs. 28–33 we appear to have a record of a period in Isaiah's career made the basis of a (late) post-exilic work; see, further, on 28–33; and for an elaboration of the hypothesis barely suggested here, see M. Brückner, *Die Composition des Buches Jes. cc. 28–33* (*c.* 1897).

Chs. 34 f. An anonymous post-exilic prophecy.

35. This summary statement of much that will be found more fully discussed in the Commentary is enough to show that the Book of Isaiah is the final stage in a literary process of which many of the previous stages fell within the post-exilic period. And thus an analysis of the Book itself, though it may not indicate a precise date for the origin of the complete Book, certainly prepares us for the suggestion of 2 Ch 36 (see above, § 18), that the Book did not as yet exist *c.* 300 B.C., and to believe that it did not exist any long time before 180 B.C.

We can only go further, if we can determine the age of the latest section of the Book; for the Book, of course, in its final form is later than its latest section. Unfortunately there are several sections which are clearly post-exilic, but of which the exact age is anything but clear. The present writer hesitates, as the Commentary must be left to show, to follow Du. and others in assigning much, or Kennett in assigning more than half, of the book to the 2nd cent. B.C., and some passages even to the end of that century. But it is extremely difficult to believe that chs. 24–27 were written until far on in the post-exilic period, and $19^{19\text{-}25}$ may have been written as late as 160 B.C., and inserted in the then virtually closed Book. Even after that date a few brief notes—marginal glosses in the first instance—may have found their way into the text and probably did; see 2^{20} 6^{13} (last clause), etc.

The exact age of the last editor's work cannot be determined; but the character of the age can be divined. Is 24–27 is an apocalyptic work, and forms part of the Book of Isaiah; no great time after the conclusion of that Book we have evidence of the activity of apocalyptic thought in Daniel and the earlier portions of Enoch. The latest editor of the Book, as probably enough some of the editors of the books he utilised or incorporated, lived in an age saturated with apocalyptic thought. It need not surprise us if the thought of the age has frequently

affected the form in which even the ancient prophecies have been handed on to us.

§§ 36–39. *Origin and History of the Book of Isaiah*: (4) *Prophetic Teaching and Prophetic Literature.*

36. Literature was not the primary expression of prophecy. Elijah was a speaker, he was not a writer; and (so far as we know) Amos was the first prophet to record his teaching in writing. But the earliest of even the so-called literary prophets were speakers first and writers afterwards: Amos, Isaiah, Micah, and doubtless Hosea, too, were called in the first instance to deliver a message to the nation by word of mouth. The call to write, when it is recorded (Is 30^8, Jer 36^2), came to these prophets later; their first need was fitness or power to speak, pure lips, and not "the pen of the ready writer." Later, prophecy, especially as it passed over into apocalyptic, became purely literary; it was expressed from the first in writing. There is also much of the prophetic literature of which we cannot say with certainty whether it rests on spoken prophecy or not.

37. Much of the Book of Isaiah, including perhaps most or all of that which is unrelated to the prophet Isaiah, may rest on no previously spoken word: it may have had literary form from the first: in this case all that is needed is to trace the literary process to its literary origin. But much certainly goes back to the public or private utterances of the prophet Isaiah, and in this case we have to inquire what is the relation between the first literary stage and the spoken word. Our information on this point is unfortunately scanty, but it is suggestive; so also is the form of the written record itself. The questions that arise cannot be adequately answered; but much of the Book of Isaiah can only be satisfactorily discussed and interpreted, if the possibilities or probabilities in this matter are constantly kept in mind.

38. The records of Isaiah's teaching consist of (*a*) prophecies, (*b*) memoirs of the prophet, either (*α*) autobiographical, $6–8^{18}$ (in the main), and a document underlying 28–32; or (*β*) biographical, 20. 36–39.

In *b* (*β*) we certainly see Isaiah through the medium of others, and, probably, in chs. 36–39 through the medium of somewhat long popular tradition. In *b* (*α*) we have Isaiah's

account of himself; but how do the prophecies stand related to him and his spoken words? *

The first thing to be remarked is that the prophecies are almost without exception poems or poetic fragments (§§ 44 ff.), and that these poems are short. Probably the longest poem is 9^{7}–10^{4} and $5^{26\text{-}29}$; and this, in Hebrew, scarcely exceeds 300 words. We have therefore no speech, sermon, oration (or whatever other term we may prefer to use) of Isaiah's that would have taken in its present literary form more than 4 or 5 minutes to deliver.

Now, were these poems (α) composed first and then recited by the prophet in public; or (β) were they written after the prophet had spoken or preached in a different style and at greater length, in order to perpetuate, not the words of his speech, but the ideas that had formed the substance of it; or (γ) are some of them, and particularly the more fragmentary, pregnant sayings remembered by his hearers, and subsequently grouped together much like the "Logia" of the Gospels?

39. The alternatives just suggested are not mutually exclusive: all three processes may actually have taken place and each may account for some of the prophecies that have survived in literary form. Certainly the prophets may at times have availed themselves of the methods of the *Moshelim* (Nu 21^{27}: see *Numbers*, pp. 299 f., xiii f.); but, having gathered their audience, they may have held it by reciting, instead of songs of past victory, poems of their own composing in which they laid bare the real significance of the present; perchance the song of the vineyard in $5^{1\text{-}7}$ had such an origin. So, too, in view of much that is fragmentary, it is far from improbable that we owe something to the memory of the disciples of the prophet (cp. $8^{16\text{-}18}$); and certainly the grouping of six or seven brief "Woes" in $5^{8\text{-}24}$ recalls the "Beatitudes" of the Gospels which we have received in two very different groupings, one of which at least is not that of their author. But probably the bulk of the prophecies in the Book of Isaiah, as in Amos, Hosea, Jeremiah, are condensations into artistic poetic form of what Isaiah had said in public at greater length, but without the same restraint of form. This is suggested by the particular instance recorded in 30^{8} (8^{16} is more ambiguous), read in the light of the full account given

* Cp. Cheyne, *Introd.* xxix.

by Jeremiah (ch. 36) of the way in which he came to commit his teaching to writing: not till Jeremiah had been teaching for more than twenty years did he compose the prophetic poems which summarise what he had said. How early, or how often, Isaiah gave literary form to his teaching we cannot determine: there is some reason for believing that it was some years after his Call that he wrote his account of it (see on ch. 6), and the preparation of these memoirs may have been Isaiah's first literary work. In the case of the prophecies on the Northern kingdom, the two most probable alternatives are these: either (*a*) Isaiah wrote 9^{7}–10^{4} $17^{1\text{-}9}$ $28^{1\text{-}4}$ and despatched the written poems to be recited or read by others, or (*b*) he himself, like Amos (Am $7^{10\text{-}15}$), proceeded to some place in the North, delivered his message, and subsequently reduced the substance of what he had said to literary form. Some of the "oracles" on foreign nations were presumably cast in literary form from the first (cp. Di. xxi), though ch. 18 again may well be a summary of what Isaiah had previously spoken.

§ 40. *Origin and History of the Book of Isaiah*: (5) *A tentative synthesis from the preceding evidence.*

40. In the preceding analytical discussion it has several times been pointed out that more than one theory will satisfy many of the phenomena: no synthesis of results can therefore be more than tentative; all that is offered here is one such tentative theory * of the origin of the Book of Isaiah.

At times rather than continuously between the years *c.* 740 to 701 B.C., and perhaps somewhat later, Isaiah was a public teacher in Judah; he gradually gathered around him disciples. Some years after he had been teaching he wrote some memoirs recording the experience which made him a prophet and the way in which he had in the earlier years (735–732) of the reign of Ahaz delivered his prophetic message. He also at various times perpetuated in the form of prophetic poems the substance of what he had said in rebuke of the sins of Judah (see, *e.g.*, 2–4), or Ephraim (9^{7}–10^{7} $17^{1\text{-}11}$ $28^{1\text{-}4}$), or in reference to political issues of the day in which foreign nations also were involved (see, *e.g.*,

* For another recent theory, see Kennett, pp. 39–42.

chs. 18. 28–31); in some cases he was moved to do this by the unwillingness of the people to listen to him (30^{8}).

The memoirs and prophetic poems of Isaiah, forming small booklets, became the treasures of his disciples and their successors; it is probable enough that early owners of these booklets made annotations in them, and we have, perhaps, an instance of 7th century annotations in $7^{8c.\ d}$.

But the personality of Isaiah impressed itself not only on his immediate disciples: he became the hero of popular story, and some of these stories relating to the latest period(s) in his life were a century or more later written down, and found their way like the similar cycle of stories about Elijah and Elisha into the Book of Kings (2 K 18–20).

Various writers during and after the Exile wrote oracles on foreign nations; and a great writer produced a book (Is 40–55) intended to rouse and encourage the Exiles in Babylon.

After the Exile much of the existing prophetic literature was newly arranged and expanded, especially by the addition of passages of promise and comfort; and among the results of this activity were books closely resembling chs. 2–12 and chs. 13–23.

New and independent prophecy was also produced, and in the middle of the 5th cent. B.C. much of 56–66 was written. Later, chs. 40–55 and 56–66 were combined into a single book.

Other independent post-exilic works are chs. 34 f., 24–27—the latter written late in the post-exilic period.

Possibly about the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. the existing Books of Isaiah (2–12 and 13–23 and ? 28–32) were brought together by an editor who prefixed a title 1^{1} and another booklet of Isaiah's ($1^{2\text{-}31}$), and added (36–39) to the prophecies the narratives from 2 K 17^{13}–20 (with the omission, however, of 2 K $18^{14\text{-}16}$ and the addition of Is $38^{9\text{-}20}$): whether this editor also included in his work chs. 24–27 and 33. 34. 35, or whether these sections were later interpolated, is uncertain.

Some time before 180 B.C., chs. 1–39 (24–27. 34 f. *possibly* being absent) and 40–66 were united in a single whole, which with Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and "The Twelve" formed four volumes of prophecy of approximately equal size.

After 180 B.C. the Book of Isaiah may have received some additions such as $19^{17\text{-}25}$, possibly even, though less probably, 24–27. 34 f.

About 150 B.C. the Book of Isaiah was translated into Greek. After this date it is very doubtful whether the Book received any additions extending beyond a clause or a verse: such small additions, however, were made to the Hebrew text and include 6^{13} (last clause) 2^{20}.

Against even such minor additions the Hebrew text was secured from the end of the 1st cent. A.D. onwards by the conclusion of the Canon and the doctrine of the finality of Scripture. Thenceforward the Book of Isaiah could no longer be adapted to the needs or hopes of the living community by addition or alteration, but only by exegesis; between the 5th and the 9th centuries A.D. the approved exegesis was closely wedded with the text by means of the vowel points. At times these vowel points are flagrantly at variance with the actual sense of the text, and embody not a possible interpretation of the prophecies, but the hopes of these later Jews (see, *e.g.*, on $63^{1\text{-}6}$).

§§ 41–43. *Criteria for distinguishing the words of Isaiah from the additions of later writers.*

41. The task of interpreting a work with a history so long and complicated and yet in detail so obscure and uncertain as that which has just been sketched, is difficult indeed. There is no question that the Book contains words of Isaiah and words of other and later authors; nor can there be any serious doubt that in parts of the Book these two elements are closely intermingled. We may immediately set aside chs. 40–66, 24–27, 34 f. as containing no words of Isaiah, though in their turn these chapters also present their own similar problems of analysis. But in chs. 1–23, referred by title to Isaiah, and in chs. 28–33, how and to what extent can the earlier and the later elements be distinguished? The earlier critical method was rough and ready, and left correspondingly rough places for the interpreter; tacitly the accepted canon was: what cannot be clearly proved to be later than the age of Isaiah is the work of Isaiah. But the canon is illegitimate. The Book of Isaiah is a late compilation: even the books incorporated in it and attributed to Isaiah—chs. 2–12 and 13–23—are post-exilic works. All that can be strictly claimed is that what clearly proceeds from Isaiah

is to be regarded as his, all that clearly proceeds from other or later writers is not to be regarded as his, and all that is neither clearly his nor clearly not his must be regarded as uncertain. And, of course, there is wide range in the degrees of uncertainty.

42. The criteria for distinguishing the work of different writers and determining the date of any particular passage are mainly of three kinds.

(*a*) The Political and Social implications.

In some cases these are clear and ample; they show that chs. 6–8 are, in the main, the work of Isaiah; that chs. $13^{2\text{-}22}$ and 40–55 (in the main) are works of the exilic period. In other cases the interpretation of what is implied is less clear. It is certain that if 11^{1} implies that the dynasty of David has fallen, the prophecy, $11^{1\text{-}8}$, was written no earlier than the Exile; but many interpreters find themselves able to place an interpretation on the verse which would leave the date an open question.

(*b*) Style and Language.

These may prove or help to prove either (1) that a passage, or even a clause, is not Isaiah's; or (2), more definitely, the approximate date of such a passage. It is unnecessary to use the argument from style and language to prove that chs. 40–55 are not the work of Isaiah; for it is abundantly clear from criteria of class (*a*) alone that these chapters were written 150 years after the close of Isaiah's career. At the same time, style and language alone would suffice to show that 40–55 were not the work of Isaiah, though they would not quite so closely define the date of that work.

The data have been very carefully collected by Cheyne (*Introduction*), who at times may overrate the significance of them.

(*c*) Ideas.

In this case, too, there is frequently room for difference of judgment on the facts; for we cannot write the history of Hebrew ideas with such precision and certainty as to rule out the possibility that some ideas which seem to find expression solely in later religion may not have been current earlier. In particular is there difference of judgment at the present time as to the critical significance of certain eschatological ideas (see below, § 89).

43. In most cases a final judgment on any passage will rest in some measure on criteria of all three classes; and in cases where no single type of criteria yields ground for certainty, the combination of probabilities derived from a study of the three classes may yield a high degree of probability approaching certainty; in others, even all the criteria combined will only give a balance of probabilities (9^{1-6}), and sometimes this will be of the slightest kind, so that to one observer the balance may seem, if it inclines at all, to incline to one side, though to another observer it will appear to incline to the other.

Kennett (pp. 4 f.) states the problem well; but his method of solution would be sound only if our knowledge of all periods of Jewish history were full instead of being with reference to some periods exceedingly meagre, and with reference to most, inadequate. "It is necessary," he writes, "to inquire with reference to each section or fragment which literary criticism declares to be homogeneous, at what period *every one of its phrases would have a clear meaning*. . . . If history repeats itself, it seldom does so to such an extent that every word and phrase of a document written in one age will be equally suitable to another: and for practical purpose it will usually be enough to point out one period of history to which such a document really corresponds in all its parts." Unfortunately for this method, there is a vast difference between suitability to a particular age and suitability to what is known of the same age: a document may very well correspond, or not be inconsistent with, what is known of two or three different periods of all of which next to nothing is known; and if the correspondence with only one such period is pointed out, a false impression of certainty or probability is necessarily given. As a matter of fact, considerable parts of the Book of Isaiah are not inconsistent with what is known of more periods than one (cp. *e.g.* the introduction to 19^{1-15}): if our knowledge were increased, the range of ambiguity might be diminished; on the other hand it might be increased; for what had seemed peculiar to a particular period may be shown by fuller knowledge to have been common to more than one: till lately an allusion to a Jewish Temple in Egypt would have corresponded to what was *known* of the period from *c.* 160 B.C. to 73 A.D. only; it is now known that there was a Jewish Temple in Egypt from before 525 down to 411 B.C. also.

§§ 44–57. *The poetical forms of the prophetic literature, and of the Book of Isaiah in particular.*

44. Robert Lowth (1710–1787), sometime Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford and Bishop of London, rendered two great services to the critical study of the Old Testament. He revealed by a masterly analysis the parallelistic structure of Hebrew poetry; and he perceived that the prophetic

literature was poetical in form.* He also proved that in translating from Hebrew poetry it is possible to reproduce not only the sense, but also the form, *in so far as this depends on parallelism*; and in his translation of Isaiah he presented the poetical form of the original to the eye of his readers. In this he was followed amongst others by Koppe, who translated his *Isaiah* into German, by Gesenius in the translation prefixed to his Commentary, and by the English scholar Henderson (1840). Unfortunately this practice suffered a check; and even in Cheyne's Commentary,† which in other respects marked a notable advance in the criticism and interpretation of the Book, the prophecies were translated throughout in the form of prose: still more unfortunately the RV (1885), which presented the Psalms, Job, and other poetical parts of the OT in poetical form, by printing the Prophets as prose, obscured the important fact that the greater part of these books is no less poetical in form than either Psalms or Job.

Parallelism is one of the forms of Hebrew poetry: is it the only one? Since the time of Lowth the question of Hebrew metre, which he had treated as non-existent or irrecoverable, has received repeated attention. Into the general question ‡ it is impossible to enter at length here; but it is necessary to explain the principle on which the form given to the translations, and the account taken of metre in the Commentary, have been decided.

45. In the translations *the division into lines has been determined primarily by regard to parallelism*: i.e. Lowth's method has been resumed. This would be justifiable even if the metre were always clearly to be recognised—which it is not; for there would be no reason to adopt in translating from Hebrew a method which for good reasons has found no favour with those who have translated the metrical lines of other poetry: in translations (which are not themselves metrical) from Homer or Vergil, for example, it is not customary to distinguish in the

* *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones* (1753); *A new translation of Isaiah* (1778).

† *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (1880, 1882; ed. 5, 1889).

‡ Cp. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (in this series), pp. clxiv-clxix, and W. H. Cobb, *A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre* (1905),—a useful survey of the subject, with (pp. 191–202) an extensive bibliography.

translation the lines of the original; neither is there any reason so to distinguish the Hebrew metrical lines if, or when, these lines do not coincide with the periods of parallelism, as Du., for example, has not infrequently done (see, *e.g.*, p. 212 below, note on the structure of 11^{1-8}).

46. But parallelism is not a constant phenomenon of Hebrew poetry: lines frequently occur which are not related to their neighbours by parallelism of terms, or even by a general parallelism of sense. What Lowth called "synthetic parallelism" (Dr. *LOT* 363) is in reality absence of parallelism in lines such as

Yet I have set my king
Upon Zion, my holy hill.

But in a poem which contains for the most part lines parallel in sense, the remainder of the poem in which parallelism is absent tends to fall into periods of the same length. So, in the example just cited,

ואני נסכתי מלכי
על־ציון הר קדשי

contains two periods of the same length as the periods in v.[1] of the same Psalm which are related to one another by parallelism—

למה רגשו גוים
ורוזנים נוסדו יחד.

If an entire poem contained no parallel lines, there would be no sound reason for distinguishing the lines in the English translation; yet if the end of the lines always coincided with a pause in the sense, the line-division might be retained in English as a form of articulation; and when, as is most frequently the case, parallelism is sometimes present, sometimes (though generally less frequently) absent, it is convenient to show the line-division throughout.

This approximation to a similar length and rhythmical character in the periods of a poem is the best evidence that parallelism is not the only form of Hebrew poetry, but that it followed also certain rhythmical laws, however elastic those laws may have been.

47. So far it is assumed that the rhythmical unit and the

sense divisions in Hebrew poetry are identical; and that that poetry has nothing to show like—

> Sing, Heavenly Muse, that, on the secret top
> Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
> That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed
> In the beginning how the heavens and earth
> Rose out of Chaos; or if Ṣion hill
> Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
> Fast by the oracle of God, I thence
> Invoke thy aid to my advent'rous song—

in which passage the rhythmical units regularly close where there is no sense-division, and the pauses of sense occur in the middle of the rhythmical units. If the assumption is wrong, and if Sievers is right in his contention that "run on" lines do occur even with frequency in Hebrew poetry, it might have a considerable bearing on textual criticism; but it would not affect the correct method of dividing the lines in an English translation: these might and should still serve the useful purpose of clearly presenting the parallelistic structure coinciding with sense-divisions.

But the more elaborate metrical analysis of Hebrew texts, such as Bickell or Sievers offers, rest on too precarious a basis to be made as yet a secure instrument even of textual criticism.

48. The prominent element in Hebrew poetry is the accented syllable; the laws that governed the number of unaccented syllables that accompanied it are obscure, though it is obviously an over-statement, as Cobb (*op. cit.* 123 f.) caustically points out, to say that the number of unaccented syllables was "a matter of no consequence" (Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. clxvii). We may, then, at the present stage of investigations into Hebrew metre, obtain a provisional determinant of rhythm in Hebrew poetry by observing the accented syllables. Each word, or each complex of words united by makkeph, represents, generally speaking, a single-word accent; it may be that in some cases in a word of five or more syllables the secondary accent also ranks as a word-accent, and that, *e.g.* יְבַהַלְּמוֹ Ps 2^{5}, וַעֲתִידֹתֵיהֶם Is 10^{13d}, contains not one accent only, but two. Seeing that MT can no more be trusted in its particular applications of makkeph than in

respect of the vowels, it will be seen that there is room even in this simpler determination of rhythm for no little uncertainty.

49. Broadly speaking, the lines of Hebrew poetry are related to one another in one of two ways: they are equal, or they are unequal; in the one case we have a *balancing rhythm*, in the other *an echoing rhythm*; for example, in 1^{3}

ידע שור קנהו
וחמור אבוס בעליו
ישראל לא ידע
עמי לא התבונן

the lines in each couplet balance one another; each line of the first couplet certainly contains three accents; each line of the second couplet also contains three accents, if MT is right, and it probably is so, in leaving the לא in each line unconnected by makkeph with the verb; if the makkeph is inserted the lines still balance, but the length of each is two accents. In the one case the couplet may be described as 3 : 3, in the other as 2 : 2.

50. Examples of echoing rhythm * are found later in the same chapter, especially in vv.$^{21\text{-}28}$, and also, *e.g.*, in $13^{2\text{-}8}$ $14^{4\text{-}21}$; $1^{21.\ 26.\ 27}$ may serve as examples:

איכה היתה לזונה
קריה נאמנה

ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשנה
ויעציך כבתחלה

ציון במשפט תפדה
ושביה בצדקה

In each of these couplets a line of three accents is followed by a line of two: the rhythm is 3 : 2.

51. Within the broad distinction into balancing and echoing couplets, minor distinctions are to be observed, especially in balancing couplets: the length of the lines in balancing couplets

* On account of its use in elegies, this rhythm has also been termed the *Ḳînah* (*elegy*) rhythm. But it can no longer be maintained that the rhythm is *peculiar* to elegy, though it may be said to be characteristic of it. On this rhythm, see Budde, *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 1–52; Dr. *LOT* 457–459; *EBi. s.v. Lamentation*, § 2, and *Poetical Literature*, § 8. For examples in the Book of Isaiah of the rhythm not in elegy, see $1^{10f.}$ $40^{1f.}$

commonly varies between two and four accents: *e.g.* 32^{11} contains two couplets 2 : 2 :

הרדו שאננות
רגזה בטחת
פשטה וערה
וחגורה על־חלצים

and in addition to 1^{8} given above, $32^{15c.\,d.\,16}$ may serve as examples of 3 : 3 :

והיה מדבר לכרמל
וכרמל ליער יחשב
ושכן במדבר משפט
וצדקה בכרמל תשב

Couplets which in the last analysis are 4 : 4 are rarer. Of course, wherever a succession of couplets 2 : 2 occurs, it would be possible, by combining two lines, to express the rhythm as 4 : 4. The real distinction, however, lies here—that in some periods of four accents there is a marked pause after the second accent, and also the two parts of this period of four accents are parallel in sense (cp. 32^{11} above), whereas in others there is neither pause nor parallelism within the periods in either line, or at least not in both of the lines of four accents that constitute the couplet. Clear examples of couplets 4 : 4 are 5^{16} $9^{2c.\,d}$:

ויגבה יהוה צבאות במשפט
והאל הקדוש נקדש בצדקה

שמחו לפניך כשמחת בקציר
כאשר יגילו בחלקם שלל

See also note on rhythm prefixed to chs. 15 f.

Periods of five accents without a pause scarcely occur; for most couplets 5 : 5 can also be treated rhythmically as double couplets of 3 : 2, with 2 : 3 as a rare variant. And the same is true of periods of six accents, though these may occasionally, from certain points of view, be treated as rhythmical units; for successive periods may be differently divided, some into 3 : 3, others in 2 : 2 : 2; see on $1^{2f.}$ and 26^{1-19}; cp. also, *e.g.*, Ps 1^{1}—2 : 2 : 2 followed by 3 : 3.

52. There is less variety in echoing couplets: the prevailing type of these is 3 : 2, already illustrated (§ 50). Obviously 3 : 2 may be regarded as an abbreviated 3 : 3, and we might, therefore, expect 2 : 1 and 4 : 3, abbreviations of 2 : 2 and 4 : 4

respectively, to be as frequent variations on 3 : 2 as are 2 : 2 and 4 : 4 on 3 : 3; but 2 : 1 is not, at least, a frequent variant, and 4 : 3 (cp. Sievers' frequent "Siebeners") rarely possesses the characteristic echoing value of 3 : 2. Interchanging with 3 : 2 we find rather 4 : 2 or 2 : 2.

That the echo is the really characteristic thing in periods of five accents appears from two considerations: (1) these periods are, with the rarest exceptions, divided into 3 : 2; the obvious alternative 2 : 3, which would give no echoing effect, does occur, but with such rarity* that some writers consider its occurrence sufficient evidence that the lines have suffered accidental transposition: such accidents certainly occurred, for see Ps 18^{45} = 2 S 22^{45}; (2) the rhythmic echo is frequently combined with a sense echo, *i.e.* two terms of the first line are paralleled in the second line, the third is not merely not paralleled,—that happens often enough in parallel couplets 3 : 3,—but it has nothing corresponding to it.

53. So far this analysis of the rhythmical facts has been confined to the couplet,† or distich, which is so prevalent in all Hebrew poetry. There also occur, though with far less frequency, monostichs and tristichs; tetrastichs, too, though these can generally be regarded as two distichs. The distich is a rhythmical complex in itself: the monostich is not; it merely acquires a specific rhythmical quality from its relation to other lines, most of which will almost invariably be found to be combined into distichs. The monostich is a period in a poem equivalent in length to one line of a distich. A tristich is a complex of three rhythmically similar lines, and for this reason can only occur in balancing rhythm. Both monostichs and tristichs are of relatively rare occurrence even in the existing text, and in the original they were probably rarer still. Whether three lines are to be regarded as a tristich, or as a distich followed or preceded by a monostich, will sometimes, when all three lines are not parallels, be uncertain. In the translations the second line of the distich and the second and third of tristichs are inset.

* Cp. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, pp. 111 f.

† It is because the couplet is so characteristic of Hebrew poetry that I prefer the symbols 2 : 2, 3 : 3, 4 : 4, 3 : 2, etc., which describe the *couplet*, to the terms dimeter, trimeter, tetrameter, pentameter, hexameter, for *lines* of two, three, four, five, and six accents respectively.

54. Rhythmically similar periods may, from the point of view of parallelism, be different in character: and inasmuch as parallelism is made the basis of the line-divisions of the translations in this volume, rhythmically similar periods are differently treated. This applies more especially to the typical echoing lines. In the examples given above the entire period of five accents divides into two unequal lines, of which the second and shorter is parallel to the first and longer:

> And I will restore thy judges as at the first,
> And thy counsellors as at the beginning.

Denoting the ideas or main terms by a. b. c, and the parallel ideas by a′ b′, etc., the scheme is a. b. c | b′ c′. In other cases there is no parallelism between the unequal divisions of the period of five accents; and parallelism, if it occurs, is between the entire periods—the scheme being a. b. c. d. e | a′ b′ c′ d′ e′, or, almost invariably, with less complete correspondence, a. b. c. d. e—a′ b′ c′ f. g., and so forth; cp., for example:

> I am satiated with burnt-offerings of rams and fat of fed beasts;
> And in the blood of bullocks and he-goats I delight not.

Here the distich is 5 : 5, and the parallelism of terms or ideas, which extends over the entire length of the lines, may be represented thus:—a. b. c. (b). d | b′ c′ d′ a′. But if parallelism were disregarded and rhythm only considered, each line of the above distich would be correctly described as 3 : 2.

55. Enough, perhaps, has been said to indicate the chief varieties of couplets or distichs that occur in Hebrew. There remains the question, How are such distichs combined into a poem? Must a poem consist entirely of distichs identical both in rhythmical quantity and in rhythmical quality? For example, does a poem necessarily consist of a succession of couplets 3 : 3; and, if the couplets are occasionally interrupted by monostichs or tristichs, must these consist exclusively of lines of three accents? Or is it possible for couplets 3 : 3 to be interchanged with other balancing distichs 2 : 2 or 4 : 4, or even with couplets of another quality and kind, viz. the echoing couplets 3 : 2? Certainly in our present text we get almost every possible combination, within a few verses, and, unless all the separate

poems are exceedingly short, within the same poem. But (1) the mixture of lines of different quality, the echoing and the balancing, is probably far less frequent than the mixture of lines of different length but of the same quality; (2) the extent of mixture, even of lines of the same quality but of different length, was probably less in the original texts; (3) the extent of mixture differs greatly, at all events in the present text, in different poems; (4) it is generally possible to discern a *dominant rhythm*, i.e. a rhythm which occurs more frequently throughout the poem in question than any other rhythm, and commonly more often than all other rhythms put together.

56. If the preceding remarks suggest that there is considerable uncertainty or irregularity in Hebrew rhythms or metre, they will very correctly convey the impression left on the present writer by his study of them. Is the uncertainty and irregularity so great as to cast doubt on the very existence of rhythm, or, at least, on the value of these rhythmical uncertainties and irregularities for the criticism or interpretation of the Book? Such scepticism is not unnaturally provoked by the far-reaching changes that are often made in the text in obedience to hypothetical laws of metre. On the other hand, there is too much approximation even to metrical regularity to justify such complete scepticism. The notes on rhythm prefixed to the various poems must be left to tell their own tale: the attempt is there made to analyse the actual facts of the existing text, and to give the reader a clue to, if not always a complete statement of, the differences in quantity or quality in the Hebrew text of the lines and distichs of the poem, as presented in the translations. Without some such statement the reader would often acquire a very erroneous impression — sometimes suspecting irregularity where regularity prevails, and sometimes the reverse; * a reference back to these notes will also give a measure of the value to be set on the rhythmical considerations when such are subsequently referred to in the commentary or philological notes.

It may be rarely wise to insist on any textual change merely on rhythmical grounds: on the other hand, when rhythmical and other considerations point towards the same change, though each consideration taken by itself may have slight weight, taken

* This needs to be borne in mind by those who use the translations of Du., Cheyne, or Box.

together they may have much. Further, though a line may seem abnormally long, all that the rhythm will suggest is that one or more words are intrusive; it will not determine which—unless, indeed, we can pass beyond the detection of rhythm of word accents to syllabic rhythm.

Again, the mere occurrence of a 2 : 2 distich in the midst of 3 : 3 distichs (as, *e.g.*, in 2^{2-4}) may be a very unsafe ground for treating the 2 : 2 distich as intrusive. On the other hand, a change in the dominant rhythm, as, say, from 3 : 3 to 3 : 2 (see chs. 13. 34), may generally raise a suspicion that we have passed from one poem to another.

57. A further form of Hebrew poetry is the strophe. If the lines of the original be reproduced in the translation, so, too, should the strophes. They are marked off in the translation by spaces.

In some cases the strophic division is obvious, as, *e.g.*, in 9^{7}–10^{4}, where each strophe closes with a refrain. In other cases the division is less obvious; we can only be guided by the greater sense-pauses.

In connection with the strophe, the question of regularity again presents itself. Are the strophes of a poem necessarily of the same length? In certain cases they appear to be so; in others it is doubtful whether there is more than some approximation to regularity. Du., in general, succeeds in reducing the poems to strophes of regular length, but sometimes at considerable cost; see the notes in this Commentary prefixed to 11^{1-8} 13.

§§ 58–73.—*Isaiah in relation to the political and social conditions of his age.*

58. The greater part of Isaiah's life fell within the last half of the 8th cent. B.C., but he must have been born from ten to twenty years before 750; and, since he was certainly living and active in 701, he probably outlived the century, possibly even by as much as ten or twelve years. In his boyhood his countryman Amos, of the land and kingdom of Judah, prophesied against the neighbouring kingdom of Israel; and Jerusalem, the home of Isaiah, lay about half-way between Tekoa, the home of Amos, and Bethel, the scene of his preaching. Both Tekoa and Bethel lay within an easy day's walk of Jerusalem, at a distance of

about twelve miles from the capital. In Isaiah's early manhood and the first years of his own activity as a prophet, Hosea, a native of the Northern kingdom, was preaching to his own people of judgment to come; and about half-way through Isaiah's active life his teaching was enforced by Micah. Isaiah living in the capital, and Micah living in the country, a day's journey towards the coast, and the coast road by which merchants and soldiers from time immemorial had passed, as they still passed, from the valley of the Euphrates to the valley of the Nile, saw and judged some things differently, yet with fundamental agreement.

59. Isaiah received the call to prophesy in the year that Uzziah, king of Judah, died (6[1]), *i.e.* in, or within a year or two of, 740 B.C.—as late as 738 on one interpretation of certain Assyrian records, not necessarily quite so late as 740 on another.

Ahaz became king of Judah not later than 735 B.C., for Tiglath-pileser * mentions him (Ja-u-ḫa-zi (mât) Ja-u-da-ai) along with other Syrian princes as paying tribute to him in 734 B.C.; and, according to 2 K 16[7], Is 7[1-16], he was already king during the Syro-Ephraimitish war which preceded Tiglath-pileser's campaign of 734. To Ahaz' predecessor, Jotham, the Book of Kings assigns a reign of 16 years, which would carry back the death year of Uzziah to 751; but, as is well known, these chronological statements of Kings cannot be implicitly trusted; a date as early as 751 for Isaiah's call is improbable, since he was still active 50, if not 60, years after that date.

Now, in the Annals of the year 738, Tiglath-pileser mentions an Azariah (Az-ri-ia-a-u, l. 131; Az-ri-a-[u], l. 123; [Az-ri-i]a-a-u, l. 111; [Is-ri-]ia-a-u, 104; Is-ri-ia-u, 105) of the land of Ja-u-da-ai (l. 104), or Ja-u-di (l. 105). Since Uzziah of Judah was (also) called Azariah according to several passages in the OT (cp. 6[1] n.), there seemed to be at least a good *prima facie* case for the identification of "Az-ri-ia-u (mât) Ja-u-da-ai (Ja-u-di)," and עזיה (or עזריה) מלך יהודה. Schrader (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforshung*, pp. 395–421; cp. *KAT*[2]) argued for the identification, and it was generally accepted, with the result that Uzziah's death was placed in 740 (the year to which Schrader erroneously referred this part of the Annals) or later. It thus became necessary to contract Jotham's reign within very narrow limits.

On the basis of Rost's edition of the Annals (1893), which placed several things in a new light, and of native inscriptions of a land of יאדי in northern Syria discovered in 1890 close to Zinjirli (see now Cooke, *NSI*, pp. 159 ff.), Winckler (*Altor. Forschungen*, i. 1–23) challenged the identification, and argued that the Az-ri-ya-u of the inscriptions was not king of Judah (יהודה) but of יאדי, to which the Assyrian Ja-u-di might equally well correspond.

* Clay Tablet, Reverse l. 11.

Briefly stated the case stands thus: according to the inscription, Az-ri-ia-u was the prime mover in opposition to Assyria, and was supported by 19 districts of Ḥamath; these districts were conquered by Tiglath-pileser and made an Assyrian province; the fate of Az-ri-ia-u himself is, owing to a mutilation of the inscription, obscure: "19 districts of Hamath . . . which in their sin and folly had taken the side of Az-ri-ia-u I added to the territory of Assyria" (ll. 130–132); cp. "who had taken the side of and strengthened Az-ri-ia-u" (l. 111).

Now it would certainly be remarkable if two contemporary kings of two countries, the names of which are scarcely distinguishable, had the same name; remarkable also, in spite of the parallel case of Jaubidi, king of Hamath in 720 B.C. (Sargon, Nimrud-inscription, l. 8), that a king of a northern Syrian state should bear a name compounded with יה. On the other hand, (1) it is not certain that Azariah rather than, or as well as, Uzziah was the name of the king of Judah; (2) a somewhat parallel caprice of similarity, which certainly led to a wrong identification, is afforded by Menaḥem, king of Israel (and therefore of Samaria), in 738 B.C., and Menaḥem, king of Samsimuruna in 701 B.C. (Sennacherib's inscription: Taylor Cylinder, ii. 47); (3) nothing in the OT, or in what is otherwise known of the history of the period, would lead us to expect that Uzziah of Judah would be the leader of an opposition to Assyria, and supported by the distant districts of Ḥamath (only); (4) so late a date as 738 for the death of Uzziah, though not impossible, is, failing direct evidence, not very probable.

60. Of Isaiah's life between the year of his call, *c.* 740 B.C. and 735 we have no direct and unambiguous records; but we may infer from 8^2 (n.) that he had during these years himself grown assured of, and probably also gained recognition for, his prophetic calling. In pursuit of it he *may* have visited Ephraim (§ 39), and spoken according to the tenor of 9^7–10^4. In 6–8^8 we can trace his activity in the opening years of the reign of Ahaz, who succeeded to the throne *c.* 735. He had then been already some time married, and was the father of a child at least three or four years old (7^2 n.), to whom he had given the name Shear-Yashub, which, meaning "a Remnant shall return," expressed an important element in his teaching (§ 86). He appears to have had easy access to the king ($7^{1ff.}$: chs. 36 ff.), and he may have belonged to a family of some standing, though the inference to this effect drawn from 8^2 is precarious, and the view that he was of royal blood (1^1 n.) rests on nothing more than Rabbinic ingenuity. Another son was born to him in 734, and to the younger as to the elder he gave a name, Maher-shalal-hash baz, embodying one prominent element in his teaching, his conviction, viz., that Damascus and Israel were doomed to early

extinction. In thus using these opportunities of his domestic life to enforce and emphasise his teaching, he was adopting a practice, and perhaps deliberately following the example, of Hosea (Hos 1). At this time, as probably throughout his life, he was resident in Jerusalem (cp. 6^{1} 7^{3} $22^{13ff.}$ 28^{14} 36–39).

61. For more than twenty years (*c.* 733–711) the life of Isaiah remains a blank to us, except so far as we can follow it by surmise and conjecture: there is no narrative of this period, except, perhaps, that which records the embassy from Merodach-baladan (ch. 39), and no prophecy that can *with certainty* be referred to these years (though see 14^{28} n. 28^{1-4}). And yet within these twenty years falls the most outstanding event, for a Jew, of the whole century: in 722, Samaria, the capital of the Northern kingdom, was, after a three years' siege, captured by the Assyrians; the tribes, which had hitherto been the more numerous and more powerful common inheritors with Judah of the Land of Promise which Yahweh the God of Israel had given to His people, were exiled, and their land became an Assyrian province.

The fact, if it be a fact,* that Judah between 734 and 711 quietly accepted the Assyrian over-lordship and took no part in the attempts of Samaria in 724–722, or of several neighbouring states in 720, to cast it off, is at best scarcely more than a partial reason for this remarkable silence. Isaiah certainly preached a policy of non-intervention; and if Judah during this period practised it, Isaiah may have been satisfied with the external policy of Judah, and so have found little occasion for reiterating this particular element in his teaching. But the injustice and unrighteousness against which he also raised his voice were scarcely less in need of denunciation during these years than during other parts of his life. Some of the prophecies, the date of which cannot be closely determined, may therefore belong to these years: for example, parts of chs. 2–5.

* Neither the OT nor the Assyrian inscriptions directly record any revolt of Judah from Assyria during this period. But in an inscription of the year 717, Sargon speaks of himself as *mu-šak-niš* (*mâtu*) *Ja-u-du ša ašar-šu ru-u-ku*, "subduer of the far-off land of Ja-u-di" (Nimrod Inscription, l. 8; *KB* ii. 37). From this it has sometimes been inferred (cp. *KAT*^{3} 67) that Judah took part in the Syrian revolt of 720, as it certainly did in the revolt of 711. It is, however, possible that Ja-u-di is here יאדי and not יהודה. See above, § 59.

62. Ch. 20, a narrative referring to the year 711 B.C., relates that, on one occasion at least, Isaiah enforced his spoken message by strange symbolical action; for three years he went barefoot and half-clad, and so by his conduct represented the lot of those whose captivity he predicted.

Again some years are a blank, and then, in a series of prophecies (in chs. 28^{6}–31, and, perhaps, ch. 18) we are able to trace, and in a group of narratives (chs. 36 f. and perhaps also 38 f.) to see the deep impression left on the popular mind by, the part which Isaiah played at the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine in 701, and probably, if Sennacherib really invaded Palestine some ten years later (§ 70), on that occasion also.

The date of Isaiah's death is unknown: even if the tradition, based probably on some Midrash, and perhaps alluded to in He 11^{37}, that Isaiah was sawn asunder by King Manasseh,* deserved credence, it would determine little; for the date of Manasseh's accession cannot be closely or certainly fixed; according to some chronological schemes it is to be placed as early as 698—*i.e.* 29 years (2 K 18^{2}) after 727, in which year, according to one statement in the Book of Kings (2 K 18^{10}), the earliest date of the accession of Hezekiah must be placed, according to others as late as 686, *i.e.* 29 years after the date which another statement in Kings (2 K 18^{13}), if correct, would require us to assign to Hezekiah's accession. But the date of Isaiah's death would be brought down to about 690 B.C. at earliest, if he really played a part on the occasion of Sennacherib's (hypothetical) second invasion (§ 70).

63. Isaiah's life was spent during a time of change in the political and social conditions of Judah. This change was due in large measure to the new and greater activity of Assyria,†

* "Beliar was wroth with Isaiah; and he dwelt in the heart of Manasseh, and he sawed him in sunder with a wooden saw," *Ascension of Isaiah*, 5^{1} (probably written in the first century A.D.); Charles, *Asc. of Isaiah*, p. xliv.

† For the evidence for the details enumerated in the following sections, see the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser (ed. Rost, 1893), Sargon (ed. H. Winckler, 1889), Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Asshurbanipal; also the Assyrian Eponym lists (*KB* i. 204–215) and the Babylonian Chronicle (*KB* ii. 273 ff.). New editions of the Inscriptions of the Assyrian kings just mentioned are promised in the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, but none has yet appeared. Meantime *KB* ii. contains a convenient collection of most of

which followed on the accession of Tiglath-pileser to the throne of that country in 745 B.C., and which was already beginning to make itself felt in the West by the year 742, and probably, therefore, a year or two before the death of Uzziah and the call of Isaiah.

Since the disruption of the united kingdoms of Judah and the northern tribes on the death of Solomon, *c.* 930, Judah the smaller had also been the weaker of the two, and often stood rather in the position of a vassal-state to the Northern kingdom. The attendance of Jehoshaphat of Judah on Ahab of Israel (1 K 22), when that monarch was conducting one of those campaigns against Syria which formed the characteristic political feature of the 9th cent. B.C., may not have been altogether voluntary, but rather the service rendered by a vassal to his overlord. And this relation of the two kingdoms to one another may account for there being no direct reference to Judah, as distinct from Israel, in the Assyrian records of the 9th cent. Be this as it may, Assyria had already in the 9th cent. made itself felt among the Syrian and Palestinian states. As early as 876, Asshurnazirpal with his army reached the coast of Northern Phoenicia, and re-established that command of the line of communication with the Mediterranean which had been won by Tiglath-pileser I. in the 12th cent. and subsquently lost. To secure what he had won, Asshurnazirpal left an Assyrian colony in Aribua, a town near the river Sangara (mod. Nahr-el-Kebîr), and on the northern frontier of the state of Ḥamath. Phoenician cities as far south as Tyre, far further south than he himself or his army proceeded, sent him gifts. On the other hand, Damascus was neither attacked nor, like the Phoenician states, induced to send gifts. Shalmaneser II. made several attempts to extend the area of Assyrian authority in Syria, though at first without any success. Ben-hadad of Damascus was the leader of a Syrian league which checked the Assyrian advance; his chief supporters were Ḥamath and Israel. In 854, Shalmaneser fought a battle

the more important. A clear and admirable presentation of the history of Assyria from the accession of Asshurnazirpal to the death of Asshurbanipal will be found in R. H. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (ed. 2, 1903), ii. pp. 46–282; in the same work fuller references to editions and translations of the inscriptions relating to each reign will also be found. A recent full discussion of Sargon's reign in particular is, A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the days of Sargon of Assyria* (New York, 1908).

against the combined Syrian forces at Ḳarḳar near the Orontes and further south than the Nahr-el-Kebir; the Assyrian king claimed a victory, but, since neither tribute nor acquisition of territory followed, the victory was barren; similarly fruitless were the Assyrian western campaigns of 849 and 846 B.C. The next campaign, that of 842 B.C., was more effective; Ben-hadad of Damascus had now been succeeded by Ḥazael, and Ahab of Israel by Jehu. Israel had fallen away from the Syrian league, and Jehu in this year paid tribute to Assyria, in this perhaps anticipating the policy of Ahaz of Judah a century later (735 B.C.; cp. Is 7). Damascus, though it suffered siege and the ravaging of its immediate surroundings, successfully resisted the Assyrians, and Shalmaneser was unable to capture the city, either in this year or in 839. Nor could his successor Shamsi-Adad (825–813 B.C.), who rather lost ground in the West: but Adad-Nirari (812–783) repeated the limited success of Shalmaneser; he received tribute from Israel as well as from Sidon, Tyre, Edom, and Philistia, and he besieged and harassed, but failed to conquer, Damascus. During the reigns of the next three kings (782–745), Assyria suffered a marked decline; a (probably) unsuccessful campaign against Damascus in 773, and others against the far more northern towns of Ḥadrach and Arpad in 755 and 754 respectively, exhausts the list of the Assyrian western movements during this period. Thus for a full generation Assyria had passed practically out of sight of Israel and Judah, and even their bulwark (17[2]) Damascus had felt but little shock from Assyrian attack.

64. Egypt during the same period was also weak and divided (§ 68), and exercised little influence and no restraint over Palestine. Thus there was the same opportunity which David had used with so much vigour and success three centuries before for the Palestinian states to enjoy freedom from the thrall of the great Empires of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates valleys, and to strive for the supremacy among themselves. Alike in Israel and Judah the period of Assyria's greatest weakness was covered by a single reign —of Jeroboam II. in the North, and of Uzziah in Judah. This meant internal political stability not only for Judah, but for the generally more unstable Northern kingdom. According to 2 K 14[25-28] (cp. Am 6[14]), Jeroboam re-established the dominion of Israel from the Dead Sea in the South to the entering in of

Ḥamath (cp. Nu 13^{21} n.) in the North, and also gained the supremacy over Damascus. One of the earliest and most significant of Uzziah's achievements (2 K 14^{22}), unless it is rather to be attributed to his predecessor Amaziah, was the recovery of Elath (which was lost again by Ahaz, 2 K 16^{6}); he thereby regained for Judah that command of the trade route to the Red Sea which Solomon had held (1 K 9^{26}), but which had subsequently been lost. The Chronicler, in a passage where he may well be drawing on ancient and trustworthy data, gives further illustrations of the success and strength of Judah at this time: Uzziah waged successful war against the Philistines, Ammonites, and Meunim (? Minaeans); he strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem; he devoted himself to the rearing of cattle, of which he had many, and agriculture (2 Ch 26^{6-15}).

65. The Books of Kings and Chronicles record the success and prosperity of the kings, Jeroboam and Uzziah; but we are not left merely to infer from this that others besides the kings were prosperous; the prophecies of Amos and Isaiah speak clearly of wealth and luxury, and the dissoluteness that accompanies them, in both the Northern (Am 3^{15} 5^{11} 6^{4-6}, Is 9^{9} 17^{4} 28^{1-4}) and the Southern (Is 2^{7} $3^{16f.}$ $5^{9.\ 12f.\ 14.\ 22}$ $28^{7f.}$) kingdoms. But though increase of wealth extended beyond the king, it was not widely or evenly distributed; the lot of the weaker seems rather to have become aggravated. Not a little of the increased wealth was probably due to trade (see below, p. 53); and not a little of the wealth so acquired was expended in bringing unjust pressure to bear on the weak, in repeating the conduct of Ahab towards Naboth which had so provoked Elijah (1 K 21): the *nouveaux riches* bought up the patrimonies of their needier fellow-countrymen; by aggregation great estates arose (below, pp. 90 ff.), and cruel evictions (Mic 2^{2}) aroused the indignation of the humane. In the courts the weak could obtain no redress, for money again bribed the judges (10^{2}).

66. But if the weaker and poorer had not shared in the increased wealth and luxury of Uzziah's time, there is little reason to suppose that they profited by the changes that came after his death and during the lifetime of Isaiah: the most immediate effect, so far as Judah was concerned, was that that country became tributary to Assyria in 735–734 B.C. and remained so; tribute meant heavier taxation, and this was doubtless to a

large extent wrung out of the poor, even though the king obtained it directly from the "mighty men" of Judah (cp. 2 K 15^{20} of Israel). Be that as it may, this is clear: whereas Isaiah had grown up to early manhood in the latter half of a long and prosperous reign, a citizen of a country that paid no tribute to any foreign power, near neighbour to the kindred kingdom of Israel, which was also free and prosperous, within a year or two of his call he had seen the kingdom of Israel torn by faction after the death of Jeroboam (*c.* 746), and heard of Assyria's more vigorous action in the West. Arpad offered a stern resistance to Tiglath-pileser, but in 740 it fell before him; and Assyria recovered what the kings of the 9th century had won for it, and their weaker successors had lost—access to the Mediterranean. But this was merely the prelude to greater achievements in the West than the greatest of the past; in 738, Tiglath-pileser defeated an extensive coalition of Syrian states, which included, or consisted of, "19 districts of Ḥamath," "which in their disloyalty had fallen away to Azriyau of the land of Ja-u-di," who is identified by many with Uzziah (Azariah), king of Judah (see above, p. lxx); these districts he made an Assyrian province; he captured Kullani (10^{7} n.); he received tribute, amongst others, from Raṣon of Damascus, Menaḥem of Samaria (whose land, according to 2 K $15^{19f.}$, he had invaded), Ḥirom of Tyre, and Zabibi, queen of Arabia. About 735, Ahaz paid tribute (2 K $16^{7f.}$), and henceforward Judah was tributary to Assyria. In 734, Tiglath-pileser was in Philistia, and captured Gaza, furthest S. of the Philistine cities and nearest to Egypt; in 733 and 732 he was attacking Damascus and Israel; in the former year he captured the northern districts of Israel (2 K 15^{29}), and in the latter year he achieved what his predecessor in the 9th century had attempted and failed to achieve, the capture of Damascus; the native sovereignty was abolished (17^{3}); Damascus became an Assyrian province. Ten years later, in consequence of Hoshea's withholding the annual tribute to Assyria (2 K 17^{4}), the same fate befell Samaria, after a protracted siege (724–722) conducted by Shalmaneser (727–722) and Sargon (722–705) successively. In accordance with the new Assyrian policy, the Israelites were carried captive to distant districts (Gozan, Media, etc.—2 K 17^{6}), while Babylonians, Cuthites, and others were settled in Samaria. Henceforward, instead of a kindred people, Judah had on its northern border,

which lay but an easy day's walk from Jerusalem, an Assyrian province and a mixed population (2 K 17^{24-41}).

67. In 720, Sargon quelled an important and extensive rising in Syria, which may have been instigated or fomented by Merodach-baladan of Babylon (see on ch. 39); he defeated Yaubidi of Ḥamath at Ḳarkar—the scene of an earlier victory of Shalmaneser II. (p. lxxiv)—and the combined forces of Ḥanno of Gaza and Sibe (Biblical So, or rather Sĕwĕ) of Muṣri (Egypt?: see § 68 f.) at Raphia, on the coast between Gaza and Egypt; perhaps also in the same campaign he inflicted defeat on Judah (but see above, p. lxxi n.).

In 715, Sargon (Annals, 97–99) subdued certain Arab tribes, and received tribute from, amongst others, Pir'u (? Pharaoh), king of Muṣur (? Egypt). It may be surmised that Judah did not remain uninterested in these events, but there is no evidence that in this year it took any active part in opposition to Sargon, or that Sargon came any nearer to Judah than Arabia.

In 711, by his Tartan (20[1]) rather than in person, Sargon quelled another rising, of which Ashdod was the centre, but in which not only Philistia, but also Moab, Edom, and Judah were concerned (see Sargon's Annals, 205–221; General Inscription, 90–110). Moreover, behind these Palestinian states stood, according to Is 20[1], Egypt and Ethiopia (מצרים and כוש); according to Sargon's inscriptions, Muṣur and Miluḫḫa, which have commonly likewise been equated with Egypt and Ethiopia.

68. In 712 (Breasted) the Ethiopian dynasty established its authority over, and at the same time brought union and increased strength to, Egypt. Till recently (see below) it was supposed that Sabako, the first of the Ethiopian kings of Egypt, succeeded to the throne as early as 728; on that hypothesis, now known to be erroneous, there was little difficulty in accounting for Egypt, or, as under the circumstances, it was quite natural to say, Ethiopia, intriguing with the Syrian states and inducing them to oppose Assyria; the identification of So (סוא, 2 K 17^4 MT), or rather Sĕwĕ (סֵוֵא, cp. Assyr. Sib'i), with Sabako, though frequently made, was always more questionable and, indeed, indefensible. Before the accession of the Ethiopian dynasty lies a period of great obscurity in Egyptian history, though this much may be said, that the Delta was at the time governed by a number of petty princes, and the Pharaoh of the lists who is mentioned immediately before Sabako is Bokchoris. It is possible, then, as Breasted even recently has written (*Hist. of Egypt*, 549 f.), that So (2 K 17^4) was "an otherwise unknown Delta dynast," that "unable to oppose the formidable armies of Assyria, the petty kinglets of Egypt constantly fomented discontent and revolt among the Syro-Palestinian states, in

order, if possible, to create a fringe of buffer states between them and the Assyrians," possible also that the "Pir'u, king of Muṣur," of Sargon's record of 715 B.C. was Bokchoris, who in that case is mentioned by his title (Pharaoh) instead of his proper name; just as Hebrew writers use the expression, not found in Egyptian, "Pharaoh, king of Egypt" (*e.g.* 36^6 n., cp. F. Ll. Griffith, in *DB*, *s.v.* "Pharaoh").

Alt (*Israel u. Aegypten*, pp. 44 ff.) conceives the situation somewhat differently: according to him, the pressure of Ethiopia on Egypt, which had already become severe in the time of the Ethiopian Pi'ankhi (from about 741 B.C. according to Breasted's chronology, or earlier according to others), had brought about a certain reaction against the gradual dissolution of the Egyptian kingdom into a large number of petty princedoms, especially in the Delta, that marked the period of the 22nd and 23rd dynasties (*c.* 945–*c.* 718, Breasted). The Pi'ankhi stelé (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 860–883) reveals Tefnakhte of Sais, whose son Bokchoris became the sole ruler of the 24th dynasty, as exercising a supremacy over the Delta princes, and as so far anticipating that renewed unity of Egypt which certainly marks the time of the Ethiopian dynasty. Under these circumstances, Tefnakhte may already have exercised sufficient political far-sightedness to have perceived the danger threatening Egypt from Assyria, and to have provoked the Palestinian states to oppose the Assyrian advances.

But there are certainly here unsolved, or but partially solved, problems; and Winckler, and after him others, have sought quite another way out.

69. As early as 1893, Winckler, in *Altor. Forschungen*, i. 24 ff., argued that the Assyrian Muṣur and the Hebrew Miṣraim in many cases meant not Egypt, but "the country abutting on Edom, the later Nabataea." In his earlier or later discussions of the subject, accordingly, Sibe, the ally of Ḥanno of Gaza, becomes an Arab sheikh, and Pir'u (cp. the Sabaean פרע יהב), king of Muṣur in 715, is Arabian not Egyptian; it is again the Arabian people whom Pir'u ruled, and not Egypt under the new Ethiopian dynasty, that stand behind the revolting Palestinians in 711 and even in 701; Egypt first co-operates with Palestine under Tirhakah in the (hypothetical) second campaign of Sennacherib in Palestine about 691 B.C. (see § 70). The theory that the Assyrian Muṣur and the Hebrew מצרים may refer not only to Egypt, but also to a district in North Arabia, has also been presented by others; various forms of the theory and various conclusions drawn from it may be studied in H. Winckler, *Altor. Forschungen* (1893), i. 24–41, *Muṣri-Meluḫḫa*, *Ma'in* (1898), *KAT*^{3} (1903), 67, 70–72, 136–151, 172, 273 (see also Index, *s.v.* Muṣri), *Die jüngsten Kämpfer wider den Panbabylonismus* (1907); F. Hommel, *Vier neue Arabische Landschaftsnamen*; T. K. Cheyne, *Mizraim*, in *EBi.* iii. (1902), and, e.g., *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* (1907), xi f., 171–173; *Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah* (1908), xiii ff., xli f., 88; *The Two Religions of Israel* (1911), pp. 335, 345, 356–361 (see also references in Index to *Miṣrim* in the three works last named). It is not without significance that Breasted in his *History of Egypt* is able to dispense with the theory of the North Arabian Muṣri, and that Ed. Meyer (*Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906), 455–471) decisively and totally rejects the theory; see also against the theory in its application to the times of

Isaiah, Fr. Küchler, *Die Stellung des Propheten Jesaja zur Politik seiner Zeit* (1906); A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the days of Sargon of Assyria* (1908), pp. 56–71. A. Alt in his survey of the relations between Israel and Egypt in the time of Isaiah (*Israel u. Aegypten*, 1909, pp. 41–87), while admitting Pir'u, king of Muṣur in 715 B.C. (Sargon, *Annals*, 97), to be an Arabian, limits the significance of the Arabian Muṣur, and allows far more for the activity of Egypt in Palestine than do most of those who admit the existence of a kingdom of Muṣur in Arabia.

Fortunately for the understanding of Isaiah, it is of relatively little importance whether between 720 and 701 B.C. the power that kept stirring up the Palestinian states was Egypt, the history of which country immediately prior to 712 is obscure, or Muṣur in North Arabia, of which, as an independent kingdom in Arabia sufficiently important to divide with Assyria the interests of Palestinian states, nothing is known for certain, and which, *perhaps*, has never enjoyed more than a speculative existence.

70. Sennacherib, Sargon's successor, had also once at least to secure Assyrian authority in Syria by force: in 701, Philistia and Judah at the instigation, not of an Arabian kingdom of Muṣur or Meluḥḥa (Wi.), but of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt, were in revolt. In two respects Sennacherib's campaign, which was undertaken to suppress this revolt, was not an unqualified success: victory over the Egyptians at Eltekeh was not followed up by an invasion of Egypt itself, and Jerusalem, though it was besieged, was not captured. Nevertheless Judah, in common with the rest of Syria, remained tributary to Assyria. According to a hypothesis which would explain the allusion to Tirhakah in 37^{9}, Sennacherib was again called back to Syria (*c.* 690 B.C.): the nearest support for this hypothesis in Assyrian sources is an account of a campaign against Arabia, the date of which is unknown, but which may have taken place about 690.

This campaign was already known by allusions to it in inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Asshurbanipal, when in 1904 (*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, cols. 69, 70), Scheil announced the discovery of an inscription of Sennacherib describing the campaign. This inscription was published by Ungnad, in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, i. 77 ff.; and in a translation, for which I am indebted to Prof. R. W. Rogers, it runs as follows: "Telhunu, the queen of Arabia, in the desert, from her I took away a thousand camels. The fear of my dominion cast her down, and Ḥazail also. They left their tents and fled to Adummatu, whose location is in the desert, a place of thirst, where there is neither provision nor place to drink." If from Arabia, Sennacherib (who is himself described in Herod. (ii. 141) as "king of the Arabians and of the Assyrians," and whose army, as the "army of the Arabians"), somewhat repeating his movements of 701, advanced on, without entering, Egypt, and also attacked Judah, it would be possible to

regard the different narratives which, it is clear, have been combined in chs. 36 f. (see Comm.), as narratives of different events and not different and discordant narratives of the same event, and also to justify the allusion to "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia" (37[9]); Tirhakah was not king of Ethiopia in 701, he was king in or soon after 694. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether either Hezekiah or Isaiah, who are also associated with the narrative that refers to Tirhakah, were alive in 690; Isaiah would probably at that time have been between 70 and 80 years of age. Some further discussion of these points will be found in the discussion of chs. 36 f. in the Comm.

71. Since the Egyptian chronology comes into consideration on several occasions, it may be convenient briefly to indicate here the grounds on which, contrary to earlier views, the date of Tirhakah's accession can be fixed with certainty as falling after 701 B.C., and consequently the beginning of the Ethiopian dynasty as falling about 712 or 714 B.C., and not as early as 728.

According to a Serapeum stele (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 959), an Apis died at the age of 21 years, 2 months, 7 days, on the 21st day of the 12th month of the 20th year of Psamtik: since according to the same stele the Apis was born in the 26th year of Tirhakah, Tirhakah's reign cannot have exceeded 27 years. Now Tirhakah was certainly still alive and king in 668–667, for Asshurbanipal, who became king of Assyria in 668, defeated Tirhakah in his first campaign; Asshurbanipal also states of Tirhakah (Rassam Cylinder, ii. 21; *KB* ii. p. 166 f.), *il-lik šimat mu-ši-šu, his night-fate came* (*upon him*), which should mean that Tirhakah was not only defeated at that time, but died. In that case the year of Tirhakah's succession is 694–693; it cannot have been earlier. Some Egyptologists, disregarding this interpretation of the Assyrian inscription, and reckoning back 138 years, a number obtained from calculations based on data given in the Egyptian records (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 1026–1029) from the close of the 26th dynasty in 525 B.C., obtain 663 as the date of Psamtik I.'s accession and Tirhakah's death; this gives 689–688 as the date of Tirhakah's accession.

The years of accession of Tirhakah's immediate predecessors, Sabako and Shabataka, the first two kings of the Ethiopian dynasty, cannot be so closely determined by the inscriptions. But from an inscription that mentions year 3 of Shabataka, it appears that Shabataka's third year was near 700 B.C. (Breasted, iv. 887; and cp. 452 n. *c*). Manetho assigns to Sabako 8, to Shabataka 14 years—in all 22 years; Syncellus 12 years to each of these kings—in all 24 years. Thus the earliest date, that rests on any evidence, for the beginning of the Ethiopian dynasty is 24 years before 694–693, *i.e.* 718–717; Breasted's dates are 712 B.C. for Sabako, 700 for Shabataka.

Bokchoris, who immediately preceded Sabako, reigned at least 6 years, exactly the period stated by Africanus (44 according to Syncellus).

72. The ultimate goal of the Assyrian advance resumed by Tiglath-pileser IV. and his successors was first attained after the lifetime of Isaiah: after an apparently unsuccessful invasion of Egypt in 676, Esarhaddon captured Memphis in 671, and Assurbanipal took Thebes in 667.

73. This rapid sketch may serve to make clear the political conditions under which Isaiah lived, and to which not a little of the form of his teaching is due. Briefly, Isaiah's public life coincided with the first half of the period of 80 years from the accession of Tiglath-pileser to the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, during which the Assyrian advance westwards and supremacy in the West was, though at first resisted, unchecked: conquered districts never permanently recovered their independence, tributary states never permanently escaped the necessity of paying tribute: for example, Damascus never recovered the independence which it lost in 732, nor did the retreat of Sennacherib release Judah from tribute.

§§ 74–89. *Isaiah as Prophet and Teacher.*

74. Isaiah appears from the first to have discerned the meaning and issue of the new spirit and policy (§ 63) of Assyria, and to have realised the fruitlessness of political combinations against that power: he was certainly convinced of the wrongness of Judah in taking any part in them. Against all such combinations, of which there was no lack, he consistently set himself. No one who instigated these combinations, whether as at one time it was Merodach-baladan (721–709 B.C., and also 702 B.C.) of Babylon (cp. ch. 39), or as at others one of the kings of the Ethiopian dynasty which established its authority over Egypt about 712 B.C. (§ 71), or, as it may have been earlier, one of the Delta chieftains who divided authority in Egypt prior to 712, or, as some think, the rulers of a region in Arabia called Muṣur (§ 69), counted against Assyria: they were one and all helpless and useless (cp. ch. 20).

The only, yet at the same time an overwhelming, counterweight to Assyria was not political, nor human: it was the power and purpose of Yahweh. Yahweh was using Assyria to achieve His purpose (10^5): so long as Assyria carried out that purpose no powers would avail against it: as soon as Assyria overstepped its commission, it, too, must go down before the greater power of Yahweh (10^{5-17}). Not man, but God determines history—that is the key-note to Isaiah's political action and advice; not by clever alliances, but by watching for and quietly carrying out the will of Yahweh is the true welfare of the state to be secured.

The advance of Assyria was, according to Isaiah, by the will of Yahweh; that advance would necessarily entail the withdrawal of the Syro-Ephraimitish army from Jerusalem, therefore let Ahaz and his people put away their fear of Syria and Ephraim (ch. 7), nor pay Assyria to do what it will assuredly do, unpaid by them: such seems to have been Isaiah's advice in 735, and if so it included a condemnation of Ahaz in becoming voluntarily, and while as yet there was no need, a tributary to Assyria, in seeking by political action instead of reliance on Yahweh to escape the attack of the combined forces of Ephraim and Damascus. But, once the step had been taken, Isaiah judged it to be the will of Yahweh that Judah should remain tributary, and certainly that it should not attempt to escape that tribute by yielding to the invitations, whether of Egypt, or Babylon, or its neighbours in Palestine, to revolt. Finally, though it was the will of Yahweh that Assyria should punish not only Ephraim but Judah too, it was (if we may trust the popular biographical stories of the prophet in chs. 36–39) the will of Yahweh, as Isaiah read it, that Jerusalem should not be taken by Sennacherib; consequently in 701 he is as confident that the Assyrians will not capture Jerusalem as he had been in 735 that the Syro-Ephraimitish army would not do so; and he counsels Hezekiah accordingly. But though on the one occasion he was convinced that Raṣon, and on the other that Sennacherib, would not capture Jerusalem, it is quite another question whether he ever abandoned his belief that the sin of Judah would lead Yahweh to destroy His people and their land (§§ 85–87).

75. In 735, Isaiah appears to have appraised at its true worth the condition of Ephraim and Syria, and in 701 (and ? 711) the promises of Egypt. Whether his diagnosis of the political situation was at other times and in all respects equally correct, or his policy of non-intervention always politically sound, is a secondary question. And not only is it a secondary question; it may, if it is not kept in its place, very seriously obscure what is of primary significance in the life and character of Isaiah. Isaiah is of "the goodly fellowship of the prophets"; and consequently how far he secured the safety of the Jewish state at the time, and so secured its continued existence for another century, is of little moment; what is all-important to determine, so far as we can, is his faithfulness and fruitfulness as a teacher sent from

God: what had he himself learned from God, what did he teach his own age, and what through it has he contributed to man's increasing knowledge and consciousness of God?

76. These questions can be answered up to a point; but, owing to the uncertainty that hangs over many questions of the literary origin of much of Is 1–39 (§§ 8–43), they cannot with advantage be pursued into the detail that has sometimes been attempted. Here, at all events, no fresh elaborate attempt will be made to trace development in Isaiah's conceptions and teaching, to bring to light conflicting conceptions in his view of the future, for example, or in his judgment of Assyria, and then to determine the chronological sequence of the changes. All the more elaborate structures of Isaiah's "theology" rest of necessity on shifting and insecure foundations; even if it were certain, and it is not, that passages such as 11^{1-8} 9^{1-6} 32^{1-8} were the work of Isaiah at all, it is altogether uncertain at what period of his life he composed them, and how he came by, or how he modified, his conceptions of a Messiah.*

77. If there is one passage in which, above all others, we may feel certain that Isaiah speaks to us in his own words, it is ch. 6; and that chapter, in spite, if not also in some measure in virtue, of its brevity, clearly reveals to us a personality of great spiritual depth and moral power. And this revelation, though in that case the name of the person revealed would be unknown, would remain, even if any one cared to question Isaiah's authorship of the chapter. As a matter of fact, there is no ground for raising such a question, or for doubting that we owe that chapter and much else in the Book of Isaiah to one and the same person. But, in attempting a synthesis of Isaiah's character and teaching, it will be well to start from, and at every possible point to return to, this record. We are not at liberty to affirm that nothing that

* For theories of changing expectations of the future attributed to Isaiah, see, *e.g.*, B. Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875), pp. 158–168 (in some respects modified in his *Comm.*, 1892); H. Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia* (1885), a theory withdrawn in *Jesaia* (*Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*), 1907; F. Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik* (1890), pp. 76–84; H. Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia* (1893). Cp. also G. A. Smith, *DB* ii. 489–491, and also in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, 1907 (July), pp. 2 ff., where, *inter alia*, the reason of Guthe's modification of his earlier complex theory is criticised. See also *Exp.*, 1904, pp. 330–342. On Isaiah's attitude towards Assyria, see F. Wilke's *Jesaia u. Assur*, 1905.

finds no expression here was ever elsewhere expressed by Isaiah; but the more clearly whatever else claims to be Isaiah's can be related to this chapter, the more confident may we feel that the claim is good.

78. Isaiah, though a prophet and a pioneer in religious experience and the apprehension of religious truth, was none the less, and indeed necessarily and naturally, the child of his people's past, the inheritor of their beliefs and experience. To him, as to them, Ṣion had been pre-eminently the place of Yahweh's earthly abode (8^{16}; cp. 8^{6} n.) from the time that David, the chosen of Yahweh, had encamped there (29^{1}), and by Yahweh's power, then and there manifested, had wrested it from the Jebusites (2 S $5^{4\text{-}10}$ 6).* But the hereditary belief of childhood became the conviction begotten of personal experience; it was in Ṣion that Isaiah himself saw with his own eyes Yahweh seated on His throne in royal state ($6^{1\text{ff.}}$). Again, to Isaiah, as to his countrymen, the people of Israel, both (8^{14}) Judah and the tribes of the now separate Northern kingdom, were connected by special and peculiar ties with Yahweh; they were Yahweh's family (1^{2}), Yahweh's people (1^{3}), compared with whom others were aliens (1^{7}); they were His treasure and carefully tended possession ($5^{1\text{-}7}$). And so in turn Yahweh was peculiarly the possession of Israel: the people recognised the existence of gods of other nations as well of their own, and, when necessary, distinguished Yahweh by the term God of Israel (cp. *e.g.* Jg $11^{21\text{-}24}$); Isaiah's favourite term for Yahweh is a modification of this older term, and it retains (though with a difference (see below)) the suggestion of Yahweh's special relation to Israel: Yahweh is the Holy One of Israel. It is unnecessary to attempt any complete catalogue of popular beliefs, such as that in Seraphim (6^{2}), which find expression in Isaiah. The two that have been more particularly referred to are important for this reason: though Isaiah rises above the old limited thought of God which confined Him in the range of His presence and the extent of His authority, he retains what there was of permanent value in the belief in the local manifestation of deity and His connection with a single people; a more exalted conception of God did not rob Isaiah of the great intensity of the limited popular belief; God does not cease to be

* These passages are derived from a Jewish work probably already ancient in the time of Isaiah, and familiar to him.

near because He is also afar off (10^3 n.); nor, again, because He is God of all, does Yahweh cease to claim the special service of a nation or an individual; nor, because His glory fills the whole world, does He cease to be intensely personal, communing as a person with His servants the prophets, and still therefore best described in that anthropomorphic and anthropopathic language which had its roots in those more limited religious beliefs, in which the personal qualities of a god, and the devotion of his worshippers to him, were accentuated by his relations or conflicts with other and similar deities.

79. But Isaiah is not only the child of his people, he is the child also of the new prophetic movement which began while he was still a boy (§ 58). There is no direct allusion, it is true, in any of Isaiah's prophecies to either Amos or Hosea, and not very much that can be said to be unmistakably due to either of these two older prophets; but there is too much resemblance in the fundamental positions of all three prophets for it to be probable that, in a small country, no knowledge of the earlier passed to and influenced the later. Only this must be added: Isaiah, though, unlike Amos (7^{14}), he did not refuse the title prophet (8^3), was no prophet of the school; he did not repeat, merely because he approved, what he had heard about Amos' preaching at Bethel, or what he had read in some fly-sheet containing the substance of Hosea's teaching. It is probable enough that he was familiar with what Amos had taught and Hosea was teaching before the crucial day in the year of Uzziah's death; but he first began to say with power the same things, or to treat of similar themes, after that day on which he saw Yahweh, and heard and obeyed His call to service (ch. 6). Even before his call, as we may well believe, there had been added, in the mind of Isaiah, to the old and limited conceptions which he had received in childhood from his natural kinsmen or ordinary acquaintance, some of the new and wider conceptions of spiritual kinsmen such as Amos and Hosea; and all these conceptions, popular and prophetic alike, were fused by his own personal experience, as recorded in ch. 6, into a vital unity, which became Yahweh's message through him to his people.

80. The vision that showed Yahweh seated in Ṣion convinced Isaiah also that the whole earth was the sphere of Yahweh's action (6^3); the sin of Israel ($6^{5.\ 9ff.}$), Yahweh's own

peculiar people, is seen as a blot in the world-enveloping blaze of Yahweh's glory; the weakness and meanness of man and of all that man relies on for help, or looks up to as lofty and majestic, is seen in heightened relief against the absolutely unrivalled majesty and the inaccessible exaltation of Yahweh (6^{1-5} 2^{6-19} $31^{1f.}$). Neither here nor elsewhere does Isaiah take occasion to assert with precision, like the later Jewish prophet ($45^{5.\ 18.\ 22}$), that there is no God but Yahweh, or, like Muḥammed, that there is no God but the (one) God; yet his conception of Yahweh leaves no room for any other being of the same class (cp. $2^{17f.}$); the world that is full of Yahweh's glory has no room left in which to reflect the glory of any other God; and if Assyria is Yahweh's instrument ($10^{5ff.}$), made merely to serve His purpose, or, failing to do so, to be by Him destroyed, there is no place for any gods of Assyria to control and guide that nation. The images, whether of Yahweh or of other gods, which abounded in Judah (2^{8}), and commanded the devotion of the people, are of no real value and quite powerless to help (2^{18}: cp. 2^{8} n.); and the same is true of the spirits that were supposed to haunt trees and gardens ($1^{29f.}$: cp. 17^{10}), and of the spirits whom the necromancers consulted (8^{19}). But whether Isaiah denied all reality of existence to national gods other than Yahweh, or whether he assigned to them some subordinate position in Yahweh's world government, we cannot determine with certainty. In this virtual monotheism, Isaiah was anticipated by Amos. Into a fuller discussion of its origin and nature it is not possible to enter here. But two things may be said: (1) this apprehension of the greatness and uniqueness of Yahweh, carrying with it the total disregard of, if not absolute disbelief in, the gods of other nations, was the accompaniment not of national aggrandisement, but of national decline; it was the very men who perceived beforehand the approaching doom of Israel and the destruction of its existence as a nation who also believed and taught that Yahweh so controlled the entire world that no room was left for any other divine controllers; and the fact that in the course of his ministry the larger part of Yahweh's people perished or were exiled from their land, and that the Northern kingdom ceased to be, never led Isaiah to waver in his conviction that Yahweh alone was exalted and great. In earlier times and to the great bulk of Isaiah's contemporaries Israel seemed as necessary to Yahweh as

Yahweh was to Israel; in Isaiah's thought Israel owed everything to Yahweh (1^{3}), and through Him alone could be; Yahweh, on the other hand, was in no way dependent on Israel, but would rather vindicate His greatness by Himself destroying His people since they had turned away from Him, and become incurably sinful and corrupt ($6^{9\text{-}13}$: cp. §§ 83–87). (2) But if the increased sense of the greatness of the God of Israel, and the new sense of His uniqueness which characterises the prophetic teaching in general and Isaiah's in particular, was in no way the reflection of an increase in the national strength and fame of Israel, so neither was it the outcome of speculation on the fusion of peoples and of a common principle lying behind all their deities. The new prophetic conception of Yahweh is no abstraction from qualities common to Yahweh the god of Israel, and Chemosh the god of Moab, or the gods of the conquering Assyrians. And the prophetic conception of Yahweh is as distinct and different from the monistic speculations which appear to have arisen in Babylon, as it is from the old popular Hebrew religion. There may be room to question the absoluteness, and certainly the explicitness, of the monotheism of the prophets of the 8th century; there can be no doubt of the intensity with which they apprehended Yahweh as a distinct and living personality. He is to them not power, but person; not the lowest common measure of all known deities, but a personal God whose activity comprehends all that seemed to them worthy in the activity which other nations had attributed to their several gods.

81. On one occasion Isaiah had been allowed to see Yahweh; but not every day, nor, so far as we know, ever again after the first occasion, did Isaiah see Yahweh as he had seen Him then; yet what he had once seen he must have known to be always there, though by no means there alone; the power that ruled the world was Yahweh, and Yahweh dwelt in Jerusalem—unseen (cp. 18^{4}), unheard, unrecognised even or misunderstood, and the might of His quiet working utterly unsuspected (8^{6} n.), by those whose ears were heavy and whose eyes closed, and whose heart was without understanding ($6^{10f.}$ $5^{11f.}$); and dwelling there He was working out His plan, which would prove to be to the confusion and destruction of those who, regardless of it and reckless of what was not seen, formed plans of their own ($30^{1f.\ 15}$), associating themselves with and trusting in flesh and not spirit,

in what was human and not in what was divine (30^{3} 31^{1-3}: 8^{12-15}: ct. 28^{16-18}). Isaiah is certain of Yahweh; from him the quietness of His action, and the fact that He waits His time (18^{4}), does not conceal (ct. $5^{18f.}$) the all-sufficient power and wisdom that will carry through the line of action on which He has decided. Yahweh is to him not only the Supreme Power in the World, but also the consistent Purpose which works itself out in human history, yet supreme power and consistent purpose in a person; "a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness" would be a correct translation into abstract language of Isaiah's thought, but certainly a translation and, moreover, a translation which Isaiah could not and would not have made himself. To Isaiah, Yahweh is as personal as the politicians of his day: he can compare them: each has his plan; but the plan of the politicians is doomed to failure, because it has no power behind it; because it is not only unrelated to, but opposed to the wisdom and power that reside in Yahweh, and are directed against iniquity. Cp. 30^{1-5} 31^{1-3}; also $5^{11f.}$ $28^{21f.}$ and if, or in so far as, the work of Isaiah, $10^{12.\ 23}$ $14^{24.\ 26f.}$ 22^{11}.

82. The consummation and manifestation of Yahweh's plan was expected at a definite time, which Isaiah, as Amos before him and many since his day, expected in the near, even the immediate, future. Isaiah (2^{6-19}) follows Amos in using the old popular phrase, "the day of Yahweh," with a meaning quite opposed to that which the people generally put upon it;* the people expected on that day help from their national God, the God of Israel, and consequent prosperity (Am 5^{18-20}); Amos and Isaiah, to whom Yahweh was God of righteousness first and God of Israel only second, and in so far as the national relation was not inconsistent with the moral, expected on that day disaster to Israel; Isaiah pictures it as manifesting the unique exaltation of Yahweh, and convicting men of the uselessness of all other sources of help but Him. He whom Isaiah called the Holy One of Israel, unlike the God of Israel of the popular thought, does not work necessarily, and under the present conditions certainly does not work at all, for the prosperity of

* Gressmann argues that the conception of the Day of Yahweh as a day of disaster for Israel was not a creation of the prophets, but that they only ethicised a previously existing popular belief in a coming world-catastrophe (*Isr. jüd. Eschatologie*, pp. 142 ff.).

Israel; He will manifest His holiness by securing righteousness and destroying, if need be, the entire people of Israel in order to secure this (5^{16}: cp. *e.g.* 5^{5-7}).

83. Yahweh was God controlling the whole world, and working out in the history of mankind a consistent plan that would establish and secure righteousness: such was Isaiah's belief: how does his favourite term for God, "the Holy One of Israel," stand related to it? The term, as we have seen, is, in respect of its national limitation, rooted in the old, popular, national religion; and so also, of course, is the first part of the term intimately associated with early and even primitive religion. "Holy" (קדוש) is a word which was originally, and in certain connections remained to the end, completely destitute of moral import (*Numbers*, pp. 209–211); but just as Amos gave, or restored to, the "Day of Yahweh" a meaning which it had never had, or had practically lost, in popular usage, and just as Hosea charged with spiritual meaning the conception of the marriage of the deity which in the popular religion was fouled with the basest associations, so Isaiah, out of a term that was at best ethically neutral and a definition that suggested national limitation, created a phrase that served him well in expressing a conception of God intensely moral and free from national limitations. It has been acutely observed* that it was the very emptiness in respect of ethical meaning of the term holy that enabled Isaiah to charge it with his own deep ethical conception of God. In itself it denotes not a particular personal quality, but rather the essential nature of deity; whatever is god, or related to, or set apart for the service of the gods, is holy; if, therefore, the conception of god is unethical, or non-ethical, so also are the associations of the term holy; but if the conception of God is ethical, so also are the associations of the term: "the Holy God hath shown himself holy in righteousness" (5^{16}). "Yahweh of Hosts" (and that which is related to Him) exhausts for Isaiah the idea of holiness (6^{3}): there are for him no other holy gods; the Holy One of Israel is the God who formed and revealed Himself to and guided Israel; He is also the One God whose glory fills the world.

The Holy One of Israel is, then, not limited by needing

* Cp. *e.g.* W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[2], 225; Davidson, *Ezekiel*, xxxix f.; Skinner, xlvi.

Israel; His glory shines apart from Israel. Nay more, the very closeness of the relation between Yahweh and Israel can only mean the more necessary and more immediate destruction of Israel, if Israel is unholy, unfit through unrighteousness to be associated with Yahweh.

84. And what constituted holiness in Israel? what were the qualities or conditions that made the approach of Israel tolerable to Yahweh or safe to Israel? Not that they should come having scrupulously observed laws of ceremonial cleanness, not that they should come with hands full of presents of sacrificial animals for Yahweh; they showed zeal enough and to spare in honouring Yahweh thus in accordance with ancient custom and prescription (29^{13}) and ancient thought of what pleased Yahweh. But the Holy One of Israel was indifferent to these things; He loathed hands stained with the blood of murder, however full of sacrificial presents; He desired justice which He did not find, not sacrifice with which He was satiated (1^{11-13} 5^{7}). It is not necessary to conclude that Isaiah regarded sacrifice as positively offensive and intolerable to God under all conditions, but he regards it as something that Yahweh does not require, and that in no way palliates the sin of those who offer it; Israel has gone deep in rebellion against God, and the multiplication of sacrifices, so far from being proof of renewed loyalty, merely affords fresh evidence that the nation is without knowledge of Yahweh.

The conviction of the sin of Yahweh's people and the destruction which it necessarily involved, in addition to the vitalising and deepening of his conception of God, was the chief result to Isaiah of his vision. But what more exactly did his conviction involve? With what view of the future of his nation did Isaiah undertake his prophetic mission? Did he remain constant to that view throughout? These questions have received, and, till the literary origin of several passages can be determined with greater certainty than at present, are likely to receive, different answers. All that will be attempted here is to bring out the salient ideas that must be duly weighed in attempting any answer, and to indicate some of the uncertainties.

85. That the Holy One of Israel being righteous cannot tolerate unrighteousness, but will destroy the unrighteous, is a fundamental conviction with Isaiah. But there certainly goes along with this a belief in the grace and forgiveness of Yahweh.

Both these points are illustrated by the vision: feeling his sin and uncleanness, Isaiah immediately awakes to the danger of the sight which he has seen, the Holy presence in which he stands; "then cried I, Woe is me! for I am undone: for I am a man of unclean lips . . . for it is the king, Yahweh of Hosts, whom my eyes have seen"; but with the awakened consciousness of sin, and recognition of its offensiveness to the Holy Yahweh of Hosts, comes immediately the sense of forgiveness; the seraph touches his unclean lips with the burning coal, and assures him that his iniquity will pass away from him and his sin be expiated. Freed from his sin, not by sacrifice or outward rite learned from men, but by the free grace of Yahweh meeting him at once as he turns away in horror from his sin to Yahweh, he is not exposed to the destructive reaction of Yahweh's righteousness against sin.

But Isaiah associates with his danger not only his own personal sin, but the sin of his people: "I am dwelling in the midst of a people of unclean lips." It might have seemed a natural sequel if Isaiah had received a commission to awaken the people to a similar sense of Yahweh's presence in their midst and of their sin, and, consequently, of the imminence of destruction, unless they repented and received forgiveness. But this is not the actual sequel in the vision: Yahweh, in the words of the commission, tacitly accepts Isaiah's admission of the people's sin; He does not dwell on it, but only on the fact that the people will, sinning on, remain blind to the consequences of sin, and, therefore, suffer those consequences to the full: Israel will perish, and the land of Israel will be desolated. And Israel, the people who are to perish, must be understood as including both houses of Israel, and certainly Judah; the meaning of ch. 6 must not be blunted by limiting the people whose destruction is determined to those of the Northern kingdom; see n. on 6^{9}.

86. But the possibility of forgiveness and riddance from sin which Isaiah had personally experienced, he assuredly did not limit to himself; not in the vision itself, but in the name which he gave his eldest son very shortly after his call (7^{3} n.), we find this more directly implied, unless indeed, which is not very likely, Shear-yashub is, as some have supposed, a name of purely sinister meaning. Isaiah, then, anticipated that a remnant of

individuals, a small part of the whole of Israel, would return to Yahweh, be forgiven, and become quit of their sin.

How then did these ideas of the irremediable moral condition of the people necessarily involving the destruction of the nation, and of a Remnant that should return in penitence to Yahweh, work themselves out in Isaiah's teaching?

87. The belief in the imminent and certain destruction of the people is by no means limited to the narrative of the vision; it was expressed in the name given by Isaiah to his second son Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz (8^2 n.), and was implicit even in the name of Shear-yashub—the remnant that returns is but the remnant of a larger part that perishes; and the same belief, clearly in relation to Judah, is the theme, for example, of the parable of the Vineyard (5^{1-7}), and again it is expressed in what is commonly understood to be the latest of Isaiah's utterances, "Surely this iniquity shall not be expiated for you till ye die," 22^{14}. So far as the Northern kingdom is concerned, there is nothing to suggest that Isaiah ever expected that more than a few individuals (17^6) would escape destruction: see 9^7–$10^4 + 5^{26\text{-}29}$ $17^{1\text{-}11}$ $28^{1\text{-}4}$. On the other hand, at times he certainly seems to have held that Judah would survive at least the perils *immediately threatening her*; so at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish war (735 B.C.) he maintained against the King and Court that Jerusalem had nothing to fear from the invaders ($7^{1\text{-}16}$); and, if we admit $37^{(21\text{-})35}$, in 701 B.C. Isaiah maintained that Sennacherib would not enter Jerusalem, because Yahweh would defend it for His own sake and for David's sake. It would be quite unsafe to press the reason given in this narrative (which is not the work of Isaiah, but an account based on popular tradition) for Isaiah's belief that Jerusalem would not fall to Sennacherib: if he held that belief, we may more safely seek the reasons in $10^{5\text{ff.}}$: the Assyrians were not to capture Jerusalem, because their disregard of Yahweh's commission must be punished by ill-success. But Isaiah's conviction, after being justified by the event, may well have made a deep impression on the popular mind: it may have formed the basis of the popular stories that gathered round this period of his work, while his own reasons for his conviction were forgotten and other less welcome elements in his teaching passed out of the popular mind; and this may account for the fact that Jeremiah's defenders appeal not to Isaiah, but to Micah as an earlier prophet

who had predicted the fall of Jerusalem and yet been left unmolested. A conviction of Isaiah that Jerusalem would not fall on a particular occasion and under particular circumstances went, all against the intention of the prophet, to strengthen the popular dogma that on no occasion and under no circumstances would Jerusalem fall, because Yahweh must defend His own.

Unless Isaiah changed the fundamental conviction that underlies the narrative of the vision, he must have held throughout that the only way to safety for Jerusalem lay in a return to Yahweh and the establishment of righteousness. Certainly the terms of Yahweh's commission in the vision do not hold out the hope that Isaiah's preaching will bring about the repentance of the people and the safety of the state; but in spite of this a conditional promise underlies some of the sayings of the prophet, and other sayings which at least cannot be clearly shown to be not his: see 1^{19} (and perhaps also 1^{18} (n.)) 7^{9} 30^{15}. But the condition *implicit* in 7^{9}—If ye believe, ye shall be established—was not fulfilled: Ahaz and his people did not "believe": and by this further disloyalty to Yahweh they drew destruction nearer, not at the hands of the Syrians and Ephraimites, indeed, whom, as the prophet warned them, they needlessly feared, but at the hand of the Assyrians (8^{6-8}). So later, while Isaiah insisted that no harm would befall the city from Sennacherib, he may have held, and apparently did (22^{14}) hold, that harm would befall it from another quarter, unless they repented. Whether he expected that the disaster would in this case be due to the direct interposition of Yahweh we cannot say; but it is altogether improbable that Isaiah believed that Assyria by its arrogance, and consequent unfitness to be any longer Yahweh's instrument of punishment, had left Yahweh without other means of punishing and destroying His own sinful people.

88. Beyond the judgment, Isaiah looked to the establishment of a new Ṣion where the corrupt and unjust judges and the faithless counsellors of the present would be replaced by just judges and faithful counsellors, and the whole community would be righteous and loyal to Yahweh (1^{26}): cp. 28^{16-18}. Out of the remnant would arise (cp. 8^{17}) a new state.

Yahweh does not need Israel, the actual sinful people; nay, His righteousness must destroy them: but it will also re-create out of those who by their righteousness come out of the fire of

judgment a new state—in Ṣion. The influence of his time and people on Isaiah (§ 78) may still be seen; it leads him to place the new state in Ṣion; but there is nothing here inconsistent with the conviction that the Holy One of Israel, being resident in Ṣion, must destroy the existing city and society.*

89. How far and in what way did Isaiah elaborate his conception of the life in Ṣion after the judgment? The question turns on the criticism of passages like 9^{1-6} 11^{1-8} 30^{19-26} 32^{1-8} 33; the view taken in the Commentary is that none of these passages can be assigned with certainty to Isaiah, that several of them are for various reasons more or less clearly not his work: under these circumstances, reference should be made to the commentary on the various passages for the more elaborate details of the future which are to be found in them.

But a few general remarks may be made here:

(1) Though unquestionably Isaiah was in the first instance a prophet of judgment, and his narrative of the vision contains no word of promise, or any suggestion of a happier future and the establishment of a righteous society beyond judgment, it would be quite unreasonable, even if there were no evidence at all to the contrary, such as 1^{26}, to infer that his mind never dwelt on the ideal which should be the very opposite of the present state. With his conception of Yahweh, and especially of Yahweh's work in history, His carefully-maturing plans, he could not well have thought that Yahweh's work would be complete with the destruction first of Israel and then of arrogant Assyria. Yahweh looked for righteousness (5^{7}): but if, as assuredly He would do, He destroyed the people whom He had chosen that they might produce it, but to whom He had looked for it in vain, He would renew His work of choice and construction till He obtained the righteous society of His desire. Nothing could be more natural than that the idea of a righteous state on earth should possess Isaiah; and if so, nothing again could be more natural than for him to place it in Ṣion, where Yahweh dwelt (§§ 78, 88). And this is precisely what he does in 1^{21-26}, where the picture of the ideal state is most intimately and closely connected with the picture and condemnation of the actual city. Unfortunately none of the

* It is probable that G. A. Smith (*DB* ii. 490) considerably overstates Isaiah's conviction when he says, "There was no other way for a spiritual community to exist in Isaiah's day except through the security of Jerusalem."

other passages that deal with this ideal future are thus intimately connected with the condemnation of the present. This, of course, is not proof that such passages are not the work of Isaiah, but it does distinctly weaken the positive grounds for holding that they are.

(2) Many of the passages in question are attached to prophecies of judgment without being organically connected with them. In these cases it would be difficult to believe that in one and the same speech Isaiah drew alarming pictures of coming disaster and bright pictures of coming glory, without in any way marking or defining the relation between them. But again this is not in itself necessary proof that the passages of promise are not the work of Isaiah: the present arrangement may be due to editors. At the same time, it is perhaps remarkable that 1^{21-26} stands almost alone in organically connecting the two ideas.

(3) There were probably two sides to Isaiah's activity: he spoke in public to the people, he delivered to the nation Yahweh's message of national doom; he also probably taught his disciples (8^{16} n.). There is nothing impossible in the view that more elaborate pictures of the glorious future, though they formed no part of his public teaching, were yet presented by him to his disciples. At the same time it must be admitted that there is nothing in most, if indeed in any of the passages in question, that suggests this more limited audience.

(4) Though the mere fact that a passage implies the belief that a glorious future awaits Judah or Ṣion, or again that Assyria, the enemy of Judah, will be destroyed, is no evidence that the passage cannot be the work of Isaiah (cp. (1)); and though it could be shown that all the ideas contained in such passages are fragments of a pre-prophetic eschatology, as Gressmann has argued, it is anything but probable that Isaiah, out of patriotic sympathy, was content to perpetuate the traditional eschatological matter "without much troubling about the inner unity" (Gressmann, p. 243) of his teaching. Patriotic sympathy of that kind, we may be fairly sure, was as absent from Isaiah as later from Jeremiah. Isaiah may have utilised such traditional eschatological ideas; but if so, we shall be safer in believing that he modified them by the setting he gave them, and by the inner unity into which he worked them with that message of judgment which he had received in his vision. In a word, if the more elaborate pictures

of eschatological blessedness which stand in Is 1–39 are, any of them, the work of Isaiah, they have reached us independently of their original setting (cp. (3)). In another respect Gressmann scarcely conceives the problem correctly. Those who have argued against the genuineness of the eschatological passages may too often have relied over much on the criterion of ideas; it may be, for example, that an allusion to a multiplicity of nations receiving judgment before Jerusalem (*e.g.* 17^{12-14}; cp. pp. 307 f.) is not a conclusive proof that the passage which contains it is later than the 8th century; but Gressmann is himself one-sided, even if less dangerously so, when he claims that the *only* "legitimate criterion for so denying the genuineness (of a passage) consists of the historical circumstances pre-supposed in it" ("als einzig berechtigtes Kriterium, um die Echtheit zu leugnen, sind nur die vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse anzusehen"); and he is wrong in his conclusion that "so long as these (historical circumstances pre-supposed) do not speak against the original authorship of him in whose book the future hope (*Heilseschatologie*) is handed down, so long may the 'genuineness' be maintained" ("so lange wird man die Echtheit aufrecht erhalten dürfen"): all that follows, in the case of the Book of Isaiah at least, is this, that provided the historical pre-suppositions are not inconsistent with the age of Isaiah, so long may the genuineness of any particular passage remain an open question; the passage may be Isaiah's, or it may be the work of some writer living in any age with which also the historical pre-suppositions are not inconsistent (cp. § 43). For though the book bears the name of Isaiah, considerable parts even of chs. 1–39 are by general consent the work of later ages; and, moreover, the editorial processes through which the book has passed belong to periods when eschatology was rife.* Generations subsequent to Isaiah have played too large a part in the composition of the Book of Isaiah for it to be more than one possibility among several that a passage, the historical pre-suppositions of which are vague, is Isaiah's. The possibilities in such cases must be reduced in number, if at all, by other criteria.

* Cp. Th. L. W. van Ravensteyn, *De Eenheid der eschatologischen Voorstellingen in het Boek Jesaja* (Utrecht, 1910), in which as against Gressmann it is argued that the *eschatology* (as distinct from the prophetic elements) of all parts of the Book of Isaiah belong to a single period, and that probably the 4th century.

[Dates that are certain are in heavy type.]	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	SYRIA (Damascus).	ASSYRIA, BABYLON, ETC.	EGYPT.	BOOK OF ISAIAH.	
854		Ahab and	Ben-hadad	against Shalmaneser II. at Ḳarḳar		[Many prophecies of Isaiah cannot be precisely dated, and are not entered here. Chapters of Isaiah in brackets refer to the date indicated, but were not necessarily written at the time]	
842		Jehu pays		tribute to Shalmaneser			
c. 785	**Uzziah**	Jeroboam II.					
782–746							
c. 746		Death of Jeroboam		Decline of Assyrian power		(Amos)	*c.* 755
745				**Tiglath-pileser IV.**			*c.* 746
c. 740	Death of Uzziah					(Hosea)	–735
	Jotham			**740.** Capture of Arpad			
738	?? Azriyau = Uzziah		"19 districts of Hamath" confederate with Azriyau of Jaudi annexed by Tiglath-pileser		*c.* 745–718 Dynasty XXIII. Egypt disunited. Nomarchs divide authority	Call of Isaiah (ch. 6)	*c.* 740
						Is **2**	*c.* 739
735	**Syro-Ephraimitish war:**	Menaḥem and	Raṣon pay tribute to Assyria			Is 9^{7}–$10^{4}+5^{26-29}$	*c.* 737
	Judah attacked by	Peḳaḥ and	Raṣon				

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—(*continued*).

[Dates that are certain are in heavy type.]	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	SYRIA (Damascus).	ASSYRIA, BABYLON, ETC.	EGYPT.	BOOK OF ISAIAH.	
734	**Ahaz** pays tribute	Exile of Northern Israelites (2 K $15^{29ff.}$)		to Tiglath-pileser Philistine campaign Capture of Gaza		Isaiah's interview with Ahaz, etc. (7^{1}–8^{18})	*c.* 735
733				Campaign against Damascus		Is 17^{1-11}	*c.* 733
732		Peḳaḥ slain Hoshea succeeds him as an Assyrian vassal	**End of the Kingdom of Damascus**	Capture of Damascus	*c.* 745–718 Dynasty XXIII. Egypt disunited. Nomarchs divide authority		
727	(or 715) Death of Ahaz. **Hezekiah**			**Shalmaneser IV.**		Is 28^{1-4} (before 722) Is 14^{28-32} (? 727) (Micah : before 722)	Before 722
724		Siege and fall of Samaria					
722		**End of the Northern Kingdom**		**Sargon**			

[Dates that are certain are in heavy type.]	JUDAH.	ASSYRIA, BABYLON, ETC.	EGYPT.	BOOK OF ISAIAH.	
721		Merodach-baladan, 'King of the Kaldu,' becomes king of Babylon for 12 years			
720		Sargon defeats Hanno of Gaza and Sibe ("So") at Raphia	*c.* 718–712 Dynasty XXIV.		
717		Capture of Carchemish			
715	(or 727) Death of Ahaz **Hezekiah**	Campaign against Arabia			After 717
		Pir'u, king of Muṣur (?Egypt*), pays tribute to Sargon	Pir'u (?) *	Is 10^{5-15}	
c. 712			Sabako, first ruler of the Ethiopian Dynasty (XXV.), which lasted till 668		
711	Judah, Philistia, Edom,	Moab, Muṣur, Meluḫḫa (?Egypt* and Ethiopia) in revolt against Sargon. Capture of Ashdod		(Is 20)	**711**
705		**Sennacherib**			
				Isaianic groundwork of 18 (22^{15-25}), 28–31	*c.* 702
701	Siege of Jerusalem:	Palestine ravaged by Sennacherib;	Assyrians claim victory over Egyptians at Eltekeh	Is 1^{5-9} (36–39) 22^{1-14}	701
698	(or 686) Death of Hezekiah. **Manasseh**				

* See the discussion, pp. lxxvii ff.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—(*continued*).

[Dates that are certain are in heavy type.]	JUDAH.	ASSYRIA, BABYLON, ETC.	EGYPT.	BOOK OF ISAIAH.	
694			Earliest possible date for the accession of **Tirhakah**		
c. 690		Sennacherib in Arabia (and ?? Palestine)		(? Is $37^{9ff.}$)	*c.* 690
682		**Esar-haddon**		7th cent.: writings and teaching of Isaiah perpetuated by disciples	
671		Esar-haddon captures	Memphis		
668		**Asshurbanipal** overthrows	Tirhakah		
667		Capture of	Thebes		
625		Nabopolassar, independent king of **Babylon**			
621	Josiah's Reformation			(*c.* 626–586 Jeremiah)	
c. 607		**Fall of Assyria:** Capture of Nineveh by **Medes** * (and Babylonians)		(*c.* 592–571 Ezekiel)	
605		Battle of Carchemish: Nebuchadnezzar defeats	Pharaoh-necoh		
604		**Nebuchadnezzar,** king of Babylon			
586	**Fall of Jerusalem**				
	597, 586 Commencement	of **Jewish Exile** in Babylon			
549		Median Empire overthrown by **Cyrus,** king of **Persia**		Is 13 and (probably) 14^{4-21}, 21, and *possibly* 11^{1-8}, 9^{1-6}	*c.* 550

538 525	**Persian Dominion**	Babylon captured by Cyrus Cambyses, king of Persia,	conquers Egypt, and spares Jewish Temple at Elephantine	Is 40–55 (in the main)	*c.* 540
411			Jewish temple at Elephantine destroyed	? Is 15. 16 Is 56–66 (in the main)	*c.* 470 *c.* 450
332	End of Persian Dominion. Beginning of **Greek Dominion** of Alexander			*c.* 400 (or considerably later) Is 24–27 (1) Compilation of Is 2–12. 13–23. 28–33; (2) union of 40–55 and 56–66; (3) union of 1–39 (in the main) and 40–66	*c.* 350–200
323	and of his successors	the **Seleucids** and	the Ptolemies		
167	Beginning of the Jewish revolt led by the Maccabees against the Seleucids		*c.* 160 Jewish Temple at Leontopolis (cp. ? Is 19^{17-25})	Ben Sirach refers to Is 40, etc., as a prophecy of Isaiah (Daniel and part of Enoch)	*c.* 180 *c.* 167
				Greek version of Isaiah Later: minor additions to Is (6^{13b} etc.)	*c.* 150
A.D. *c.* 100	Final settlement of Canon of the OT			Many quotations from Isaiah in NT Consonantal text of Isaiah fixed Consonants vocalised Earliest Hebrew MS of Isaiah	A.D. *c.* 50–100 *c.* 100 *c.* 600–700 916

* Or **Umman-manda**; see p. 242.

COMMENTARY.

"Quae si longa tibi videbitur, non mihi imputes, sed Scripturae sanctae difficultati, praecipueque Isaiae prophetae, qui tantis obscuritatibus involutus est, ut prae magnitudine rei brevem explanationem putem, quae per se longa est. Certe nos studiosis scribimus, et sanctam Scripturam scire cupientibus, non fastidiosis, et ad singula nauseantibus."

JEROME.

A COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

I. 1. A title defining the subject and age of Isaiah's prophecies. It served, in the first instance, perhaps, as a title of chs. 1–12 only. It was prefixed, not by Isaiah, but by a post-exilic editor. Isaiah, in accordance with the prominence given by him to Jerusalem throughout his prophecies ($1^{21ff.}$ $3^{16ff.}$ ($4^{3ff.}$) $10^{32ff.}$ $22^{1ff.}$ $28^{17ff.}$ $29^{1ff.}$ $30^{19ff.}$), speaks of *Jerusalem and Judah* ($3^{1.8}$ 5^{3} 22^{21}: occasionally elsewhere, 2 K 24^{20}, Ezr 2^{1}); in the title, as in 2^{1} and, *e.g.*, 2 K 18^{22}, 2 Ch $34^{3.8}$, the order is *Judah and Jerusalem*. A contemporary Jew would have had no occasion to add to the list of kings the explanatory clause *kings of Judah* (cp. Jer $1^{2f.}$, Mic 2^{1}); an editor looking back on the monarchy as a vanished institution might well do so. It is doubtful, too, whether Isaiah would have applied the term *vision* to his collected prophecies (see below). The period of Isaiah's prophetic activity may be correctly described, though this is not certain (cp. 6^{1} n.), as beginning in the reign of Uzziah: and the title is certainly correct in extending the period into the reign of Hezekiah (cp. chs. 36–39): but *Judah and Jerusalem* is an inadequate description of the scope of Isaiah's teaching, still more of chs. 1–39; chs. 13–23 contain a series of oracles directed against foreign nations; and even within chs. 1–12 at least one prophecy (9^{7}–10^{4}) is primarily concerned with Ephraim.

The vision] חזון signifies (1) a vision, then (2) the verbal record of what is seen in vision, and also, perhaps, with a total loss of the original sense of the word, (3) any revelation or

prophetic discourse even though it has not been suggested by vision. The word is used here with either the second or the third of these meanings; in illustration of these, cp. "the book of the vision of Nahum," Nah 1^1; "the vision of Obadiah," 1^1; "the matter (הדבר) which Isaiah saw-in-vision" (חזה), Is 2^1; "the rest of the affairs of Hezekiah . . . behold they are written in the vision of Isaiah," 2 Ch 32^{32}; "write the vision and inscribe it on the tablets," Hab 2^2. Certainly neither the verb חזה nor the noun חזון is necessarily late, nor the belief that God revealed things to some prophets by means of vision (cp. Nu 12^6 $24^{4.14}$, 1 K $22^{17.19}$, Am 7–9, Jer $1^{11.13}$). Nevertheless, since actual vision plays but little part in the recorded experience of Isaiah, and when he does refer to such experiences (6^1), he, like Amos, uses the verb ראה, the use of חזון in this and similar titles may be due to the later conception that the chief function of prophecy was apocalyptic, that prophecy was a revelation of the final stage of history: cp. *e.g.* Dn 8^2 and Ben Sirach's (48^5) description of Isaiah ברוח גבורה חזה אחרית. To the authors of these titles the prophecies of Isaiah, Nahum, Obadiah may have been, as they subsequently were to many generations of Christian scholars, not so much or at all the teaching of these prophets to their own age, but a record of events seen in vision several centuries before they actually happened. Consequently, *vision* not improbably retains here the second of the meanings mentioned above.—*Isaiah*] the name means *Yahweh has delivered*, or *Yahweh is deliverance* (cp. Ps. 29^1; see phil. n.): the prophet is the only pre-exilic person of the name who is known; but several persons so named are mentioned in Chr. Ezr. Neh. and also in the Assouan papyri (5th cent. B.C.).—*Son of 'Amoṣ*] the name 'Amoṣ is otherwise unknown; but the root 'amaṣ, *to be mighty*, occurs in Amaziah—a fact which probably created, without in the slightest justifying, a Rabbinic theory that Isaiah's father and King Amaziah were brothers (cp. Pesiḳta d. Rab Kahana, 117b). By a grosser blunder, resting on ignorance of Hebrew, but assisted perhaps by the Rabbinic canon, that where a prophet's father is mentioned the father himself was a prophet, Isaiah's father (אמין, 𝔊 Ἀμώς) was identified with the prophet ʿAmos (עמס, 𝔊 Ἀμώς).

ישעיהו] so always throughout the book: in the title of the book ישעיה, see Introd. § 3. MT may be right in pointing יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (cp. Ἡσαΐας, 𝔊), and the

name may, as Del. maintains, consist of a 3rd pf. +יהו—a formation already common in the 8th cent. (*HPN* 176 f.: cp. 192), cp. σώσει Κύριος (*Onom. Coislinianum*, in Lag. *Onom.* 165[97]); but since ישע does not occur in the Kal and the n. pr. הושעיה actually occurs later, ישע may be a noun, yet scarcely a noun in the construct, so that the name means σωτηρία Κυρίου, *salus domini* (Jer. al.: see Lag. *Onom.* 69[3], 173[69], 191[65]), but rather predicative (cp. *HPN* 75 ff., 175 f.)—*Yahweh is salvation*: cp. in the inverse order אלישע, where the second element, in spite of MT pointing, is ישע rather than שע, and also ישעאל, Lidzbarski, *NSI.* The original pronounciation may have been יְשַׁעְיָהוּ, like חִלְקִיָּהוּ, Χελκ(ε)ιας: cp. Origen's Ιεσσια, and Ιεσσ(ε)ίου in 𝔊, 2 Ch 26[22].

I. 2–31.—*A Collection of Prophetic Poems.*

This section stands between two titles (1[1] 2[1]): and it is natural to infer from this fact that the editor derived it from another source than ch. 2 ff.: see Introd. § 29. Why the editor, who can scarcely have been Isaiah himself, placed this section first cannot be determined; it has been suggested that the reason may be found in its general character and "immediate applicability to many other circumstances" of ancient, or later (Ro 9[29]), Jewish life (Di.). But, as a matter of fact, it did not prove more widely applicable than other sections of the book: 6–8[18], or even ch. 6 by itself, which on chronological grounds should stand first, is also cited more frequently in the NT.

It must also remain uncertain whether the editor found the chapter circulating by itself,—a prophetic fly-sheet of about the same size as the prophecy of Obadiah,—or himself arranged passages drawn from some larger collection, or even from different sources. However this may be, the section is not a single poem or prophetic oration: it consists of several distinct poems or fragments. Most clearly distinct is vv.[21-26 (28)]: this is a complete poem with well-marked rhythmical character, and reflects a different historical situation from vv.[1-19]: in vv.[21-26] judgment is still to come; in vv.[5-9] it is in process of fulfilment. Since there is no indication that these vv. have been interpolated, the chapter immediately falls into at least three independent sections—vv.[2-20], [21-26 (28)], [27 (29)-31]. But of these sections the first is scarcely a unity; the fresh start in v.[18] suggests, and the contents, if not also the rhythm, favour, the conclusion that vv.[18-20] are an independent saying or sayings. Whether even vv.[2-17] are a single poem is uncertain.

Koppe distinguished as separate poems or fragments vv.[2-9] (time of Ahaz) and vv.[10-20] (time of Hezekiah); Lagarde (*Semitica*, i. 1 f.) and Corn. (*ZATW*, 1884, pp. 86–88), vv.[2f. 4-9. 10-17]; Cheyne (*Introd.*), vv.[2-4. 5-9. 10-17] (cp. Stade, *Gesch.* i. 586 n. 2, 622).

But whether vv.[2-17] be a unity or not, the difficulty of maintaining the strict unity of the entire chapter has been increasingly felt since Koppe first seriously raised the question. Some, however, still maintain that it is a literary unity; for example, Di. says, "The chapter is just as little as many others an oratorical unity or the accurate report of a speech actually delivered: it is too rich in ideas and varied in contents for this, and the connection both within vv.[10-21] and between these verses and vv.[2-9] and [24-31] is not close enough. But in view of the relation of v.[10] to v.[9], and the references back from v.[26] to vv.[17] and [12f.], and from v.[28] to v.[24], the literary unity of the chapter cannot reasonably be denied: that is to say, we must see in it a literary work composed by Isaiah himself, in which he has enriched a speech delivered on some particular occasion with leading thoughts and turns from other similar speeches delivered at not too widely separated periods, and reduced the whole to a form used by earlier and later prophets (Hos 4[1], Mic 6, Ps 50) of a legal process between God and the people" (but see below, p. 27). Cond. has recently maintained that his strophic theory proves vv.[2-27] to be a single poem, which is unfortunate for the strophic theory.

If the chapter consists of different poems, questions of date, so far as they can be answered, fall for consideration in connection with the several sections. Here it must suffice simply to record the earlier view elaborately maintained as late as the 19th cent. by C. P. Caspari,* that the chapter belongs to the reign of Uzziah and is earlier than ch. 6; and the wide divergence of judgment among other writers who have maintained the unity of the chapter, the two main views being that it belongs to the period of the Syro-Ephraimitish war in 735 (Ges., Del., Di.), the other that it belongs to the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701 (Vitr., Eich., W. R. Smith). Many other theories are referred to by Caspari (p. 1 ff.).

So also the question of rhythm is dealt with in detail in the various sections. For a different view from that which is taken below of the changes of rhythm in this chapter, see Francis Brown, *The Measurements of Hebrew Poetry*, in *JBLit.*, 1890, 82–86, who finds vv.[2-4] six-toned, vv.[5-20] five-toned, vv.[21-28] six-toned, vv.[29-31] five-toned.

I. 2–17.—*The sin of Yahweh's people, their punishment and mistaken sense of His requirements.*

Rhythm and Parallelism.—Cp. Introd. "On Poetic forms." Within vv.[2-17] there is a marked difference between vv.[2-8. 16c. 17] and [10-16b]: balancing

* *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das B. Jes.*, Berlin, 1848.

rhythm is dominant in the first named verses, echoing rhythm (3 : 2) is clearly to be recognised in vv.[10. 11. 12a.] (omitting מירכם) [14b. 15a.] (omitting מכם) [15b. 15c-16a. 16b]; the rest of vv.[10-16b] is more uncertain, partly at least owing to textual corruption. Of the lines clearly 3 : 2 only vv.[11b. 14b] show parallelism of sense between their parts: but the entire periods 5 : 5 are parallel in vv.[10. 11b. c. 15a. b]: thus absence of parallelism, or parallelism only of longer periods, as well as difference of rhythm, sharply distinguishes vv.[10-16b] from vv.[2-8] and [16c. 17].

Where the balancing rhythm prevails, some difference of length in the lines may be observed:

(*a*) Vv.[2. 3] consist of one tristich—2 : 2 : 2, and three distichs 3 : 3, *i.e.* four complete periods of six accents.

(*b*) Vv.[4-8]: most of the distichs are unmistakably 2 : 2, but v.[4a. b] is 3 : 3 unless הוי is rhythmically independent (see p. 89) and בבר־עין, one accent: in MT it is two. Insert makkephs as follows: על־מה (so generally in MT), תבו־עור in v.[5a], after ולא in v.[6], and perhaps in שרפו(ו)ת־אש in v.[7] (see phil. n.). Lines irregularly of three accents are v.[7a], unless אתה be omitted: and vv.[4f.] unless v.[4e. f. g] (2 : 3 : 2 in 𝔓, 2 : 3 in 𝔊) is intrusive (see Comm.); [7e] omitted in the translation is probably a gloss (see Comm.).

(*c*) Vv.[16c. 17]: distichs 2 : 2.

(*d*) V.[9], if כמעט be omitted (𝔊), consists of two distichs, 3 : 3 and 2 : 2 respectively; *i.e.* it is like vv.[2-8] in balancing rhythm. If כמעט be retained and taken with what follows, [9c. d] is 3 : 2 and rhythmically similar to vv.[10ff.]; [9a. b] might perhaps with difficulty be read in the same rhythm by inserting makkeph, הותיר־לנו.

Strophes.—The translation will show that vv.[2-8] falls into four, or vv.[4-8] into three, almost equal sense-divisions; v.[9] is but half the length of any one of them. Again, two sets of four lines of five accents are recognisable in vv.[11. 12a] and [15-16b], and the intervening verses before they were amplified may have been of the same length: then v.[10] with its two lines stands by itself. If the text of 𝔓 were preferable to 𝔊 in v.[9] (see above), it would be tempting to see in vv.[2-8] and [9-16b] two poems rhythmically different in character but each divided into four equal strophes.

The marked difference in poetical form between vv.[2-8] and vv.[10-16], which has just been pointed out and is in some measure indicated in the translation, makes the unity of vv.[2-17] uncertain. But the thought of the two poems, if there are two poems here rather than one, is not so different that either suffers much by being read with the other, and in a consecutive translation of vv.[2-17] the relation of v.[9] can be more readily considered; that verse may be rhythmically, textually, and exegetically uncertain, and may possibly be intrusive, but it cannot be rejected with confidence.

Israel's unfilial conduct and its punishment.

2 Hear, O heaven,
And give ear, O earth!
For 'tis Yahweh hath spoken—
"Children have I reared and brought up,
But they have rebelled against me;
3 An ox knoweth its owner,
And an ass it's master's manger;
Israel doth not know,
My people doth not consider."

4 Ah! sinful nation,
People whose guilt is heavy,
Brood that doeth evil,
Children that deal corruptly—
Who have forsaken Yahweh,
Contemned the Holy One of Israel,
Are estranged (?) backward—
5 Wherefore will ye yet be smitten,
(Wherefore) continue in your defection?

The whole head is sick,
And the whole heart diseased:
6 From the sole of the foot to the very head
No soundness is in him;
(But) bruises and contusions
And still bleeding wounds,
Not pressed out, nor bound up,
Nor softened with oil.

7 Your land is a desolation,
Your cities are burned with fire;
Your tilled land before you,
Aliens are devouring it;
8 And the daughter of Ṣion is left
Like a booth in a vineyard,
Like a night refuge in a cucumber-field,
Like a tower (?) for the watch (?).

9 Had not Yahweh of Hosts
Left of us some that escaped,
Like Sodom had we become,
Gomorrah had we resembled.

Not Sacrifice!

10 Hear the word of Yahweh, | ye chiefs of Sodom!
Give ear to the instruction of our God, | people of Gomorrah!

11 What good to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? | saith Yahweh.
I am satiated with burnt-offerings of rams | and fat of fed beasts;
And in the blood of bullocks and he-goats | I delight not.
12 When ye come to see my face, | who hath required this at your hand?

Trample my courts 13 shall ye no more,
To bring gifts is vain,
Smoke (of sacrifice) is an abomination to me.
New moon and sabbath, convoking of convocations, I cannot (endure);
Fast and sacred seasons 14 your new moons and your set times my soul hateth.
They have become a burden upon me, | I weary of carrying.

15 And when ye spread out your hands, | I will hide mine eyes from you
Yea when ye make many prayers, | I do not listen.
Your hands are full of shed-blood: | 16 wash youselves pure;
Put away the evil of your doings | from before mine eyes.

But Justice.

16c Cease to do evil,
17 Learn to do well;
Seek out the right,
Make the violent (?) keep straight (?);
Secure the right of the orphan,
Undertake the cause of the widow.

Heaven and earth are summoned to listen to Yahweh's charge against His people: they have requited His fatherly care with indifference and open rebellion (vv.$^{2f.}$). Sufficient reason this that blow after blow has fallen till Judah is covered with bruises and wounds from head to foot (vv.$^{4-6}$), that the land of Judah

has been desolated and its cities burned by a foreign army, which now invests Jerusalem itself (vv.[7f.]). Indeed, had not Yahweh saved a few, Judah would have been wiped out of existence as completely as Sodom and Gomorrah (v.[9]). But even now in the beleaguered city—so we must understand the transition if the poem is one—rulers and people alike utterly misunderstand Yahweh: misfortune has at last awakened them to their need of Him, but not to the nature of their sins, or of His demands: they bring Him in abundance sacrifices which He abhors, they are still indifferent to justice and humanity which He requires—the very hands which they stretch out to Him in prayer are stained with the blood of murder (vv.[10-16]). Yahweh's word to them (v.[10]), if they would really find Him, is: Not sacrifice (vv.[11-15]), nor prayers unaccompanied by moral change ([15f.]), but justice!

The leading ideas of vv.[2-17] are (*a*) sin, (*b*) punishment, (*c*) misunderstanding of what Yahweh demands, (*d*) what Yahweh actually demands; (*a*) and (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*) are, each pair taken separately, very natural sequences, but it is a question whether (*c*), which is really an explication of (*a*), would not immediately have followed (*a*) had all entered into the same poem. The date of the poem, or at least of vv.[2-8], is 701 B.C.; see n. on v.[7], where other less probable theories are cited. Nothing in vv.[2-17] is inconsistent with the date 701, for it is only by a very improbable interpretation that v.[2] can be made to imply a present state of national prosperity. On the other hand, nothing either in vv.[2f.] or vv.[10-17] independently points to the year 701; and if any of these verses are derived from different poems, their exact date is uncertain: the ideas are such as Isaiah might have expressed at almost any time of his life.

2a. b. c. Exordium.—Since the prophet is about to utter the words of none other than Yahweh, words which Yahweh *has spoken* to him, which he must not and cannot keep to himself (cp. Am $3^{7f.}$, Jer 20^{9}), heaven and earth (cp. Jer 2^{12}) are called upon to give audience; cp. Dt 32^{1} for the same rhetorical appeal, and for a similar one Mic 6^{1}; for heaven and earth as witnesses, cp. also Dt 4^{26} 30^{19} 32^{29}.—*Hear . . . give ear*] cp. 28^{23} 32^{9}, Gn 4^{23}: this type of prelude may, as Du. suggests, have been derived from popular poetry.

2d. e. 3. Yahweh charges Israel with unfilial conduct.—Yahweh's charge against His people is that in return for His fatherly (Hos 11^{1-4}) care (cp. Am 3^{2}) they have broken loose from Him and become rebels against His authority.—*Children*] EV rightly renders בנים thus, as in the phrase "children of Israel," and 𝔗 correctly interprets the word as equivalent to "my people" (v.^{3}). Less satisfactory is the rendering *sons*;* for though, when the Hebrews spoke of children they no doubt thought primarily of sons, the plural בנים is not limited in meaning to male children (see Gn 3^{16}, Jos 17^{2}), and note, even in the sing., *a male child* (בן זכר) in Jer 20^{12}. Where parallelism admits (it does not here) the use of the terms, Yahweh's people may be described as His "sons" and "daughters" (43^{6}).—*Brought up and reared*] *i.e.* played the part of a parent by them. For גִּדַּל in this sense, cp. 23^{4} 49^{21} 51^{18}, 2 K 10^{6}, Hos 9^{12}; and for רוממם, 23^{4}, also the analogous use in Ezk 31^{4}: so גדל in the Kal is used of the growth of the infant (Gn 21^{8}) or youth (Gn 21^{20}). Both verbs have also the meaning *to make great, powerful, exalted*: and the second by many † and both by some ‡ have been so understood here; but the two verbs should be rendered as synonyms (see phil. n.); and both the parallel in 23^{4} and the context here (see vv.$^{3f.}$) favour interpreting the line of Yahweh's parental care§ for Israel, not of the pre-eminence of Israel among the nations, or of the greatness of Israel in numbers and military power. Consequently, there is no allusion to the prosperity of Judah, and the case for assigning this passage to the same early period of Isaiah's activity as $2^{6ff.}$ (Che. *Introd.* p. 2) falls to the ground. In the simplest terms, without the pathetic details of Hosea's picture of Yahweh training and tending His child (Hos $11^{1ff.}$, esp. v.^{3}), Isaiah places in contrast Yahweh's parental care which had brought Israel to manhood, and Israel's unfilial conduct in casting off the father's authority and disobeying the father's commands.—*They have rebelled against me*] פשע ב׳ means *to revolt* from one's ruler (*e.g.* 1 K 12^{19}, 2 K 1^{1}), *to renounce authority* (cp. פשעו על תורתי, Hos 8^{1}): here it is used of a child's renunciation of a father's authority. A reference to idolatry,

* Ew., Di., Che., Du., Whitehouse, Box.
† 𝔊 (ὕψωσα), 𝔙 (*exaltavi*), Di., Du., Che., Marti, al.
‡ Ḳi., RVmarg. § AV, RV (text), Ges., Cond.

which has sometimes been suspected here, would be possible (cp. Jer $2^{8.29}$ 3^{13}), but it is very far from certain; other ways of rebelling against Yahweh were to rely on Egypt or Assyria (Hos 7^{13}), or to be unjust, inhumane; cp. $59^{12ff.}$ and the use of the noun פשע in Am 5^{12}; moreover, Am. chs. 1. 2 are simply a series of illustrations of inhumanity regarded in the light of rebellion against Yahweh.

3. Israel has not only been an unfilial child of Yahweh, but has shown himself less intelligent than the animals (cp. Jer 8^{7}) that form part of a household (Ex 20^{17}). Ox and ass find their way to their stables; but Israel cares nothing for Yahweh, nor discerns that it owes everything to Him: cp. the thought of Hos $2^{10\,(8)}$, Dt 32^{15}, where it is implied that Israel not only did not recognise Yahweh, their true Baal or owner, as the giver of harvest, but attributed the produce of Canaan to the ancient Baals of the land.—*Owner . . . master*] the first word (קנה) denotes τὸν κτησάμενον (𝔊), one who has come into possession of anything as, for example, by purchase (cp. Lv 25^{30}, Zec 11^{5}); the second (בעל) is commonly used of the person to whom property belongs (*e.g.* Ex 21^{28}, Jg 19^{22}).—*Israel*] If vv.[3] and [8] belong to the same poem, Israel is not the Northern kingdom, but Judah: cp. 5^{7} n.

4–9. **Israel sinful and suffering.**—Isaiah, like Amos in 3^{3-8}, follows up the brief saying of Yahweh (vv.[2c. d. 3]) with speech in his own person. 4. And first with a cry of threat and lamentation, *Ah!* or *Woe!* ($5^{5.11}$ etc.), he emphasises by means of a succession of short clauses the rebellious and unfilial conduct of Israel, the *nation*, *people*, *race*, and *children* of Yahweh: they are *sinful*, *heavily laden with guilt*, *evil-doers* (cp. 9^{16} 31^{2}), and of corrupt life (cp. Gn 6^{12}, Zeph 3^{7}, Ps 14^{1}).—**4e. f. g.** One at least of the last three lines of v.[4] is probably not original, possibly none of them are (Marti), though strophic regularity requires two lines here. 𝔊 omits the last line, and the previous one is rhythmically suspicious. If the lines stood by themselves they would probably, if not quite necessarily, imply idolatry (𝔗); but the remainder of the poem suggests that Isaiah had, instead of idolatry, ethical offences in mind. *To forsake Yahweh* often, though not invariably (Dt 28^{20}), with writers later than Isaiah, means specifically to abandon Him for another God; see, *e.g.*, Jg $2^{11f.}$ $10^{6.10}$, Dt 31^{16}, Jer 1^{16} 2^{13} 5^{7}; and if

vv.[28f.] below were originally connected with one another, the same specific sense was intended there. *To contemn* (נאץ) God was to think little of His power, to distrust His capacity to fulfil His promises or His threats (Nu 5^{24} 12^{5} $14^{11.\,23}$ 16^{30}, Ps $10^{3.\,13}$ $74^{10.\,18}$); and once (Dt 31^{20}) it is associated with serving other gods. The verb in the last line (see phil. n.) refers to idolatry in Ezk 14^{5}, and so do similar phrases in Ps 44^{19} 78^{57}.—*The Holy One of Israel*] Isaiah's favourite term for Yahweh: see Introduction.—**5a. b.** The question put to the persons addressed in [4a. b. c. d].—Why will the people invite fresh punishment by renewing and continuing their sinful courses? Judah to Isaiah, as Israel to Amos ($4^{6\text{-}12}$), appears to have suffered already often and severely.—*Wherefore*] the regular meaning of על־מה. Many modern interpreters* appeal to Job 38^{6} and render *on what* (*part of the body*) *will ye yet be smitten*, seeing that none is left which has not already been smitten: this destroys the parallelism, and, as Cond. justly urges, it produces an "image assez froide," for the person who chastises does not take pains to discover a spot on which no stroke has yet fallen.—(*Wherefore*) *will ye continue in your defection*] the force of *wherefore* in the previous line is carried on into this, and these two lines are, like their neighbours, parallel in sense—עוד being parallel in thought to תוסיפו, and סרה, *defection*, which necessarily implies punishment, to תכו. Generally the second line is taken to be circumstantial (G–K. 156*d*; Or. § 163) or relative—*seeing that*, or *ye that*, *continue*, etc. The term *defection* occurs also in 31^{6}, Jer 28^{16}, Dt 13^{6}. The original sense of the verb סור is *to turn aside from* one's course, from the straight road (Dt 2^{27}, Jg 4^{18} 14^{8}): then morally it means *to turn aside*, whether from the right—from Yahweh, His commands, etc. (Ex 32^{8}, 1 S 12^{20})—or from the wrong (Job 28^{28}, Ps 34^{15}); but, used absolutely, the verb, like the noun here, has the sinister sense—Ps 14^{3}, Jer 5^{23}, Dt 11^{16} 17^{17}; religiously it is the antithesis of אל or עד שוב—how long will this people turn away from Yahweh to their undoing, instead of returning to Him to be healed? Cp. Hos 6^{1}, Am 4^{9} ולא שבתם עדי . . . הכיתי.

5c. d. 6. The whole body politic is sick. In contrast with v.[5a. b] (plural vbs.), we have now one of those personifications of the entire nation which are so frequent with Hebrew writers

* Ges., Ew., Di., Du., Che., Guthe, Marti, Whitehouse; cp. 𝔙 *super quo*.

(cp. *Numbers*, pp. 265 f., 370):—Judah is a wounded man whose bruises and sores, so recent that the blood still flows, receive no attention: *there is nought of soundness in him*; cp. particularly Hos 5^{13}, "Ephraim perceived his sickness, and Judah his wound," and Hos 7^{9}, where Ephraim is described as a man sapped of his strength and grown grey without realising it. The injuries are described by three terms: פצע, *bruises*, produced by crushing (דכה, Dt 23^{2}), or smiting (הכה, Ca 5^{7}, 1 K 20^{37}): the term also occurs in Job 9^{17}, Pr 27^{16} (fig.), and, coupled as here with חבורה, in Ex 21^{25}, Gn 4^{23}, Pr 20^{30} (𝔊) †; the remaining instances of חבורה are 53^{5}, Ps 38^{6} (festering *stripes*): the third term מכה is of wide meaning (cp. הכה), but it includes open, bleeding *wounds* (1 K 22^{35}), and it is such that are here pictured—they are טריה, *moist, juicy* (Jg 15^{15}: cp. طرى), i.e. *still bleeding*. These wounds have not been *pressed out* to purify them from purulent matter, nor *bound up* with bandages, nor *softened* and the pain of them assuaged by the pouring in of oil (cp. Jer. 8^{22}, Lk 10^{34}).

7. 8. The figurative (vv.$^{5a.\ b.\ 6}$) is followed by a literal description of the desperate state of Judah: the whole country lies desolated by the ravages of war, the cities have been burnt out, and, at the moment, before the very eyes of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, an army of foreigners is encamped and supporting itself on the produce of the fields. The capital, indeed, still stands, but insecure as the slight structures made for their refuge by those working in the fields, too far away from their homes to return to them at night.

The only *known* circumstances that correspond to this description are those of the year 701 B.C. Sennacherib in his account of his campaign of that year writes: "Hezekiah of Judah, who had not bowed himself under the yoke, 46 of his fortified towns, fortresses, and small cities in their neighbourhood innumerable, with casting down of battering-rams and assault of siege-engines, with attack of infantry, of arrows . . . I besieged, I captured. . . . Himself, like a bird in a cage, in the midst of Jerusalem, the city of his kingship, I shut up. Fortifications against him I erected, and those coming forth from the gates of his city I turned back" (Taylor Cylinder, iii. 11–17 and 20–23). "V.^{7} describes what those shut up in the capital could see, and is silent about the 200,000 Jews whom Sennacherib boasts of having taken prisoners (from the other cities; Taylor Cylinder, iii. 17–20)—probably because they had as yet no knowledge of this" (Du.). The actual description of the Syro-Ephraimitish war (see on ch. 7), even with the additional details of 2 Ch 28, falls short of the present, but some (*e.g.* Di.) infer from the general character of ancient warfare that the circumstances of that war

must have been such as to justify the terms in which Isaiah here speaks. It has been questioned whether an army largely composed of Israelites would be called "aliens" (זרים). No siege of Jerusalem by Sargon, to which some referred this description,* is recorded, and the hypothesis that there was such a siege is now generally abandoned.†

Your tilled land before you] the fields or cultivated country (אדמה, cp. Gn 3^{17}), within sight of those addressed, *i.e.* the besieged in Jerusalem.—*Aliens*] the word means *belonging to another class*, or *circle* (Nu 1^{51} n.), here, therefore, *belonging to another race*, *foreigners* (cp. Jer 5^{19}, Ezk 28^{7}, La 5^{2}): this would very naturally describe either Assyrians or Syrians, but much less naturally an army consisting equally of Syrians and Ephraimites, since the latter were not זרים in the sense here intended.—*Are devouring it*] for the idiom אכל אדמה, *to eat the land*, meaning to live on its produce, see Gn 3^{17}; for its use of an enemy living on the produce of an invaded or conquered country, cp. Jer 8^{16}. The enemy have reduced the country behind them to ruin by fire and sword, and they have now closed in on Jerusalem and are living on its immediate neighbourhood; the addition at this point of the phrase, *and* (*it is*) *a desolation like the overthrow of* . . . does not seem very suitable: it is, moreover, structurally redundant. Probably the words are a gloss ‡ on the word *desolation* at the beginning of the verse, meaning your land is a desolation—and that a desolation like the overthrow of. . . . Grammatically, the clause, *an overthrow of aliens* (𝔊𝔎), may mean either such an overthrow as barbarians customarily bring about, or such an overthrow as customarily befalls barbarians (cp. Del.); but neither meaning is very probable. It is far more probable that זרים, *aliens*, has replaced סדם, *Sodom*;§ everywhere else the word *overthrow* (מהפכה) refers to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah (13^{19}, Dt 29^{22}, Am 4^{11}, Jer 49^{18} 50^{40}).—**8.** *Daughter of Ṣion*] Cities with their inhabitants are poetically regarded as a woman; cp. *e.g.* "daughter of Babylon," 47^{1}; "virgin Israel," Am 5^{2}. Ṣion here is used widely of the entire city, not of the South-Eastern Hill alone (cp. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 269).—*A booth*] for the slightness and insecurity of the סכה, cp. Job 27^{18}; and of the *night-refuge* (מלונה), Is 24^{20},

* Cp. Che. *PI*, Introd. notes to x. 5–xii. 6.

† Che. *Introd.* p. 3 f. (with references); cp. Driver, *Isaiah* (1888), p. 101.

‡ So Du., Che., Marti, Cond. al.

§ So, *e.g.*, Ew., Che., Du., Mar.

"It shall shake to and fro like a night-refuge." For a picture of a modern structure of this kind, see *SBOT*, p. 162.—*Like a tower for the watch*] No entirely satisfactory rendering of כעיר נצורה can be suggested; *like a tower for the watch* (cp. מגדל נוצרים, 2 K 17^9) fits in well with the two preceding lines, but עיר, meaning *alarm-post*, or *tower* (? cp. עור: Kön.), and נצורה, *watch*, are both uncertain. *Besieged*, too, is a questionable rendering of נצורה; and it is an objection both to *as a besieged city* (RV) and *like a 'forsaken'* (עזובה, cp. 60^{15} 62^{12}) *city* (Che. *SBOT*), that Ṣion not merely resembles, but actually is, a besieged, or forsaken, city. *A well-guarded city* would be the safest rendering, and yet it can only really express the meaning if Haupt (see *SBOT*) is right in treating the clause as a gloss; and this is improbable, for the structure of the poem seems to require the line. See also phil. n.

9. Had not Yahweh allowed some of the Jews to escape, the nation would have perished as completely as the "cities of the plain" (Gn 19^{28}, Dt 29^{22f}). According to v.^{8}, Jerusalem stands entire, though isolated now and insecure: the *escaped* of this v. ought to be, then, the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the conviction lying behind the words that in Jerusalem they are safe, that the capital is inviolable: and yet v.^{8} suggests anything but the invincibility of Jerusalem; and for this reason Marti suspects the originality of v.^{9} in its present position. On the difference in rhythm and strophic length that distinguishes v.^{9} from vv.$^{4-8}$, see above.—*Some that escaped*] RV inadequately renders *remnant*; שריד, from a root meaning *to take fright, run away* (cp. Ar. šarada), is *one who survives from defeat, one who escapes*: cp. *e.g.* Jer 31^2, Nu 24^{19}. In MT, though not in 𝔊𝔖𝔙, the survivors are said to be *like a little*, i.e. very few: cp. כמעט רגע, "like a little moment," 26^{20}. 𝔓 also admits of the word כמעט being taken with the next clause—*almost had we become* (cp. Gn 26^{10}; BDB 590*a*). But this fails to do justice to the obvious thought of v.^{9}, for if Yahweh had not allowed some to escape, Judah would have been clean wiped out, and, therefore, not almost, but quite like Sodom.

2. גדלתי ורוממתי] the simple (not consecutive) waw coupling two *synonymous* terms (Dr. § 131 f.). Ḳi. rightly remarks, "Two words of like meaning are used for the sake of emphasis, but the sense of both is one and the same"; he is wrong, however (see above), in the meaning which he gives to both—והם—כי גדלתי אותם ורוממתים מעל כל עם] *but they*; the emphasis implied by the

use of the separate pronoun is in such cases as this best expressed by rendering ו, *but*, instead of *and*; cp. Gn 42[8], and further, Dr. § 160, Obs. (p. 201).—**3.** אֲבוּם] ṣere for ḥateph seghol: G–K. 84*a*, *q*. √ אבם, means *to feed up*, *fatten*, and אבוס is the *feeding trough*: cp. Job 39[9].—בעלי] *pluralis majestatis*; G–K. 124*i*.—ישראל לא ידע] 𝔊 Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω: the acc. pronoun here (and in the next clause) is an interpretation, not a variant. The objects in Hebrew are left to be supplied in thought: cp. 6[9].—עמי] some 30 MSS and also 𝔊𝔖𝔙 read ועמי—a mistaken assimilation to the previous lines.—**4.** הוי] may be followed by the 3rd pers. as in 5[11] 10[5] 17[12] and often: see Kön. iii. 321*a*, *b*. But הוי is also followed by the 2nd pers. (*e.g.* 33[1] 55[1], Jer 47[6]), and if the text be sound, both here and in 5[8] by the 3rd pers. (v.[4], cf. [5] 𝔐; 𝔊, 2nd pers.) passing over into the 2nd (v.[5a]).—כבד עון] for this genitival cstr., see G–K. 128*x*; and for כָּבֵד = כָּבֶד, Sta. § 202*b*.—זרע מרעים] the two terms, whether in apposition or cstr. and gen. (Kön. 337*b*), are co-extensive; cp. 65[23]: hence not *seed*, i.e. *descendants*, *of evil-doers*, but *seed*, i.e. *race*, *consisting of evil-doers*; 𝔊, correctly, *σπέρμα πονηρόν* (cp. 𝔗𝔖). It is possible that מרעים = מרעם was originally מרע, and that the clause was symmetrical with its three fellows.—משחיתים] *sc.* דרכם (Gn 6[13]), or something similar.—את יהוה . . . את קדש] Marti finds the repeated prosaic את suspicious.—נזרו אחור] 𝔊 om. The punctuators treat נָזֹרוּ as Niph. of זור, as also, though in view of v.[7] doubtfully, in Ezk 14[5]; the cstr. is then pregnant, *they are estranged* (from Yahweh and gone) *backward*—a strange mixture of two figures each in itself sufficient (Marti). So already 𝔙 *abalienati sunt retrorsum*. The consonants may also be punctuated נָזְרוּ (cp. Ezk 14[7]), Niph. of נזר, but *they have dedicated themselves backwards* is no more probable. 𝔗 (cp. 𝔖) has אסתחרו והוו לאחורא—the same phrase that is used to render נסוג אחור in 50[5]; whether 𝔗 actually read נסגו for נזרו is doubtful, but this has been suggested as the original reading by Marti: for נסג אחר, cp. Ps 40[15] 70[3] and references above. Since the poem is for the most part composed of distichs, one (if not all) of the last three clauses of the v. seems superfluous: the last being absent from 𝔊 has not unnaturally been suspected (Brown, Du.); but rhythmically the clause נאצו את קדוש ישראל, with three accents against the prevailing two accent lines, is more doubtful; it is also a less satisfactory balance to עזבו את־יהוה than נזרו אחור. Haupt (*SBOT*, p. 109) attempts to meet the case by transposing סרה (emended to תוסיפו) from v.[5] and making it parallel to נזרו אחור.—**5.** מה על] Kit. מה־ער? Possible, but unnecessary.—כל ראש] with poet. omission of the art.: G–K. 127*c*. Hence *the whole head*, not *every head* (RVmarg.), as if every individual Israelite were physically sick and covered with actual sores.—להלי] probably ל of the product: cp. 2 Ch 21[18].—**6.** אין בו מתם] 𝔊 has no equivalent for בו מתם, but it is a mistake when Marti says that 𝔊 omits the whole clause: the *οὔτε* of 𝔊 implies that they read אין; and as without בו מתם the sentence (*there is no wound*, etc.) is impossible in the context, we must suppose that 𝔊 used a text from which בו מתם had accidentally dropped out. The clause is not a gloss from Ps 38[4. 8]. MT punctuates תָּמֻם—a strange nominal formation from תמם, on which see Kön. ii. 98 n. 1. Better with Haupt, in *SBOT* (p. 110), תֹּם, *there is nought of soundness*.—זרו] MT by accentuating on the penult. perhaps intended to connect the form with זרר (see Del.). Going back to the

consonants alone we may connect it with זור, זרה, or זרר. Olsh. (p. 536) treated it as pass. Kal (=זֻרּוּ), from זרר (cp. G–K. 52*c*, 67*m*): we must then suppose זרר is an otherwise unused modification of צרר, *to bind up*, with a special technical sense (cp. Du., Kön. i. 328, 333 f.). Sta. (§ 415*b*) considers זרו to be Pual of זרה; but it is doubtful whether the sense required here could naturally be derived from זרה, *to disperse, scatter, winnow*. BDB treats the form as pass. of זור = כּוֹל, כּוּל, *to compress*; cp. תוּרה, Job 39[15], and the ambiguous forms in Is 59[5] (*pressed* under foot) and Jg 6[38] (*pressing, wringing out* a fleece). However the form be explained, the sense is reasonably well secured. —רכבה . . . חבשו . . . זרו] רכבה (a transcriptional error for רכבו?) could be explained by G–K. 148*d*, but the change of cstr. is extraordinary, and is not satisfactorily explained by calling it an approximation to a chiasm (Del.), or by treating רכבה as impersonal cstr. (G–K. 144*b*)—*and there has been no softening with oil*, or by the distance from the subject (cp. 35[9a], Jer 44[21b]; Kön. 346*b*). Marti, partly on the ground of the cstr., partly on the ground that binding up should follow, not precede, the treatment with oil, deletes לא זרו ולא ח as a gloss on פצע וחבורה, which, when it came into the text, led to ן being prefixed to לא רכבה. Both objections could be met less drastically by supposing that ומכה מריה originally followed לא זרו ולא הבשו; and, since אין בו מתם is not a gloss, the distichic structure would favour this alternative.—**7.** שרפות אש] if the line is of two accents, שרפות־אש, or perhaps שִׂרְפַּת־אש (cp. 64[10] 9[4] 𝔊): or omit אש as a gloss.—אכלים אתה] insert makkeph, or omit אתה. —אכלים, *are* (now) *devouring*: Dr. § 135 (2).—נצר [עיר נְצוּרָה regularly means *to watch, guard* (from danger)—hence *a city guarded* (from danger). The sense *besiege* is but doubtfully supported by Ezk 6[12], where the meaning may rather be *preserved*, and Jer 4[16], where 𝔊 suggests צררים. The regular word for *to besiege* is צור על, cp. *e.g.* 29[3] 2 K 6[24f.]: hence Di. explains נצורה as the Niph. part. of this vb. Du. and Marti treat נצורה as an infin. noun like שמועה, קבוצה, גבורה, meaning *watch* (*Beobachtung*).

10–17. The futility of sacrifices.—With the formula, *Hear the word of Yahweh*, a fresh section, if not a fresh poem, begins, and the change is marked by a change of rhythm (see above, p. 4 f.). There has been too much sacrifice and too little justice—that is what has alienated Yahweh from Israel and led Him to punish His people again and again (vv.[5-9]), and that is why even now He takes no notice of their prayers (v.[15]) so as to rescue them.

This is one of the most notable statements of the common standpoint of the prophets: that what He demands of those who worship Him is not sacrifice, but justice and humanity. Compare, for example, among those who preceded Isaiah, Hos 6[4-6] and Am 4[4] 5[21-25]; and among those who followed him, Mic 6[6-8], Jer 7[4. 21f.], Is 40[16].

Sacrifice and many of the forms of religion Israel shared with the nations, and it is not the institution, but the repudiation, of sacrifice that distinguishes the religion of Israel. Not, perhaps, that the utterances of the prophets need be taken as a prohibition absolute of sacrifice (ct. 30^{29}) for their own time; but certainly a non-sacrificial, not less than a monotheistic, religion was the natural outcome of their teaching. Historically, the unessential character of sacrifice in the higher development of Hebrew religion is shown by the continuance of the religion without sacrifice during the first Exile and, subsequently, both in Judaism, after the fall of the Temple, and in Christianity. Prior to the Exile the practical outcome of prophetic teaching did not extend to the suppression of sacrifice, but only to its purification and centralisation (Deuteronomy: the reforms of Josiah); but the emphasis laid by the prophets on the essentially ethical nature of Yahweh and of His demands upon men (cp. Mic 6^{6-8}) enabled the nation not only to survive the Exile, but as a religious community to emerge from it even stronger.

10. Under the suggestive and caustic titles *chiefs of Sodom, people of Gomorrah*, Isaiah addresses the prophets of Jerusalem and Judah, and especially their leaders, whom he elsewhere regards as responsible for the moral condition of the people (v.[23]). "V.[10] is most closely connected with v.[9], for the address to the chiefs of Sodom, etc., would be unintelligible without v.[9]; even if the persons intended could be conjectured, it would remain obscure why the people of Jerusalem are so termed. This, to be sure, does not exclude the possibility that vv.[10ff.] were not spoken in the same breath with vv.[2-9]. . . . Jerusalem is compared with Sodom and Gomorrah in the first instance because of their almost identical fate; whether also on account of the similarity of their moral state could only be decided if it were known what Isaiah understood 'the cry of Sodom' (Gn 18^{20}) to mean: if he had Gn 19 in mind, a moral comparison would have implied great exaggeration" (Du.). This is probably right if the connection is due to Isaiah, and not, as some think, to a later editor, who brought together two independent poems on account of the verbal resemblances in vv.[9] and [10], or supplied v.[9] as a link between vv.[1-8] and [10-17]. Certainly the fate (13^{19}, Am 4^{10}, Jer 20^{16} 49^{18}, Zeph 2^{9}) of Sodom and Gomorrah is more frequently alluded to in the OT than their sins (La 4^{6},

Dt 32^{32}, Ezk $16^{16ff.}$), though both are naturally enough sometimes thought of at the same time (Dt 29^{22}), as is so frequently the case with the references in the Ḳorân to Ad and Thamud. On the other hand, if Sodom typifies for Isaiah the same sins—pride, fullness of bread, prosperous ease, failure to help the poor and the needy—as it did a century and more later for Ezekiel (16^{49}), the comparison of the moral state of Judah with Gomorrah would have been quite in harmony with his general point of view, and sufficiently obvious for him to begin an address to a crowd assembled in the temple courts (vv.$^{10-12}$), which numbered among it persons of position, with the epithets *chiefs of Sodom, people of Gomorrah.*—*Chiefs*] the word קצין is a synonym of ראש in the sense of *leader*: cp. Mic $3^{1.\ 9}$ (in parallelism with ראש), Jg $11^{6.}$ (=ראש, vv.$^{8.\ 9}$) ^{11} (coupled with ראש). In Jg $11^{6.\ 11}$, Jos 10^{24} (JE), Dn 11^{18} the word is used of a leader in war: in Is 3^{7} 22^{3}, Mic $3^{1.\ 9}$, Pr 6^{7}† (a leader of the ants) it is used more generally; in Pr 25^{15} קצין is corrupt. In Hebrew the word appears to have retained less of the apparently original meaning *decide* than has the Arabic *Ḳaḍî*. Chiefs of the people of Yahweh ought to make it their aim to keep things right in the State (Mic 3^{1}); but, since Isaiah shares with Micah (3^{9}) the view that their aim is just the opposite, he addresses them not as chiefs of Yahweh's people, but as chiefs of Sodom; so also the people misled by them are worthily termed people of Gomorrah. Yet the prophet has for these misleading chiefs and misled people a communication from Yahweh: they have gone astray because they have misunderstood what Yahweh really cares for. The doom of Sodom and Gomorrah will only become actually theirs if they refuse to obey the word of God by His prophet: cp. the survey of neglected prophetic monitions in the Ḳorân, Sura 7.—*The instruction of our God*] the word תורה in passages such as these is very unsatisfactorily represented by *law* (RV). Both in the sing. and the plural it is used in Ex.–Dt. and elsewhere of laws properly so called; but an earlier sense, which was also retained even after the special sense of law had become established, was *instruction, teaching, direction*, in the first instance probably a communication of the will of the god; cp. the Assyr. *têrtu*, if the term is derived from Babylon (*KAT*^{3}, p. 606); or, perhaps, ירה, *to cast lots*, Jos 18^{6}, if the word is of Hebrew origin. The word is also used of the teaching given to a child by a parent,

which may be in the form of command or law (cp. Pr $6^{20.23}$), or of much wider scope; and, as the context suggests, in Pr 4^{2} 1^{8}, it is the imparting of wisdom. The *instruction* of God is teaching concerning the will and ways of God (2^{3}), more especially as communicated through prophets (8^{6} 30^{9}: cp. La 2^{9}, Job 22^{32}) or priests (Hos 4^{6}, Jer 2^{8} 18^{18}).—**11.** Why this constant bringing of sacrifices? that is the question which Yahweh is repeatedly putting to the people. How mistaken a proceeding, if it is intended to please, not the people themselves (Am 4^{5}), but *Yahweh! He* has no good of sacrifices; cp. Am $5^{21ff.}$, Jer 6^{20}, Is $15^{32f.}$. The first term זבחיכם (v.^{11a}) is used widely of all slain sacrifices, many of which went mainly to furnish forth a feast for those who sacrificed; the two following lines refer to the special sacrifices, the *burnt-offering*, and to the special parts (Lv 3^{17}, cp. 2 S $2^{15f.}$ $14^{32f.}$) of all sacrifices, to wit, *the fat* and *the blood* (Lv 3^{17}, cp. 2 S $2^{15f.}$ $14^{32f.}$), which were not consumed by the people, but reserved entirely as holy to Yahweh—*Fatlings*] except in 11^{6} the word מריא is always used (Am 5^{22}, Ezk 39^{18}, 2 S 6^{13}, 1 K $1^{9-19.25}$) of beasts fattened for sacrifice; in some cases it is clear that these fatted beasts were eaten (apart from the flesh and the blood) by the worshippers (so 1 K 1).—*Bullocks*] 𝔎 adds, *and lambs*; but the words are due to an annotator who desired completeness; they are absent from 𝔊, and the tone and sense are rhythmically and rhetorically complete without them.

12–14. As vocalised and accented by the Massoretes, the Hebrew text yields a less severe utterance than 𝔊. Alike in 𝔎 and 𝔊, v.^{11} has implicitly denied that sacrifices form any essential part of the religion of Yahweh—What good are they to Him? At any rate, He has received them in superabundance: and they give Him no pleasure. Then 𝔊 (followed in the translation above) continues: Certainly it is not God who has asked man to bring sacrifices when they come to worship Him: offerings are useless; the smoke ascending from them when burnt on the altar is an absolute abomination to Him; the sacred seasons with the preparatory fast and the accompanying gluttonous (cp. 28^{7}) feasts are hateful to Him. Cp. Am 5^{21-25}.

Offence was probably given at a relatively early period by this unqualified condemnation of religious worship; and by a single slight change in the consonantal text, viz. the substitution

of און, *iniquity*, for צום, *fast* (so 𝔊), in v.[13], a milder interpretation was made possible. According to MT, Yahweh repudiates not the bringing of sacrifice, but the trampling of His courts, and condemns not all offerings and sacred seasons, but *vain offerings* and *iniquitous festivals*. This interpretation already appears in 𝔖𝔗𝔙; but though much older than the Massoretic punctuation, it is in all probability not original. That the severity of such a saying was softened, is far more probable than that it was enhanced. There are reasons for thinking that the text of these verses has suffered enlargements or other changes (see phil. n.) to which even 𝔊 gives no clue; but these do not appear to have affected the fundamental meaning of the passage.

12. *To see my face*] *i.e.* to worship Me. The anthropomorphism implicit in the phrase, which is frequently used of visiting, or being admitted to the presence of men (Gn 43^{3}, Ex 10^{28}, 2 K 25^{19}), has been obscured by the punctuators (see phil. n.), hence EV *to appear before me*. A similar attempt to soften down a phrase that implied the visibility of God is seen in 𝔊's paraphrase of Ex 24^{10}: 𝔐 there runs, "and they saw the God of Israel," 𝔊 "and they saw the place where the God of Israel stood."—*Who hath required this?*] viz. offerings (v.[11])—certainly not Yahweh. Isaiah criticises the law and religious customs of his time with the same freedom as Jeremiah ($7^{22f.}$), and, later, our Lord Himself (Mt 5). Even the earliest law required that the Hebrews when they came "to see Yahweh's face" should not come empty-handed (Ex 23^{15} 34^{20}).—*Trample my courts*] *i.e.* the courts of the Temple in Jerusalem. The trampling may be that of the sacrificial animals (v.[11]) which the worshippers bring with them (cp. Ezk 26^{11}), or the irreverent entrance of the worshippers themselves into the sacred precincts; cp. the use of πατεῖν, 𝔊's rendering here, in Jer 11^{2}, and of καταπατεῖν (=רמס 16^{4}) in 1 Mac $3^{45.51}$ 4^{60}. The awe which fell upon Isaiah as he entered the temple-precincts, the place of the Holy One of Israel (cp. ch. 6), makes the careless familiarity with which others treated them peculiarly offensive to him (cp. 28^{8} n.).—**13.** *Offerings*] the word מנחה means etymologically, and frequently in Hebrew usage, *presents*, *gifts*: it is here used with its widest sacrificial sense of any offerings made to the deity, whether of vegetables or animals; cp. Gn 4^{3-5}; 𝔊 (σεμίδαλις also 66^{3}) gives it the specific sense of

cereal offering which it acquired later (P).—*Sacrificial savours*] קטרת, later used (*e.g.* by P) of the fragrant smoke produced by burning aromatic substances, originally (see phil. n.) meant the smell of the burning flesh of sacrifices, and this is its meaning here. The early Hebrews, in common with the Babylonians, thought of the gods as delighting in these savoury smells; in the Babylonian Flood story we read, "The gods smelt the savour, the gods smelt the sweet savour; the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer"; cp. in Heb. Gn 8^{21}, 1 S 26^{19}, and the sacrificial term "savour of gratification" (EV, sweet savour) which held its own to the latest times. The prophets with their more spiritual conception of Yahweh repudiate the belief; the scent of burnt flesh is not a pleasure, but an abomination to God (cp. Am 5^{21}).—*New moon and sabbath*] for the coupling of these two sacred days, cp. 2 K 4^{23}, Am 8^{5}; for the religious observance of the new moon, 1 S 20$^{5ff.}$, and see Benzinger, *Arch.* § 69. The attitude of the successors of the prophets is in striking contrast to Isaiah's: see 56$^{4.6}$, Jer 17$^{21ff.}$ (both post-exilic).—*The calling of assembly*] or, as we may render so as to retain the etymological connection of vb. and noun (קרא מקרא), *the convoking of convocations*. If the clause is a part of the original text (see phil. n.), it explains that what is particularly intolerable to Yahweh on the sacred days is the meetings, or rather, the summoning of such meetings, to which the Jews were probably called by the voice, as are the Moslems to-day. In P (Ex 12, Lv 23, Nu 28 f.—19 times in all) מקרא קדש, *holy assembly*, is the technical term for the meeting of the community on the Sabbath, the new moon, and other sacred occasions; and מקרא, *assembly*, unqualified, both here and in 4^{5}, must have the same meaning. The only other occurrences of מקרא are Neh 8^{8}, Nu 10^{2}, where the sense is entirely different. —*Fast and sacred season*] so 𝔊, cp. Joel 1^{14} 2^{15}; 𝔙 has the milder, and therefore probably not the original, reading *iniquity and sacred gathering* (see phil. n.); this would mean that God does not tolerate sacred gatherings associated with iniquity; cp. *iniquity and teraphim*, 1 S 15^{23}. According to 𝔊, we have another of the absolute statements that abound here: fasting and sacred seasons are not demanded by Yahweh under any circumstances: He cannot endure them. The fasting intended is quite probably that fasting which was widely practised "as a preparation for the sacramental eating of the holy flesh" (W. R.

Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[1] 413): the sacramental eating itself would be intimately associated in Isaiah's mind with the second term—עצרה, cp. Am 5^{21}, 2 K $10^{20.24}$. The precise force of עצרה is not clear. Except in Jer $9^{1(2)}$ it is always used of something sacred or religious (cp. 2 K 10^{20} קַדְּשׁוּ עצרה לבעל); but whether it is a sacred gathering, as Jer $9^{1(2)}$ and perhaps 2 K 10^{20} would suggest, or a sacred *season*, as the parallelism with חג in Am 5^{21}, and perhaps the remaining uses would rather suggest, is not quite certain. In the laws (Dt 16^{8}, Lv 23^{36}, Nu 29^{35}) it is required that the עצרה shall be accompanied by abstinence from work (cp. 𝔊 *ἀργίαν*). In view of this taboo on work, which may well be ancient, and the use of the word עצור in Jer 36^{5} Neh 6^{10} and of נעצר in 1 S 21^{8}, Marti's suggestion is probable that עצרה meant *a time during which men are under taboo.* Such gatherings or seasons occurred annually on the last day of the Feast of Maṣṣoth (Dt 16^{8}), and of Booths (Lv 23^{36}, Nu 29^{35}, 2 Ch 7^{9}, Neh 8^{18}); they were also proclaimed when it seemed specially necessary to appease Yahweh or seek His favour (Joel 1^{14} 2^{15-17} and perhaps Am 5^{21}).—**14.** *Your new moons and your set times*] perhaps a gloss on *new moon and sabbath*: see above. The *set times* (מועדים) are seasons that recur in the course of the year (Gn 1^{14}), annual sacred days or times.—*A burden*] the noun (טרח), Dt 1^{13}; the vb., Job 37^{11}. It is a burden that rests *upon* (על) Yahweh, and which He has grown weary of carrying. The bold anthropomorphism (𝔐𝔗) is euphemized by 𝔊𝔗.

15 f. Prayers, too, though long and frequent (cp. Mt 6^{7}), when offered by blood-stained evil-doers who persist in their wrong-doing, are of no avail. It is significant that the absolute terms in which the inefficacy of sacrifices and sacred seasons is asserted is followed by a careful definition of the prayers that are without effect. Not all prayers, but *your prayers*, are useless; not unto all who call upon Him does Yahweh turn a deaf ear, but to those who pray without recognising the need for amendment of life; even these murderers, and these violent and oppressive men whom Isaiah addresses will find Yahweh ready to hear if they cease from their evil ways, and instead of defrauding and oppressing the weak—*the widow and the orphans*—see that they get their rights. The prophet's teaching anticipates that of our Lord in Mt $5^{23f.}$; Pr 28^{9} $15^{8.29}$ may also be compared.

When ye spread out your hands] The gesture of prayer was

to spread out the palm (כף) of the hands (cp. Ex $9^{29.33}$, Ez 9^5, Job 11^{13}, Ps 44^{21}, and (with יד) Ps 14^{36}). From the time that Yahweh was thought to dwell in heaven, the hands were stretched heavenwards (1 K $8^{22.54}$, 2 Mac 3^{20}). Cp. the varying custom of the Greeks, "The suppliant stood with face and hands upraised to heaven when he called upon the dwellers therein. In addressing the deities of the sea, he might merely stretch his arms towards the waters. And when the beings addressed were those of the nether world, the suppliant would stretch his hands downwards"; Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 223. The attitude was that more generally of entreaty (65^2, La 1^{17}).—*I will hide mine eyes from you*] turn away from and disregard you: cp. Pr 28^{27}. Yahweh turns away His eyes from hands red with shed blood. The *blood* (דמים) is not the sacrificial blood of v.[11], which would be, as it is there, דם (G–K. 124 n.); nor is it simply blood as rendering ceremonially unclean, so that Hector's plea (*Iliad*, vi. 268) that he cannot pray "imbued with blood and dust," though cited here by Ges., is but a very partial parallel: it is blood (guiltily) shed; cp. 4^4, Hos 1^4 4^4, Gn $4^{10f.}$.

16. *Wash you, make yourselves pure*] wash yourselves pure, figuratively for what is stated literally in the next line. The word *wash* is used ritually, but when so used the result is ritual cleanness (טהר—*e.g.* Lv 14^4). Here the result is moral purity, righteousness; זכה is never used of ceremonial cleanness, but of ethical purity: cp. Job 15^4 25^4 (where it is parallel with צדק *to be righteous*), Ps 57^6, Mic 6^{10} (shall I be pure with wicked balances and with a bag of deceitful weights?), Ps 73^{13} 119^9, and the use of the kindred root זכך, especially in Job 8^6 9^{30}.—**16, 17.** *Cease to do evil, learn to do well*] "an abstract paraphrase of the highly concrete exhortations" (Che. *SBOT*, p. 111), and therefore judged by Du., Che., Marti to be a gloss; Du. also argues that the clauses overload the metre; yet the two clauses metrically resemble the four that follow. Marti refers to Jer 4^{22} 7^5; but the second of these passages serves as a parallel to the present combination of the general and the particular.—**17b. c. d. e.** Illustrations of the positive requirements of Yahweh —the powerful must be kept within bounds, the rights of the weak must be secured: cp. the denunciation of the opposite conduct in 10^2.—*Seek out right*] inquire what is demanded

by משפט, *i.e.* old established *custom* which rested on the will of Yahweh as it had been declared of old by successive decisions; such customs were gathered together into a body of *customs* or *judgments* before the time of Isaiah, and one such collection has come down to us (Ex $21^{1ff.}$). As our Lord selected (Mt $22^{37ff.}$), or approved (Lk 10^{27}) the selection, from the great bulk of the later Jewish law, of two principles, love of God and love of man, as a summary of the law of God, so Isaiah here selects (cp. Ex $22^{20f.}$ $23^{6f.}$) the duty of maintaining even-handed justice between the strong and the weak as the very essence of Yahweh's demands. Cp. the somewhat fuller summary of a later writer in Mic 6^{8}.—*Make the violent keep straight*] so, in spite of some uncertainty, the clause may best be rendered; see phil. n. The versions agree in expressing a sense similar to 𝔙, *subvenite oppresso*, whence EV.—*Secure the right of*] or *do justice to*, a frequent sense of שפט, cp. 6^{23} 11^{4}, 1 S 24^{16}, Ps 43^{1} 72^{4}.

9. יהוה צבאות] for the breviloquence, cp. G–K. 125*h*.—שריד] 𝔊 *σπέρμα*, 𝔙 *semen*; variants?—**11.** למה לי] for this idiom, see Gn 27^{46}, Am 5^{18}.—יאמר] frequentative impf.; Dr. § 33.—**12.** לֶרְאוֹת פני] see G–K. 51*l* for other instances where MT assumes syncope of the ה of Niph. inf.: and see Kön. ii. pp. 312 f. for the use of the acc. of פנים if the vb. were really Niph. But the punctuation is due to scruples against the suggestion that man could see God (Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 337 ff.). Point לִרְאוֹת פני.—V.[12] should end with ירכם (cp. 𝔊), and רמס חצרי be carried over to [13]. In [13] punctuate שׂוא מִנְחָת (cp. 𝔊) instead of מִנְחַת־שוא, and for אין read צום (with 𝔊). Then [13] and [14] stand thus:

רמס חצרי לא תוסיפו הביא מנחת † שוא
קטרת † תועבה היא לי
חדש ושבת † קרא מקרא † לא אוכל
צום ועצרה † חדשיכם ומועדיכם † שנאה נפשי
† היו עלי לטרח נלאת נשא †.

The lines, it will be observed, are irregular. Marti by omitting the words enclosed between † and in v.[12] מירכם reduces the passage to "tolerably regular" lines of four accents (the rhythm of vv.[2-8] but not of vv.[10f. 12a. 15f.]). Certainly חדשיכם ומ׳ (*your*, not necessarily all, *new moons*), which might well be a gloss intended to mitigate the absoluteness of חדש ושבת and קרא מקרא, is (in spite of the parallel in Ps $45^{5.9}$, Job 42^{9} cited by Del.) an awkward asyndeton; but the arguments in favour of the other omissions are far less substantial. Haupt gains rhythmical regularity by omitting חדשיכם ומועדיכם and היו עלי לטרח (with Marti) and also רמס חצרי, לא אוכל און ועצרה, שנאה נפשי. Though the rhythmical irregularity is probably due to some and perhaps considerable textual corruption, no reconstruction in detail seems likely to command general assent.—**12.** ואת] *this*, viz. the conduct just described; cp., for this use of זאת (fem. G–K. 122*q*), Dt 32^{6}, Jg 7^{14}, Ps 118^{23} etc. The ואת is clearly understood

thus, and rightly, by 𝔊; but according to MT and the verse division ואת points forward (cp. 27^{9}, Jer 9^{23}, 1 S 11^{2}) to רמס הצרי.—מידכם] יד in such phrases is not *necessarily* literal: cp. ביד לשון, Pr 18^{21} and, frequently, דבר ביד, *to speak by the hand of*. In itself, therefore, this phrase does not exclude the possibility of the cstr. in MT. A Hebrew would certainly not have said *who hath required* מרגליכם *that ye should trample*, as Du.'s criticism would suggest. —רמס חצרי] in MT a permutative of ואת: grammatically possible, for בקש may take as its obj. the simple acc. without ל (Jer 26^{21}). But according to 𝔊 רמס חצרי is the acc. of לא תוסיפו (v.[13]), preceding its vb. like the acc. infin. in Gn 48^{11}.—לא תוסיפו] the לא of emphatic command: G–K. 107*o*.—הביא] in MT inf. cstr. without ל (G–K. 114*m*) dependent on יסף; but it is rather an inf. cstr. constituting together with its acc. מנחת the subj. of a sentence: cp. 7^{13}, 1 S 23^{20}.—קטרת] the smell produced by aromatic substances is expressed in P either by the full phrase קטרת סמים (Ex 25^{6} etc.) or by קטרת alone (Nu 16^{35}ᵀ.). By a natural extension of meaning קטרת came to mean also, alike in Heb. (Lv 10^{17}) and Phœn. (see G. A. Cooke, *NSI*, p. 126), the substance which produced this smell. But etymologically קטר (קתר) has a much wider meaning: note the sense of *smoke* in Heb. קיטר (Gn 19^{28}), Assyr. *Ḳutru* (*i.e.* קתר), Aram. קוטרא (=עשן, Ps 18^{9}), قَتَرَ (=קתר), *to smoke* (of a fire), and the development from that meaning of قَتَر, *aloe wood burnt for fumigation*, and قَتَار, *scent of flesh-meats roasted on live coals* (cp. *EBi.* 2165 n. 1). Hence, too, the verbal forms in Heb. קטר and הקטיר mean *to burn so as to produce smoke*: so Am 4^{5} (of leavened material), 1 S 2^{16} (of fat); and then they are used very frequently without an object and sometimes in parallelism with a wide term like זבח (Hos 4^{13} 11^{12}, Is 65^{7}): *i.e.* קטר or הקטיר and זבח are general terms alluding to different aspects of sacrifice—זבח to the slaying of the victim, קטר to the burning of the victim so as to produce a savour agreeable to the Deity. In a similar wide sense is קטרת used here and in Ps 66^{15} and קטורה in Dt 33^{10}. In view of the well-established pre-exilic use of the vb. it is quite unnecessary to doubt, with Marti, whether Isaiah could have used the noun.—לא . . . חדש. אוכל און ונו'] on the cstr. of MT, see Dr. § 197, Obs. 2.—קרא מקרא] 𝔊𝔗 felt the lack of the copula (see above) and supplied it—*καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην* (cp. Jn 7^{37}), *et festivitates alias*.—יכל] לא אוכל=*able to endure*, only here and Ps 101^{5} (doubtful). But cp. also Hos 6^{6}, Job 42^{2}. Perhaps לָשְׂאת has dropped out; cp. Jer 44^{22}.—**14.** נלאתי נְשֹׂא] cstr. as Jer 6^{11} 9^{4} 15^{6} 20^{9}: נְשֹׂא is instead of the usual שאת; G–K. 76*b*. 𝔊 renders paraphrastically *οὐκέτι ἀνήσω τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν*; נשא might, of course, mean *forgive*, yet not naturally here after the preceding clause. 𝔊 also paraphrases מרה by *πλησμονή*.—**15.** וּבְרִשְׁכֶּם] G–K. 60*f*., 61*e*. The vocalised text assumes a use of the Piel for the more common Kal in some other places also: see 65^{2}, Jer 4^{31}, La 1^{17}, Ps 143^{6}.—ידיכם דמים מלאו] on the order, see Dr. § 208 (3).—**16.** רחצו הזכו] cp. G–K. 121*g*, *h*.—הזכו] as accented Hithp. of זכה (G–K. 54*d*); but perhaps rather Niph. of וכך.—הזכו—הרע] infin. absolute as direct obj.: G–K. 113*d*; so היטיב in v.[17].—**17.** אשרו אשר] means *to go straight on* (Pr 9^{6} and, MT Piel, 4^{14}); the Piel in 3^{12} 9^{15} *to cause to go straight on* (antithesis to התעה); whether it further developed the meaning *to keep within bounds*, which would be very suitable

here, is uncertain; but it is almost suggested by the association with חמוץ—make the violent, instead of breaking all bounds by ill-treatment of the weak, keep straight. Punishment of the violent is not required by the context, and Che.'s proposal יִקְרוּ unnecessary. The versions probably connected אשר with אֲשֶׁר, אשרי, *happiness*, and then rendered freely: Ⓖ *ῥύσασθε*, 𝔗𝔖 ܐܬܪ̈ܘ, Vg. *subvenite*.—חָמוֹץ] the Versions give the word a passive sense: Ⓖ *ἀδικούμενον*, 𝔖 ܡܬܥܩ̈ܐ, 𝔗 ראנים, 𝔙 *oppresso*. But the form קטול has in some cases an active sense; cp. עָשׁוּק, Jer 22^3, בָּחוֹן, Jer 6^{27}. The meaning must be inferred from the association of חומץ with מעול in Ps 71^4, and the root may be a by-form of חמם, *to treat violently*, rather than of חמץ, *to be sour, sharp*.

18–20.— *Yahweh's Invitation.*

The sayings between the opening line (4 accents) and the closing formula are distichs consisting of long lines containing 4 or 5 accents each and parallel in sense. Perhaps originally each line contained 5 accents (=3+2). These distichs resemble some of those in vv.[10-16], but are quite dissimilar to those that follow in vv.[21-26] where the lines are shorter (3 or 2) and the parellelism is between lines unequal in length.

[18] Come, now, and let us reprove one another, saith Yahweh:—
Though your sins were like scarlet (robes), they might become white like snow;
Though they were red like crimson, they might become like wool.
[19] If ye be willing and obey, on the best of the land shall ye feed,
[20] But if ye refuse and rebel, on husks (?) shall ye feed—
For the mouth of Yahweh has spoken it.

Attempts have been made to find a connection between these lines and vv.[2-17] "Jehovah has been addressing His people in anger, but even in the exhortations of vv.[16. 17] His love had begun to move. This love, which seeks not the destruction of Israel, but their inward and outward salvation, now breaks forth in v.[18]" (Del.) But the lack of close connection has by no means escaped notice. Ew. suspected the loss of a v. before v.[18]; Di. suggested that Isaiah placed the section, though delivered under other circumstances, side by side with the foregoing, because both sections agree in maintaining that only by repentance and acquiescence in the ethical demands of God can the people be saved.

It certainly seems doubtful whether Isaiah would in immediate succession first represent the people as red-handed

criminals (v.[15]) and then treat the redness of their sins as hypothetical (v.[18]).

Nor must we claim the unity of a trial scene for the chapter. Whether the vb. in v.[18] implies the figure of a trial (see below) or not, Cheyne (*Introd.* 6) is right in withdrawing his earlier (*PI*) acquiescence in Ewald's theory that vv.[2-4] introduce a great trial scene, of which vv.[18-31] give the conclusion, and in abandoning as illegitimate his earlier translation, "Come now and let us bring our dispute to an end."

Du. suspects and Marti concludes that vv.[18] and [19. 20] are unconnected sayings. The reasons are partly formal ("in v.[18] Yahweh speaks, cp. יאמר יהוה; in v.[19f.] the prophet, otherwise the closing formula would run: for *my* mouth hath spoken it" (Marti)), partly based on the interpretation (see below).

18. *Come, now*] the introductory (נא) לכה or (נא) לכו expresses various emotions, and is used by persons of different positions, as (1) by one equal to another, Gn 31^{44} 19^{32}, 1 S 20^{11}, 2 K 14^{8}; (2) by a superior to an inferior, *e.g.* Jg 19^{13}, 1 S 9^{10} 14^{1}; or (3) by an inferior to a superior Jg 19^{11}. Other instances are Gn $37^{20. 37}$, 2 K 7^{4}, Neh $6^{2. 7}$, Ps 83^{5}, Is 2^{3}, Ca 7^{12}. The phrase commonly introduces a proposal for the mutual benefit of the parties, or, at least, for that of the party addressed.—*Let us reprove one another*] the various efforts to render נוכחה show how difficult it is to discover an English equivalent that is at once etymologically justifiable and suitable to the context. The Niphal of יכח occurs but twice elsewhere: in Gn 20^{16} it means *to be righted*; in Job 23^{7} (followed by עם) it means *to argue with, put one's case*. Here the Niphal must be reciprocal. In Job 23^{7} the Niph. and in Mic $6^{2f.}$ the Hithp. occur in connection with the figure of a lawsuit; so also the Hiph. is often used of giving *judicial* decisions (*e.g.* 2^{4} $11^{3f.}$, Job 9^{33}), or in passages where the figure of a law-court or of judgment is or may be present; see Job $13^{3. 15}$ 19^{5} 22^{4}, Ps $51^{8. 21}$, Pr 24^{25}, Is 29^{21}, Am 5^{10}, Hab 1^{12}. Hence many claim that it means here *let us go to law with one another, carry on litigation with one another*, and tacitly, therefore, that "Israel is worthy of death" (Del.); whence Del. further infers that Yahweh "is willing to remit the punishment," and to deal with Israel "not in accordance with His retributive justice, but according to His free mercy alone." Marti and Du., starting from the same translation, argue that in a court of law, justice and not mercy must rule, and that therefore the following saying cannot contain an offer of free pardon, but something very different. Yet it is very precarious to base the interpretation of the whole

passage on the assumption that נוכחה *must* imply a lawsuit; the Hiph. (as also the noun תוכחת) is frequently used where any such process is definitely excluded or not necessarily present—Gn 21^{25}, Ezk 3^{26}, Pr 3^{12} $9^{7f.}$ 15^{12} 19^{25} 28^{23}, Ps 141^{5}, Job 5^{17}. The occurrence of תוכחת and עצה in parallelism (Pr $1^{25.\ 30}$) suggests that נוכחה was nearly=נועצה (*e.g.* Neh 6^{7}), and meant little more than *advise together*, *reason together* (EV). Or, derived from the Hiph. in the sense *to reprove*, *find fault with* (*e.g.* Ezk 3^{26}, Job 6^{25}), the Niph. may mean *to reprove one another*, *to point out one another's faults*, *to discuss with one another who is right and who wrong*. Cp. Rashi's comment, "נוכחה, *i.e.* I and you together, that we may know who has wronged whom: and if it is you who have wronged me, I will yet give you hope of repentance." For the offer of free pardon in such a connection, cp. $43^{22\text{-}28}$.*—*Saith Yahweh*] the frequentative sense again: 1^{11} n.—*Though your sins were*] the case is put as a merely imaginary one (Driver, § 143: cp. *e.g.* Nu 22^{18}, Jer 2^{22}), and the argument is: even though the people may have committed the most flagrant sins, they may regain the highest degree of innocence; and if, hereafter, they continue obedient to Yahweh (v.[19]), they may enjoy prosperity. The Hebrew might also be rendered,† *If your sins are . . . they shall become* (cp. Dr. § 136 (*b*)), and, perhaps, even *though your sins are like scarlet robes*, *shall they become white like snow?* and so in the next line. But Dr. Burney has lately argued with much force that "no clear case occurs throughout the OT in which a question is to be assumed as implied by the speaker's tone (without use of an interrogative particle) in the apodosis of a conditional or concessive sentence" (*JThS* xi. 433–35).

Especially since the time of J. D. Michaelis, exception has been taken to the interpretation of v.[18] as an offer of forgiveness, and various others have been proposed. It is urged that such an offer of complete forgiveness is out of place in a summons to judgment (yet cp. נשפטה in 43^{26} after v.[25]), that it is out of accord with vv.[24-26. 28. 31], that Isaiah "nowhere so complacently offers the people free forgiveness: ct. 22^{14}" (Du.). Unless נוכחה (see n. above) *necessarily* implies the figure of judgment, the first objection falls to the ground, the second can be met by abandoning the unity of the chapter

* Since the above note was written, C. F. Burney (*JThS* xi. 433–438) also has challenged the prevalent view that נוכחה implies a legal process.

† J. D. Mich., Koppe, Eichh., We., Box. Cp. G–K. 150*a*; Davidson, *Syn.* 121.

(for doing which there are other good reasons); the third, if its cogency were admitted, by questioning the Isaianic authorship of the verse.

Elsewhere in OT forgiveness is represented as (1) a removal of sin, the vbs. used being נשא, הסיר, הרחיק, העביר; cp. Mic 7^{19} and the "scapegoat"; (2) a covering over or hiding of sin: כסה and כפר? (BDB, Kön. *ET* xxii. 233); (3) a disregarding of sin: cp. לא זכר, 43^{25}; אל תפן, Dn 9^{3}, see also Is 38^{17}; (4) a cleansing from sins or a wiping away of sins, מחה and כפר? (Ges–B.; *KAT*^{3}, 601); cp. Ps 51^{4-9}, Zec 13^{1}. The figure here employed would certainly be unparalleled, if it refers to forgiveness. It has been argued that it would also be unsuitable, representing the sins, not as vanishing, but as changing their appearance: they remain as white sins. But the language is that of poetry not of science, and sins "covered over" also remain. It has also been urged that the saying makes no allusion to Yahweh's action in forgiveness, the sins of themselves just become white sins. Yet the introductory formula may be held to suggest Yahweh's action.

The interrogative interpretation, though grammatically questionable (see above), would accord with prophetic teaching (see, *e.g.*, We. *Proleg.* c. 11, § 1 end; ed. 4, p. 423 f.). If the sins are really flagrant, are they to put on the appearance of mere trifling errors? The whole argument of Yahweh in vv.$^{18-20}$ then embodies the fundamental new teaching of the prophets: that Yahweh is Israel's God does not make Him more lenient to Israel's sin (cp. Am 3^{2}): scarlet sins He will treat as scarlet, not as white (v.^{18}): only through obedience to Yahweh's moral demands can Yahweh's favour be gained (v.^{19}): disobedience must invoke disaster (v.^{20}).

Du. and Marti prefer to give the saying a sarcastic tone: though your sins were scarlet, of course they can easily turn white: of course you know how to make innocent lambs of yourselves. Then cp. Jer 2^{22} for a direct negation of what is here implicit in the sarcasm. But this gives a less satisfactory connection between vv.^{18} and ^{19}, which Marti (perhaps rightly) does not seek to establish. Hackm. (p. 118 n.) raises the question whether scarlet robes are not here symbols of pomp and majesty (cp. Rev 17^{4}), and the meaning consequently, Your sins, though they may now flaunt forth in all the glory of colour, will lose it and become washed out. But the association of whiteness with innocence as contrasted with sin seems too close to admit of this interpretation.

Scarlet . . . crimson] not two colours, but one: the second word (cp. La 4^{5}) means primarily *worm*, the insect whence the colour was obtained (see *EBi*, *Colours* § 14, *Crimson*, *Scarlet*). The first word is pl. שנים, and means as in Pr 31^{21} (cp. sing. 2 S 1^{24}, Jer 4^{30}) *scarlet clothes*: cp. ברים, *linen clothes* (G–K. 125*l*). Sin is conceived of as a blood-stained (cp. 63^{1-3}) garment enwrapping the sinner: cp. the "filthy garments" of iniquity (Zec $3^{3f.}$).—*White as snow*] cp. Ps 51^{9}. Ges. recalls here the saying of the Arabs, that the holy stone of Mecca fell white from heaven but became black on account of the sins of men;

cp. also, for the whiteness of restored innocence, Rev $7^{13f.\ 19f.}$.—*Like wool*] a sheep's fleece as typical of whiteness may appear to us anti-climactic after snow; but not so to the Hebrews. Black sheep were exceptional (Gn $30^{32ff.}$): the colour of wool was regularly white: hence the "beloved's" teeth are compared to ewes shorn and washed (Ca 4^{2}), and the hair of the "Ancient of Days" is compared to wool as well as snow (Dan 7^{9}): Rev 1^{14}, however, is explicit—"as white wool."

19. The alternative here presented—obedience and prosperity, or disobedience and destruction—recalls Isaiah's attitude when the Syro-Ephraimitish army was approaching Jerusalem (ch. 7 f.): cp. also $30^{9ff.\ 15ff.}$.—*The good of the land*] *i.e.* the produce of the land: Gn $45^{20.\ 23}$.—*Feed*] אכל as in v.^{7}.—*On husks shall ye feed*] 𝔐 is ambiguous and the exact meaning uncertain. If this line is symmetrical with the preceding, חרב should be the direct object of תאכלו (Kal); then render either (1) *ye shall feed on desolation* (חָרֶב), but an abstract noun is not very probable here, or (2) . . . *on desolations* (Du. reading חָרְבֹת; note following ת), an idiom used of animals in 5^{17}, but less obviously applicable to men, or (3) . . . *on husks*, lit. *the carob*, or *carob-pods* (חָרֻב, or חֲרֻבִים; see Che. *SBOT*, and *Husks* in *EBi.*). There is no certain example of this word in the text of the OT, but it is frequent in NH and Aramaic. Carobs were the food of swine (Lk 15^{16}) and donkeys (Levy, *NHB*, *s.v.*), and, in time of distress, of men: cp. Lk 15^{16} and the saying in *Midrash R.* cited by Levy (*NHB* ii. 105b), "When Israelites are reduced to the carob (צריכין ישראל לחרובא), they repent." If v.^{19} and v.^{20a} are not perfectly symmetrical, 𝔐 may be treated as a bold passive (MT) construction and rendered either (4) *ye shall be devoured with the sword* (RV), or, less probably, (5) *ye shall be made to devour the sword* (Ges–B. *s.v.* אכל). For the idiom *the sword devours* in the act., cp. 2 S 2^{26} 18^{8}.—*For the mouth of Yahweh hath spoken* (*it*)] Perhaps a late addition: cp. 40^{5} 58^{14}, Mic 4^{4}, and see Cheyne, *Introd.* p. 7 n. 3. If not, and vv.$^{18-20}$ belong together, the divine speech ends at v.^{18}, and vv.$^{19f.}$ contains the prophet's comment: cp. on vv.$^{2-4}$.

18. בשנים] 4 MSS (cp. VV.) בשני.—[אם־יאדימו] many MSS ואם: possibly right, cp. v.^{20}—note the rhythm, but note also לבנו preceding.—**20.** [חָרֵב תְּאָבְּלוּ] to the cstr. assumed by RV (see no. 4 above), an exact parallel is afforded

by the Arabic idiom cited by Kön. iii. 102, *ḫuriqa 'ttaubu 'lmismāra, the garment was torn with the nail.* See, further, on Hebrew constructions more or less similar, G–K. 121*c. d*; Kön. iii. 332*v.*

I. 21–26 (28).—*An Elegy on Jerusalem.*

In this, as in other *kînoth*, i.e. elegies (*e.g.* La 1–4), the echoing rhythm (see Introd.) is employed. Parallelism is constant, but *within the distichs* (3 : 2), not as in vv.[10f. 18-20], between the periods of 5 accents. Of the 12 distichs, or strictly 11 distichs and a line ([25a]) in the present text, 5 are unambiguously 3 : 2, viz. vv.[21a. b]; [23c. d]; [24c. d]; [25c. d]; [26a. b], and another ([23e. f]) is 2 : 3 (makkeph לא־ישפטו and וריב־אלמנה) unless by transposing the lines (cp. Introduction) we make this also 3 : 2. Another distich ([26c. d]) is 4 : 2. Two distichs consist in the present text of lines that are rhythmically balanced, viz. [22a. b] (3 : 3) and [23a. b] (2 : 2) : on these and on the irregularities in [21c. d. 24a. b. 25a] see notes below.

Vv.[21-26] divide into two equal strophes, each containing 6 distichs (in the present text the second contains but 5½) : the first strophe beginning with איכה deals with the present state of the city : the second introduced by לכן with its future.

Vv.[27f.] contain two distichs of which the former (3 : 2) is exactly similar in type to those of vv.[21-26] : the second (4 : 3) less so.

[21] How hath she become a harlot!
The (once) faithful city,
Ṣion which was full of justice
Wherein righteousness abode, but now murderers.
[22] Thy silver hath become dross,
Thy drink adulterated (?) with water.
[23] Thy rulers are unruly,
And associates of thieves;
Every one loveth bribes,
And pursueth rewards;
They secure not the right of the orphan,
Nor doth the widow's cause come unto them.

[24] Therefore saith the Lord
Yahweh of Hosts the Mighty One of Israel:
Ah! I will get me comfort from my adversaries,
Avenge myself on my foes.
[25] And I will turn my hand against thee.
. . . . . .
And I will smelt out thy dross 'in the furnace,'
And remove all thine alloy.

[26] And I will restore thy judges as at the first,
And thy counsellors as at the beginning;
Afterwards thou shalt be called City of Justice,
Faithful City.

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[27] Ṣion shall find redemption through justice,
And they that turn of her through righteousness:
[28] And the destruction of rebels and sinners shall be together,
And those that forsake Yahweh shall be consumed.

The following considerations indicate that vv.[21-26] contain a complete poem distinct from what now precedes it and follows it: (1) it opens with the characteristic opening of independent elegies—איכה as in La 1^1 2^1 4^1, Jer 48^{17}, cp. איך in 2 S 1^{19}; (2) it is a complete treatment of a subject which is artistically treated under two aspects in two symmetrical strophes (see above)—Jerusalem, its present state (vv.[21-23]), its future (vv.[24-26]); (3) in v.[26] the subject reaches an effective close; (4) the relation between rhythm and parallelism (see above), which is maintained almost unbroken throughout vv.[21-26], scarcely appears at all in vv.[1-20]; v.[27] is similar, but in addition to the first three of the considerations just stated, exegesis (see below) favours the conclusion that vv.[27f.] formed no original part of the elegy.

The date of the poem is uncertain. The criteria on which Du. and Hackm. rely for referring it to the time before or during the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and those which lead Che. and Marti to refer it to about 705 B.C., are unlike insufficient. Du. argues that the eschatology which arose out of the crisis described in chs. 7, 8 is not yet represented here; Hackm., that the eschatology agrees with that of ch. 8; Che. and Marti consider that the parallelism in thought of vv.[23b] and [17] connects the two pieces in time, and Marti sees in the misleading leaders (v.[23]) an allusion to the party favouring the Egyptian alliance. If the similarity of v.[23] and v.[17] is not sufficient (and it is not) to prove that both belong to the same piece, it proves nothing: the affliction of the orphan and widow was perennial, and cannot have attracted Isaiah's attention at one period of his life only. The similarity may rather have been the cause that led an editor —whether Isaiah or another—to place the one poem after the other.

21–23. First Strophe.—Ṣion, once the faithful city, has turned faithless; once the loyal wife of Yahweh, she has wandered from Him and become a harlot (cp. Hos 2). By a further figure (v.[22]) and by illustrative literal charges (v.[23]), the present unrighteousness of Ṣion, once the home of righteousness, is emphasised: the leaders of the people lead them only into rebellion against Yahweh; they pervert justice, letting thieves go unpunished in return for a share in their gains, and through their love of unjust gain (cp. 5[23], Mic 3[11]) they deprive the poor who can pay them nothing for their right (cp. vv.[16f.]).

Adopting allusively Hosea's figure of the nation, or city, as Yahweh's wife, Isaiah gives it an even more direct ethical application. Judah is here Yahweh's faithless wife because she has taken to be her paramours, not other gods, the Baals, but unrighteousness.

21. *The faithful city*] קריה is a choice synonym for עיר, the ordinary word for *city* (cp. Nu 21[28], Ps 48[2]), and occurs again when Isaiah (29[1]) describes Jerusalem as "the city where David encamped." Of the days of David the prophet may be here thinking. The phrase recurs as the closing words of the poem: what Ṣion once was it will again become, when it has passed through the purifying judgment.—*Abode*] impf. *was wont to abide*; לין *to spend the night* (cp. 10[29]), perhaps because a man's place by night is his home, developed the further sense *to abide*; cp. Job 17[2] 19[4], Ps 25[13].—V.[21], unless the rhythm is quite irregular, contains two words too much. Possibly the intrusive clause is *the faithful city*: if this were omitted, v.[21] would contain two good echoing distichs, each contrasting (though the arrangement of the two would be chiastic) the present and past character of the city. Du. omits the last clause of the v., *but now murderers*, which in this case must be a note based on vv.[15. 18]: then the first clause of the v. describes the present condition (cp. vv.[22. 23]), and the three remaining clauses glance back at the past condition of the city: in this case *Ṣion* (𝔊: cp. vv.[26f.] 𝔙) in v.[21c] has been accidentally omitted in 𝔐: Haupt selects for omission the clause *that was full of justice.*—**22.** In two figures present and past are contrasted: the degeneration of the city is like the exchange of silver for dross, or good sound wine for a disagreeable drink (see phil. n.).—**23.** *Thy rulers are unruly*] so Che. brings out this (שריך סוררים), the first of several paronomasias,

which occur in Isaiah's writings; it may have been borrowed, together with the figure of the harlot (v.[21]), from Hosea (*2.* 4^{15}). The word סוררים means *stubborn, rebellious* (Dt 21^{18}); it is chiefly used of conduct towards Yahweh, see, *e.g.*, 30^{1} 65^{2}, and cp. the figure in Hos 4^{16}.—**23b.** *Every one*] or rather *the whole mass of them*: cp. 9^{16} 15^{3}, and see BDB 481*b* (bot.). The judges not only take bribes when offered, but *go in pursuit of, follow eagerly after, payments*: they pursue not peace (שלום, Ps 34^{15}), but payment (שלמנים, here only).

24–26. Second Strophe.—This opens with a different figure: Judah by her unrighteousness has become, not as in v.[21] the wandering, disloyal wife, but the enemy of Yahweh on whom He is about to avenge Himself. But Yahweh contemplates more than punishment; He has in view refinement and purification; taking up one of the figures of the first strophe (v.[22]), the prophet asserts that Yahweh will smelt away the dross and bring again pure silver (v.[25]); and then, corresponding to the literal charges of v.[23], comes the promise that Yahweh will restore again just judges as in the first days of the city, the days of David, and the city will become again as of yore the home of righteousness (v.[26])

24. *The Lord Yahweh of Hosts*] so 3^{1} $10^{16.33}$ 19^{4}: but here perhaps the words are an addition (Du.); Budde and Marti omit instead the *Mighty One of Jacob* (Gn 49^{24}), thinking this less in place than *Yahweh of Hosts*, which might here very suitably suggest—Yahweh who makes war upon His people. 𝔊 read the phrase *Mighty One of Jacob* in the form *mighty ones of Jacob* after the following word הוי; and this increases the suspicion that the words may not be original.—**24b.** Yahweh will *comfort himself* (אנחם as, *e.g.*, Ezk 5^{13}, Jer 31^{15}) by taking vengeance on those unjust rulers who by their unrighteousness had made themselves His enemies. In the popular use of the phrase the enemies of Yahweh were the enemies of Israel (𝔗: cp. *e.g.* Jg 5^{31}): with Isaiah, as with Amos (cp. Am $5^{18\text{-}20}$), Yahweh's enemies are His own people.—**25.** *I will turn my hand against thee*] so Am 1^{8}, Zec 13^{7}, Ps 81^{15}: not "I will bring my hand again" (RVmarg.), as though another judgment, such as is described in vv.[5ff.], had already visited Israel.—*I will smelt away thy dross as with alkali*] so 𝔙; 𝔊 perhaps differently (see phil. n.). If the assertion is correct that alkalies were used by

the ancients to accelerate the separation of the dross in the ore from the metal (Nowack, *Arch.* i. 245; Ges.), בְּלִי should mean, I will smelt thee quickly, or clean (𝔊: cp. EV)—as quickly, or clean, as if I used alkali in smelting silver ore. But this is very doubtful (cp. Dr. on Mal 3^3). Elsewhere alkali is mentioned only as cleansing the person or clothes—see Mal 3^2, Jer 2^{22} (בְּרִית), and, perhaps, Job 9^{30} (בר). Since the 18th century (Secker, Lowth) many have emended כבר into בַּכּוּר, *in the furnace*; and this, or ככר, *as in the furnace*, is probably right.—**25 f.** The verse is important in its bearing on Isaiah's view, or ideal, of the Future. No individual ruler figures here: the prophet does not think of a king; but those who advise and give decisions in the State, those who mould its life, are to be men of character: under their guidance the people will no longer, as at present (v.^{23}), be led into revolt against Yahweh, but will again become faithful and righteous. The name, as in all such cases, denotes the actual character of the city (cp. 62^4, Ezk 48^{35}): it will actually be *the city of righteousness*. Again, Isaiah does not expect the annihilation of Judah, as perhaps Amos expected that of Israel: the judgment will be severe: good and bad alike must suffer—according to the figure that is used, the whole city must pass through the furnace: but in the result the good will come forth as pure gold, the bad will be cast away as worthless dross. The removal of the bad is expressed figuratively (v.$^{25b.\,c}$); the discovery of the good directly (v.^{26}).

21. מלאתי] G–K. 90*l*.—צדק ילין בה] three accents, or (ילינ־בה) two. On the impf. ילין, see Dr. § 30.—**22.** סבאך] since the text in Hos 4^{18}, Nah 1^{10} is doubtful, this may be the only occurrence in Heb. of the noun. The vb. is used of hard drinking (56^{12}, Dt 21^{20}, Pr 23^{20}). In Ass. *sabu* means *sesame-wine*, and possibly in Heb. סבא meant specifically some strong or choice wine. In Arabic سبا (probably a loan word) and some derivative nouns are used of or with reference to wine generally.—מהולל] meaning uncertain. The suggestions offered are (1) that מהל, which in NH means *to circumcise* (cp. מול), meant also, though of this there is no evidence, *to cut*. Then for *to cut wine*, meaning to spoil it by adulteration with water, many parallels are cited by Ges. (after Schultens) from Arabic, *e.g.* يقال شجبت الخمر شجّا اذا مزجتها, and other languages (*e.g.* "scelus est jugulare Falernum": Martial 1^{18}), and Marti compares the French *couper du vin*. The versions, including EV, paraphrase *mixed*: better, *adulterated*—for the figure has in view wine adulterated in commerce rather than simply weakened

with water for table use. Cp. 𝔊 *οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι* which, however, wrongly turns the figure into a direct charge. (2) Others (cp. J. Barth, *Beiträge z. Erkl. des Jes.* p. 3 f.) interpret the word in the light of NH מוהל, Ar. ماهل, "the dark turbid liquid pressed out of olives" (Nöld., Che.).—במים] probably a gloss to secure the understanding of מהול: it is rhythmically superfluous.—**23.** Two weighty words (subj. and pred.) in *a* against two closely connected in *b*: cp. Dr. *LOT*, p. 458. Budde to establish three accents in the first line adds היו.—**24.** לכן] frequent in Isaiah: BDB 486*b*.—**25.** ואשיבה ידי עליך] either the long line of a distich of which the shorter line has been lost, or a gloss; see Marti's Comm. where several possibilities are discussed. The remainder of the v. is a distich 3 : 2. It is most unlikely that Du.'s harsh lines (3 : 2 and 2 : 2) are original; he divides:

ואשיבה ידי עליך | ואצרפך בר
סיגיך ואסירה | כל בדיליך.

𝔊 renders the entire v. as follows: Καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ πυρώσω εἰς καθαρόν. τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπολέσω καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ: but we cannot safely infer that 𝔊's Hebrew text was fuller and contained the now missing half line; for the overlined words are probably a later addition to 𝔊: see Thackeray, *Grammar*, p. 230.

27, 28. Two distichs re-open, or enforce, the theme apparently closed in v.[26]. In thought v.[27] is parallel to v.[26] (the survival of the good), v.[28] to v.[25b. c] (the destruction of the bad).

Yet the thought is not quite the same: here the writer does not speak of any judgment yet to come which is to affect all alike (v.[25] and even Am 9[9ff.]): for the (true) Ṣion, viz. those in her who turn away from unrighteousness, the future has only deliverance (תפדה): the coming destruction will affect only the sinners (cp. 33[5. 14f.]); ct. *her converts*, or *they that turn of her*, i.e. converts who belong to Ṣion, with the terms in v.[28] without the pronoun—sinners have no part or lot in Ṣion.

Still greater is the difference if משפט and צדקה are used of *man's* justice and righteousness,* as in 5[7] 9[6], Am 5[7] 6[12]: for then v.[27] means Ṣion will be delivered because she is just and righteous. As another writer puts it, Yahweh will repay according to deserts: to Ṣion, deliverance, for her conduct has deserved it; to sinners, destruction (59[17-20] 61[8]). If this be the correct interpretation the verses can scarcely be Isaiah's.

In view of the parallelism of the clauses we must not with 𝔗 (cp. 𝔊) take משפט as meaning the Judgment (Day) as in Ps. 1[5], and צדקה righteousness; the meanings should be parallel.

* Rashi, Ḳi., Ges., Che. *al.*

If Isaiah's, the thought is rather this—Ṣion, *i.e.* those in her who turn away from sin, will be delivered by means of Yahweh's refining judgment and by His judicial righteousness, which will distinguish the just from the unjust: cp. the thought of v.[25] and the use of משפט and צדקה in 5^{16} 28^{17}. The hope of the righteous in Ṣion was in the fact that Yahweh must do right and therefore cannot destroy Ṣion, for in so doing He would carry away good and bad alike (cp. Gn 18).

27. *Shall be ransomed*] פדה strictly means to buy a person or animal off from death, etc., by means of a substitute or money-payment (*e.g.* Ex 13^{13}): it is used figuratively of deliverance from trouble, danger, etc.—Hos 13^{14}, Ps 78^{42} (see Dr. *Deut.* 101). It is hardly *necessary* to press the figure as closely as Du. does—"Ṣion is to be ransomed, is consequently at present a slave or debtor. But the strange owner or creditor has not the right or the full right that he claims. Therefore Ṣion is not to be set at liberty by payment, but by a just judgment": though, if the passage be post-exilic, it is likely enough that Du. divines the writer's thought.—*They that turn of her*] cp. 6^{10} 7^{3} 10^{26}. 𝔊 may also mean *her captivity* (שִׁבְיָהּ), and is so taken by 𝔊𝔖.

28. וְשָׁבָר וגו׳] abrupt and unusual: perhaps rather וְשִׁבְרוּ, or וְשָׁבַר.

Vv.[27f.] cannot be referred with any confidence to Isaiah: see the foregoing interpretation. Che. (*Introd.* p. 7) urges: "Of the four participial class names, though three have points of contact with Isaiah (see 6^{10} 7^{3} $1^{2.\ 4}$), none actually occur in the Book of Isaiah, except in prophecies which on many grounds cannot be Isaiah's (*a.* שבי פשע, 59^{20}; *b.* פשעים, 46^{8} 53^{12}; *c.* חטאיה, 13^{9} 33^{14}; *d.* עובי יהוה, 65^{11}. Add to this that פדה (though found in Hos 7^{13} 13^{14}) does not occur elsewhere in true Isaiah, 29^{22} 35^{10}, not to add 51^{11}, being late passages." Not quite conclusive, though suggestive. More suspicious is the sharp division of the people into two classes defined by their respective labels: ct. the sinfulness of the entire nation in vv.[4. 10. 21] $2^{6ff.}$ 3^{8} $5^{1-7.\ 13}$ $6^{5.\ 9ff.}$ 8^{6}. Certainly we find in Isaiah the germ of the subsequently permanent distinction between the two classes in Israel—the sinner and the righteous: see 8^{11-18}, and cp. the distinction of silver and dross, which, however, a fiery smelting, *i.e.* a severe judgment affecting the whole people, is *first to render manifest.* In vv.[27f.] the judgment, so it would seem, is to consume a previously distinguished class of sinners and to rescue those who had previously manifested their righteousness: cp. $65^{14ff.}$, Mal 3^{13-21} (3^{13}–4^{3}).

I. 29–31.—*Fragments: Condemnation of Tree Worship.*

Vv.[29f.] contains two distichs of parallel lines in 4 : 4 rhythm (makkeph כי־יבשו and כי־היו): there is nothing like them in the rest of the chapter.

V.[31] contains two distichs in 3 : 2 rhythm : in the first the lines are parallel in sense. V.[31] resembles v.[27].

[29] For 'ye' shall be ashamed of the terebinths in which
ye delighted,
And abashed because of the gardens that ye chose;
[30] For ye shall be as a terebinth whose leafage fades,
And as a garden which hath no water.

---

[31] And the strong one shall become tow;
And his work a spark;
And they shall both burn together,
With none to quench them.

The sinners will perish (v.[28]), because Yahweh whom they have forsaken will not, and the gods housing in trees and beside springs, whom they have chosen in His stead, cannot save them. Cp. 2^{20} $17^{7.\,11}$, Jer $2^{26\text{-}28}$.

Such is the connection if vv.[27-31] form a connected whole and do not rather consist of two fragments—vv.[27f. 29-31].* If the connection be real, 𝔊 may be right in reading all the verbs in vv.[29f.] in the 3rd pers. ; but see phil. n.

Nothing in the verses indicates clearly either date or authorship. They may have been written by Isaiah either before 722 B.C. and addressed, like 9^{7}–10^{4}, to the Northern kingdom,† or after that year and addressed to Judah; or, again, they may have been written in the 5th cent. and addressed to apostate Jews by a man like-minded with the author of 65^{12} $66^{3f.}$ (note בחר : little used by Isaiah).‡ The practices condemned were of great antiquity and persisted later (Jer 2^{27} 17^{2}, Ezk 6^{13}, Is $57^{4ff.}$ 65^{3}).

29. *For ye shall be ashamed*] *i.e.* fail to receive expected help; see $20^{5f.}$, Jer 12^{13} 48^{13}, Mic 3^{7} (‖ חפרו as here and Job 6^{20}), Ps $25^{2f.}$ 37^{19}. *Ye* is conjecturally substituted for *they* (𝔐𝔊) : see phil. n.—*Terebinths*] or, more widely, *sacred trees*. אל[י]לים may at times (cp. Hos 4^{16}) refer specifically to terebinths ; so 𝔊 in v.[30], and see *EBi.* and *DB*, *s.v.* ; but even more frequently the word is used of any large umbrageous tree, such as palms, apparently, at Elim (Ex 15^{27}), which a *numen* אל was popularly supposed to inhabit or frequent. This wider meaning is intended here, and 𝔊 significantly paraphrases *τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν*. The venera-

* Che., Du. † Du., Che. ‡ Marti.

tion of such trees was ancient, and must have prevailed in Canaan before the Hebrew invasion; the Hebrews who were loyal to Yahweh either identified the *numen* with Him (cp. Gn 13^{18} $18^{1ff.}$, Jg 9^{37} etc.), or like Hosea ($4^{13f.}$) and this writer, they recoiled entirely from the veneration of these trees—doubtless on account of the cults connected with them. Many trees in Palestine are still thought to be inhabited by spirits, and are the objects of vows and offerings from both Bedawin and Fellaḥin: see S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Sem. Rel.* 90 ff., and the material collected by J. G. Frazer in *Sacred Oaks and Terebinths* (pp. 110 f.), one of the *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*. Lagrange (*Rel. Sém.* 173) denies that the trees themselves were objects of worship. — **30.** These worshippers will perish like the objects they worship. The life of the holy tree is seen in its thick foliage, of the *numen* of a spring in its bubbling waters: these idolaters will shrivel up and fail like a tree whose leaves wither and a garden in which the fountain that made it luxurious flows no more.—**31.** This v. might continue v.[28] as well as v.[30]: rhythmically, it is similar to vv.[27f.] and dissimilar to vv.[29f.]. It is capable of more than one interpretation as it stands, and various emendations have been proposed (see phil. n.). Perhaps the *work* of *the strong* means preparations for war, alliances, and so forth (cp. $31^{1f.}$); these works are the *sparks* which set fire to the strong who become as *tow* (נערת, Jg 16^{9}), *i.e.* inflammable, and so the strong and all his works come to nothing—such a meaning would quite accord with Isaiah's standpoint: cp. 9^{17}.

29. יבשו] 3rd pers.; but in the dependent relative clause and in the succeeding lines the vbs. are 2nd pers.—בחרתם, תחפרו, חכמרתם, תהיו. That this change was due to the excitement of the author at the end of his discourse (Del.) is not rendered probable by Di.'s reference to 5^{8} 22^{16} 31^{6}. Three Heb. MSS and 𝔗 read תבשו—a correction rather than a survival from a continuous correct tradition. The real question is whether יבשו is a survival of the true text in which the verbs were in the 3rd pers. (so 𝔊), or an early error for תבשו due to accident, or a deliberate substitute for תבשו, the purpose of which was to create a connection with v.[28]. Failing good reasons to the contrary, it is better to assume a single error (יבשו for תבישו) than four. Marti suggests that the 2nd pers. arose after חכמרתם, meant to be חֲמַדְתֶּם, was read חֲמַדַּתֶּם; but 𝔊, which has the 3rd pers. (probably substituted for the 2nd pers. of 𝔐 to improve the connection), does not appear to have read חֲמַדְתֶּם; if *ἠβούλοντο* really presupposes anything but חֲמַדּוּ.—מאילים] the absence of the art. here is noticeable: ct. מהגנות.—נבלת] agrees with אלה

(fem.) not with עלה (masc.); cp. עם כבר עץ, v.4.—31. חסן] Am 2^{9}† (ה' כאלונים of the Amorites). For חסן, Lagarde proposed to read חמן, and for פעלו in the next clause בעלו—*a sun-image* and *its Baal*. Du.'s criticism of this emendation has not been met.—פָּעֳלוֹ] possibly for פָּעֲלוֹ; cp. תֹּאַרוֹ, 52^{14}; G-K. 93*q*; Kön. ii. 493. More probably Ḳi. interprets MT (though not מָ֫) correctly when he sees in חסן idol, and פָּעֳלוֹ the part.—*he that makes it*. The fulfilment of the prophecy he then finds in the fact that נבוראדן שרף כל בתי ירושלם באש ובהם היו הפסילים והאלילים.—ניצוץ] ἀπ. λεγ.; cp. נצץ (Ezk 1^{7}), NH נצנץ, Ar. ناض, *to shine, flash, sparkle*, whence the sense *spark* is inferred—perhaps not quite securely. Rubens (*Crit. Remarks*, p. 11 n.) suggests נעצץ (cp. 7^{19} 55^{13}), which as inflammable stuff would be a good parallel to נערת and would better account for ובערו יחדו in the next line.

II.–XII.—*Prophecies mainly devoted to Judah and Jerusalem.*

These chapters very much in their present form probably constituted a distinct book before the larger work of which they now are part came into existence. When they were incorporated in the larger work, the title which had previously attached to them was retained (2^{1}), in spite of the fact that another was prefixed (1^{1}) to the first chapter of the larger work (see Introd. § 29). The title, 2^{1}, describes the prophecies as *the word*, or *matter*, *which Isaiah the son of 'Amoṣ saw* (in vision: cp. 13^{1}) *concerning Judah and Jerusalem*. On the names and on the conceptions underlying the terminology, see 1^{1} n. The scope of these chapters is fairly well described as *Judah and Jerusalem* (1^{1} n.), though this is not an exhaustive description, since 9^{7}–10^{4} is primarily concerned with Ephraim; but this title was, of course, never intended to cover chs. 13–23, which mainly consist of prophecies concerning foreign nations, and are provided with another title (13^{1}).

It has been argued that originally the title 2^{1} stood immediately before 2^{6} and that 2$^{2-4}$, now misplaced, formed the conclusion, and that an admirable one, to 1$^{27-31}$ (Lagarde, Stade, *Gesch.* i. 608; Cheyne, Marti); but the argument is very precarious.

These chapters fall into groups as follows: 2–4, 5, 6–9^{6}, 9^{7}–10^{4}, 10^{5}–12.

II.–IV.—*Jerusalem ideal and actual.*

The sections into which these chapters fall and their contents may be briefly described thus:—2^{1} Title (see above); 2$^{2-4}$ Jerusalem the religious centre of the entire world; 2$^{5-22}$ The

Day of Yahweh, which is about to bring low the land of Jacob, now wealthy, self-sufficient, and forgetful of Yahweh; 3^{1-15} Jerusalem and Judah denounced and threatened; 3^{16}–4^{1} Denunciation of the women of Jerusalem; 4^{2-6} The holiness and glory of Jerusalem after a purifying judgment.

Jerusalem is the prominent, when it is not the exclusive, subject of every section, except 2^{5-22}. The entire section consists of warnings by Isaiah of judgment to come (2^{5}–4^{1}) enclosed between two poems of exilic or post-exilic writers who had an eye only for glory to come, and either disregarded judgment altogether (2^{2-4}), or looked upon it as, in large part at least, accomplished (4^{2-6}).

II. 1.—Title.—See above.

אשר חוה] Ⓖ ὁ γενόμενος πρός, *i.e.* אשר היה אל; cp. Hos 1^{1}, Jl 1^{1}. With Ⓗ, cp. Am 1^{1}: in Mic 1^{1} both אשר היה אל and אשר חוה occur.

II. 2–4.—*Ṣion the religious Capital of the World.*

Including the two final lines, absent from the text of Is. but found in Mic 4^{4}, the following poem contains ten distichs of balanced (3 : 3, or 2 : 2) and parallel lines. V.$^{3d.\,e}$ is a 2 : 2 distich; the remaining distichs are 3 : 3, except that the now uncertain text of v.$^{2a-d}$ *may* have contained irregularities, and v.^{3a}, if the אמרו is original, contained four accents; in v.^{4d} ותניתותיהם was probably read as two, and in v.^{4e} גוי-אל-גוי (cp. Sievers) as one.

1.

2 And it shall come to pass in the end of the days
The mountain of Yahweh ʌ shall be
Firmly set on the top of the mountains,
And raised higher than the hills.

2.

And nations shall come streaming to it,
3 And many peoples shall go and say:
Come and let us go up to Yahweh's mountain,
And to the house of the God of Jacob:

3.

That he may instruct us out of his ways,
And that we may walk in his paths,
For from Ṣion instruction goes forth,
And the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem.

4.

4 And he will judge between the nations,
And give decisions for many peoples;
And they will beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning-knives.

5.

Nation against nation shall not lift up sword,
Nor learn any more (the art of) war,
[Mic 4 But they will dwell each under his vine
And under his fig-tree, with none to terrify.]

A strophic arrangement so naturally reveals itself that it is reasonable to suppose that it was intended: the ten distichs divide into five sets of twos (Marti), each of which deals with a distinct point or aspect of the subject, thus:

1. The exaltation of Ṣion.
2. The advent of the Nations;
3. To obtain, at its source, instruction in the religion of Yahweh.
4. Yahweh, the arbiter of the Nations.
5. Under Yahweh's government (strophe 4) there will be universal peace and unmolested enjoyment of the fruits of the earth.

Du.'s division into three strophes of six lines is much less probable. That the poem may be read in its completeness, the final lines from Micah are added in square brackets, without prejudice to the question whether they ever formed part of the Book of Isaiah. So in regard to the numerous variations between the text of the poem as given in Is. and Mic. (Hebrew and Greek) it is impossible to determine whether the inferior readings arose before, at the time of, or after incorporation in either book; consequently the translation is based on what appears to be the nearest that we can get to the original text of the poem by a comparison of the two forms in which it occurs.

The origin of the poem is obscure; that it occurs both in the Book of Isaiah and in the Book of the Twelve (Mic 4^{1-4}) necessarily raises questions, and these have been very differently answered.

In the earlier stages of criticism the questions asked were—Was the poem written by Isaiah and borrowed by Micah? or written by Micah and borrowed

by Isaiah? or borrowed by both these prophets from some now unknown predecessor? It was assumed that one at least of the two prophets *must* have borrowed. We need scarcely with Du. pronounce such borrowing on the part of a true prophet incredible, or, if real, a theft (Jer 23^{30}); still there is no other clear example of a prophet borrowing from another at this length, and this being so it would be strange that this particular poem should be cited independently by two prophets. But once due weight is given to the character of the books of prophetic literature, this assumption that either prophet borrowed becomes unnecessary, not to say precarious. The Book of Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve are alike collections made after the Exile, and indeed not long before the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. (Introd. §§ 8 ff. 35); this poem has been preserved in both collections, just as some Psalms (*e.g.* 14 = 53) have been preserved in more than one hymn-book. It is perfectly possible that this poem owes its double preservation not to a double process either of quotation or interpolation, but to the fact that at some time before the close of the 3rd cent. it passed under two ascriptions,—to Micah and Isaiah respectively,—and was therefore incorporated by two editors in their different compilations. It is important to observe that the poem stands isolated in both books; in Isaiah it follows a title, and has therefore no connection with what precedes; in Micah it follows the statement that Ṣion, Jerusalem, and the mountain of the house will be reduced to desolation. If the poem were really appended by Micah, it is difficult to believe that he would have left the strong contrast entirely unmarked; so necessary is it to mark it (if the passages are really connected) that RV mistranslates והיה, *but it shall come to pass*, etc., in order to create an antithesis, though as a matter of fact והיה marks sequence not contrast. Even if Micah were quoting, he could have secured the contrast by simply dropping והיה and starting his quotation with the next word. If Micah added 4^{1-4} to 3^{1-12} the apologists for Jeremiah were singularly audacious in their use of 3^{12} (Jer 26^{18}). What follows the poem in Isaiah has some sort of connection with it (see on v.[5]), so also has what follows in Micah; yet in neither place is it the connection of originally continuous passages. Both editors, wishing to include the poem in their collections, had to find some place for it; but the reasons for the particular place given elude us just as do the reasons for the order in which Psalm follows Psalm, though the editor of Micah may have been guided by the principle of catch-word arrangement ("mountain of the house"—3^{12} 4^{1}). Whether the poem owes its place in Isaiah to the final editor of the book, or to the compiler of chs. 2–12, is uncertain: perhaps the latter alternative is the more probable.

Judged by itself, without prejudice derived from its present position, the poem perhaps does not betray its origin unmistakably. But if the arguments that have been adduced be insufficient to prove that it was *not* written in the 8th cent. B.C., still more insufficient are the arguments to prove that it was. The spirit of the whole and some of the particular ideas, as hinted in the commentary that follows, leave the impression

of a passage that was written nearer to the time of chs. 40–55 and Ezek. than of Isaiah.

If Zec 8^{20-22}, Jl 4^{10} be reminiscences and not anticipations of lines of the poem, a minimum date is fixed; the poem in that case is earlier than 520 B.C. For the theory, still preferred by Box, that the poem is the work of a prophet earlier than either Mic. or Is., see Koppe, Hitz., Ew., Del., Di.; the similarities to Joel on which this theory partly rested now point, for what they are worth, to a post-exilic origin, for the theory of the early origin of Joel scarcely continues to be defensible. The authorship of Isaiah is still maintained by Du. (who connects the passage with 11^{1-8} $32^{1-5.\ 15-20}$ as products of Isaiah's old age); the authorship of Mic. by Ryssel, *Textgeschichte des Micha*, 218–224 (see also Ges.); G. A. Smith argues for the "possibility of a date in the 8th or beginning of the 7th cent." (*Book of the Twelve*, i. 365–367). The later origin of the poem suggested by Stade (*ZATW*, 1881, 165–167, and 1884, 292) is accepted by We. (*Kleine Proph.* 139 f.), Nowack (*Kleine Propheten*), Hackmann (126 ff.), Cheyne (*Introd.* 9–16), and Toy (*Judaism and Christianity*, 313). Toy, with whom Marti agrees, dates the poem about 500 B.C., though he considers the beginning of the Greek period also possible.

2a. b. c. d. First Strophe. — The text is in some details uncertain (see phil. n.).—*In the end of the days*] "the final period of the future so far as it falls within the range of the speaker's perspective" (Dr. *Deut.* p. 74): the phrase is applied, for example, to Israel's settlement in Canaan (Gn 49^{1}), to Israel's conquest of Edom and Moab (Nu 24^{14}), and, as here, to the Messianic age; cp. *e.g.* Hos 3^{5}, Jer 23^{20}, and in NT He 1^{2}, 1 P 1^{20}, Jn 6^{39} 12^{48}. The phrase itself is not late (cp. in Assyr. *ina aḫrat umi*); nor is it safe to conclude with Che. (*Introd.* 11) and Marti that it is necessarily so when used in connection with Messianic expectations; so soon as such expectations arose and needed expression, such a phrase being obviously suitable would naturally be employed.— *Yahweh's mountain*] i.e. Mt. Ṣion. *Yahweh's mountain* is the reading of 𝔊 both here and in Mic. 𝔐 in both places has the unique phrase *mountain of Yahweh's house*; cp. *mountain of the House*, Mic 3^{12}. The temple is directly mentioned in the next line. — *Firmly set*] for the force of נכון, cp. Jg 16^{26} and especially Ps $93^{1f.}$; the word is the opposite of מוט, which describes the tottering or shaking of that which has become insecure, whether mountains (Ps 46^{3}) or kingdoms (*ib.* v.^{7}). After all the commotions which will precede the Messianic age, removing the things that can be shaken (Hag $2^{6f.}$, He $12^{26f.}$),

Mt. Ṣion and the universal kingdom of which it will be the centre (Ps 87) will remain immovable, unshaken, because the one true God, governor and judge of all nations (strophe 4), is there (Ps 46[6]). The poet breathes the same spiritual atmosphere as the authors of Ps 46 and 87: cp. also Is 9[6].—*On the top of the mountains*] this is but one of the possible translations of the phrase בראש ההרים: for this rendering, cp. *e.g.* Ex 24[17], Is 42[11]. Doubtless על ראש might have been used to express this (Di.), but is scarcely necessary. Other possible translations are (1) *as the chief of the mountains*, or *the chief, choicest mountain*: for the ב *essentiae*, cp. G–K. 119*i*, BDB 88*b*; and for ראש = *chief*, cp. *e.g.* Jg 10[18], Ezk 27[22] (*choicest*); (2) *on the chief of the mountains*; Du. adopts this in connection with a reading of 𝔊 "and the house of (our) God (shall be established) on the chief of the mountains." But this is not the most probable text: see phil. n. The effect of it is to predict the coming exaltation directly of the temple and only indirectly of Mt. Ṣion. Whatever translation be correct, the entire meaning is hardly that mountain will be piled on mountain and Mt. Ṣion on the top of all, though this interpretation appears in Rabbinic literature: "The Holy One will bring Sinai and Tabor and Carmel, and build the Sanctuary on the top of them" (*Pesiḳta R. Kahana*, 144*b*). On the other hand, it is unlikely that it is merely metaphorical (Di.); but as Messianic expectation looked forward to various transformations in the physical world (40[4] 41[18f.], Ezk 47[1ff.], Jl 4(3)[18], Zec 14), so here to the elevation of Mt. Ṣion to such a height that it should overtop all mountains instead of being, as in the actual world, overtopped by other mountains of Palestine (Ps 68[15f.]) and even by the neighbouring mountains; the Mt. of Olives, for example, is nearly 300 feet higher. To Ezekiel, the temple hill in vision appeared "very high" (40[2]), and the author of Zec 14[10] expected the relative elevation of Ṣion to be produced by the depression of the surrounding country (cp. below, vv.[12ff.]).

2e, 3a. b. c. Second Strophe.—All nations will come *streaming* (ינהרו, Jer 31[12] 51[44]) to this conspicuous and immovable mountain—to Ṣion and to Yahweh, no more to Babylon and to Bel (Jer 51[44]). The expectation of such an advent of the nations frequently occurs in late prophecies, *e.g.* 60, 66[23], Jer 3[17], Zec 8[20-22] 14[16-19], Hag 2[6f.]: cp. Ps 65[1f.] etc.—But did the prophets of the 8th cent. attach this world-wide significance to

the Temple and the Temple Mount? — *God of Jacob*] The phrase occurs nowhere else in either Isaiah or Micah: it is frequent in the Psalms (*e.g.* 46^{8} 75^{10} 76^{7} 84^{9}): see also 2 S 23^{1}.

3d. e. f. g. Third Strophe.—The object of the nations in coming to Ṣion will be to learn and practise the only true religion—the *ways*, or conduct, which Yahweh prescribes and approves. The nations are to feel the moral attraction of the Hebrew or Jewish religion. The standpoint is substantially that of chs. 40–55 (see, *e.g.*, $42^{3f.}$) with some differences in detail; in 40–55 the missionary people are to carry the knowledge of Yahweh to the nations; here, the nations are to come to Ṣion to receive it (cp. Ps 87, Zec 8^{20-22}): in 40–55 Israel is the Teacher; here, Yahweh Himself (cp. Ps 94^{16}). But the political subserviency of the nations to Israel, as sometimes anticipated (*e.g.* 60^{12}), seems as little thought of here as in chs. 40–55. Du., however, in defending the Isaianic authorship minimises the meaning unduly: "perhaps," he says, "the nations will not even give up their own cults: they merely acknowledge that Yahweh is the most upright and truest God. Recognition to a certain extent of strange gods was something quite usual in antiquity: even earlier, foreigners sought Yahweh (Naaman), or Israelites other gods (2 K 1)." But the outlook here is to something unusual, something fresh and remarkable.—*That he may instruct us of his ways*] of (מן) = *out of* (the treasure of), not *concerning*: cp. Ps 94^{12}, cp. Ec 7^{10}.—*For from Ṣion* (emphatic) . . . *from Jerusalem*] the lines are perhaps echoed in 37^{32} (Meinhold, p. 47).

4a. b. c. d. Fourth Strophe.—If all the nations practise the moral requirements of the religion of Yahweh (strophe 3), they will naturally refer their disputes to Him, He alone being God and King; there will be no further need for the arbitrament of war. The writer's ideal is universal peace (strophe 5); ct. the conceptions underlying the ancient phrases "the Wars of Yahweh," "the day of Yahweh." The reverse of the last two lines occurs in Jl 4^{10}: on the relation between the two passages, see *Exp.*, Sept. 1893, pp. 214 f., 218 f.—*Ploughshares*] is the conventional rendering of אתים, which is obviously the name of an agricultural implement; but precisely what, neither the etymology, which is obscure, nor the usage (1 S $13^{20f.}$, Jl 4^{10}, Mic 4^{3}†), suffices to determine.

4 e. f. + Mic 4$^{4a. b}$. Fifth Strophe. — The poem closed with a picture of world-wide peace and quiet agricultural life.

2. It is not certain that the existing evidence preserves quite completely the original words of this first strophe. However we choose amongst it, some awkwardness remains. On the whole, Mic. seems distinctly better than Is.; the rhythm in Mic. is that of the rest of the poem, and the parallelism is better. To make this clear both texts are given here, rhythmically marked:

Is. והיה ‖ באחרית הימים | נכון יהיה | הר בית־יהוה
בראש ההרים | ונשא מגבעות.
Mic. והיה באחרית הימים | יהיה הר בית יהוה
נכון בראש ההרים | ונשא הוא מגבעות.

In Isaiah, after throwing והיה out of the rhythmical scheme, we have the long six-accented line with two cæsuras, which is unparalleled, and scarcely very suitable, in this poem. The words בראש ההרים ונשא מגבעות also awaken suspicion, not because they would form a 2 : 2 distich (v.$^{3d. e}$), but because they seem insufficiently independent to form a distich at all. This second objection applies also in some degree to the second distich in Mic., unless we may give to יהיה a force greater than that of the mere copulative or auxiliary: if it could mean here, as, of course, it often does elsewhere (*e.g.* Gn 1 and BDB, col. 226 bot.), *come into existence*, the two distichs would be sufficiently independent. Was there a belief that there would be a new creation of the mountain of Yahweh in the Messianic age? and even if so could such a belief be expressed by יהיה? But the reading יהיה is not free from suspicion: for it (apparently) Mic. 𝔊 has *ἐμφανές*, and Is. 𝔊 has *ἐμφανές* for נכון יהיה; *ἐμφανές* might conceivably (cp. 65^{1}) point to ידרש (Niph. of דרש as used in Am 5^{5}), if this vb. yielded a meaning more suitable to the strophe instead of one that anticipates the next. For some other features of 𝔊 see following notes, and for a view in some respects different see *SBOT.*—והיה . . . יהיה] cp. 7^{23}: also 7$^{18. 21}$, and see Dr. § 121. For והיה 𝔊 reads כי יהיה, which Du. adopts.—הר בית יהוה] the phrase occurs nowhere else; it may be the result of a conflation of the readings. 𝔊 in Mic. simply has *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κυρίου*, *i.e.* בית is absent, while here 𝔊 reads *τὸ ὄρος Κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ*, *i.e.* הר יהוה ובית אלהים—the two readings not yet conflate (cp. v.^{3}).—ונשא מגבעות] Mic. ונשא הוא מגבעות; the *length* of the line in Mic. is more probably correct than in Is. On the other hand, הוא, if to be expressed, might rather be expected in the previous clause. 𝔊 Is. *καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ὑπεράνω τῶν βουνῶν*, 𝔊 Mic. *καὶ μετεωρισθήσεται ὑπεράνω τῶν βουνῶν*; except in these two passages *ὑπεράνω nowhere else* renders the simple מ. Did מעל ל once stand here (cp. Mal 1^{5}, Gn 5^{7})? *Possibly*, but the corruption of מעל ל into הוא מ is not easy.—אליו] Mic. עליו.—בל־הגוים] read גוים; cp. Mic.; כל makes רבים of the parallel clause anti-climactic. In Mic. גוים stands in the next line, עמים here: 𝔊 has here (*τὰ*) *ἔθνη* in both clauses (=גוים). The same difference between the Hebrew texts occurs in v.$^{4a. b}$ = Mic 4$^{3a. b}$.—**4.** עמים רבים . . . והגוים] Mic. גוים עצמים עד רחוק . . . עמים רבים 𝔊 supporting 𝔐). Rhythm strongly favours the originality of Is. here; the text of Mic. may have been influenced by Zec 8^{22}.

5. A brief **homiletic reflection** which unites the poem that precedes with that which follows, and derives its phraseology in part from the one, in part from the other :—*O house of Jacob* (cp. v.[6]), *come and let us go* (cp. v.[3]) *in the light of Yahweh* : i.e. let us not be behind the nations as while what is next described continues (vv.[6ff.]), we are ; they propose to walk in Yahweh's paths : let us do the same, following the path *lighted* up by the law (cp. Ps 119[105], Pr 6[23]). The words are apparently prose, and certainly outside the rhythmic and strophic scheme of either the preceding or the following poem : they are probably an editorial remark.

Mic 4[1-4] (=Is 2[2-4]) is followed by (1) the concluding formula, "for the mouth of Yahweh of Hosts hath spoken it" (cp. Is 1[20] 40[5] 58[14]), and then (2) by a homiletic reflection fuller and more rhythmical than Is. : in Micah the point is—at present the nations walk each in the name of its god, but we in the way of our God, the true God. Mic. asserts what Is. exhorts to. What then is the relation between the two ? or are they the independent comments on the poem of two different editors ? Obviously the words *O house of Jacob* are to be explained from what follows in Is., *i.e.* so much of Is. *is* independent : thus the common matter is reduced to לכו ונלכה באור יהוה (Is.) and כי כל העמים ילכו איש בשם יהוה ואנחנו נלך בשם יהוה אלהינו לעולם ועד (Mic.), and the actual verbal coincidence is limited to the overlined words ; these are derived from the poem, and in making a variation on the phrase used in the poem הלך בארה יהוה, Is. and Mic. differ from one another (Is. אור, Mic. שם). If either passage is dependent on the other, is Mic 4[5] an expansion of Is 2[5] (Che.), or Is 2[5] an abbreviation of Mic 4[5] (Marti) ? If, as has been urged, the editor of Is. abbreviated because there was merely so much space to fill up, why did he add *O house of Jacob* ? The closer approximation of the לכו ונלכה of Is. as compared with the ואנחנו נלך of Mic. to the phraseology of the poem (לכו ונעלה and ונלכה ב׳) might seem to favour the priority of Is. But the question is hardly to be answered with confidence either way.

II. 6–22.—*The Day of Yahweh.*

This section, pronounced by Du. to be the worst preserved of the entire book, has certainly suffered very serious mutilation in transmission. 𝔊 preserves some better readings than 𝔐 (see v.[6] n.), but the text had already fallen into disorder before the time of 𝔊. In the main the sense is clear in spite of the state of the text, but it is more difficult to determine with certainty the form of the poem (or poems).

The presence of refrains (v.[11]=v.[17], cp. v.[9] : and v.[10]=v.[19]=v.[21]) points to a poem (or poems) divided into strophes. But what is the rhythm ? In vv.[12-17] (down to לברו ; in v.[13] omit הרמים והנשאים) and in v.[18] we have 15 lines of three accents, for the most part combined into distichs of parallel

lines; six, or if we makkeph כסף וזהב in v.^{7a} all, of the seven lines in vv.$^{7f.}$ and the last line of the refrain in vv.$^{19.\ 21}$ are of the same length; so also is the last line of v.^{6}, which at present stands isolated and without a parallel. On the other hand, the first part of v.^{6} in 𝔊 certainly is not in 3 : 3 rhythm; possibly it should be read as two distichs 3 : 2, though the second of these is certainly corrupt and the first is rather 2 : 2, if not indeed a single line of three accents (Sievers). There is at least one distich 3 : 2, perhaps two, in the refrain as it appears in vv.$^{19-21}$: but as it appears in v.^{10} it contains at most one 3 : 2 distich; even that, as the other distich certainly is, may be 2 : 2. Whether in any of the three places the refrain now retains its original form may be doubted. Clearly then the *dominant* rhythm throughout vv.$^{6-21}$ is 3 : 3, and it is not improbable that this rhythm was originally maintained unbroken. Du., followed by Cheyne, has indeed postulated two fragments with different rhythm: (*a*) vv.$^{11-17}$, rhythm 3 : 3; (*b*) vv.$^{6-10.\ 18-21}$, long lines (3+2, or the like). But the difference in rhythm, if it existed at all, did not originally, nor does it now, coincide with this division.

Obviously v.^{6} is not the beginning of a poem, perhaps one or two strophes have been lost (Du.); or the refrain now appearing in vv.$^{10.\ 19.\ 21}$ was an opening refrain, and this alone preceded v.^{6}; then vv.^{9} and ^{17} are closing refrains (Marti). The matter peculiar to each strophe probably consisted of twelve lines, *i.e.* six distichs.

Enough has been said to indicate that the form of the following translation is only an approximation to that of the original poem.

I.

19 Enter into the caves of the rocks,
And [hide yourselves] in the holes of the dust;
Away from the terror of Yahweh,
And from His glorious majesty,
When he arises to terrify the earth.

6 For he hath abandoned his people,
. . . the house of Jacob,
For his land is full of 'traders' (?)
And 'he' strikes bargains with (?) the children of foreigners,
7 And (so) his land has become full of silver and gold,
And there is no end to his stores;
And (so) his land has become full of horses,
And there is no end to his chariots;
8 And so his land has become full of idols,
. . . . . .
To the work of his hands 'he' bows down,
To that which his fingers have made.

(9) 11 'And' the pride of man shall 'sink low,'
And the loftiness of man be 'abased';
And Yahweh alone shall be exalted, ^
[But the idols shall one and all vanish]

2.

10 Enter into [the caves of] the rock,
And hide yourselves in [the holes of] the dust;
Away from the terror of Yahweh
And from His glorious majesty.

12 For Yahweh of Hosts hath a day,
Against everything that is proud and lofty,
And against everything that is uplifted and 'high,'
. . . . . .

13 And against all cedars of Lebanon, ^ ^
And against all oaks of Bashan;
14 And against all lofty mountains,
And against all uplifted hills;
15 And against every high tower,
And against every fortified wall;
16 And against all ships of Tarshish,
And against all . . .

17 And the pride of man shall sink low,
And the loftiness of man be abased:
And Yahweh alone shall be exalted ^ ^
18 But the idols shall one and all vanish.

The subject of the poem is the Day of Yahweh (v.12), when Yahweh will gloriously and terribly manifest His presence (v.10). Isaiah follows Amos in depicting this "Day," which was popularly expected to bring "light" and national success (Am 5[18]), as a day of terror for Israel no less than for the rest of the world. It is not to be a day on which Israel's foes will for ever go under and Israel emerge successful, but on which Israel with the rest of mankind will do well to seek out holes and crannies (vv.[10. 17]), if haply they may there cower away from Yahweh. And the reason for this common doom that awaits Israel as well as the rest of the world is Israel's abandonment of Yahweh, which has led in turn to His abandonment of them. Israel has grown wealthy, and has

expended its wealth on equipments for war (v.[7]) and on the manufacture of idols (v.[8]) and in these has placed its trust; thereby in Yahweh's judgment, if not in its own, showing disloyalty to Yahweh: consequently Yahweh has abandoned Israel; it is no more His people, has no longer closer ties with Him than the rest of mankind, and must therefore share the result of the common overthrow of all wherein man places his pride and confidence on the day which will show Yahweh alone supreme, and all the works of man's hands, including the idols, valueless (vv.[11. 19]). According to the present text of v.[6c] a specific offence of Israel has been the practice of magic; whether this is what was originally intended by that line, or whether it spoke of a recent increase in foreign trade as the cause of the increased wealth that has led to abandonment of Yahweh, is discussed below. The first strophe dwells more fully on the present condition of Israel ([6c-8]), the two refrains and the ominous words of v.[6a. b] indicating the coming doom. The second strophe is entirely devoted to a description of that doom—the day of Yahweh is at hand, when He will overthrow all lofty and towering objects and man's pride itself, all that rises above the ordinary level and thereby even distantly competes with the sole exaltation of Yahweh which the "Day" is to manifest, and consequently all the objects in which foolish man, not recognising Him that is truly High and lifted up, has vainly placed his trust.

Whether these two strophes constituted the entire poem or not, the connection of the two main subjects—prevailing sin and inevitable judgment—is clear and characteristically prophetic; and each is forcibly expressed by the monotonous cast of the sentences: wealth, wealth, nothing but wealth and the trust in it (vv.[6-8]); overthrow, overthrow, nothing but overthrow of all else but Yahweh (vv.[12-16]).

Since the term "House of Jacob" in v.[6] is ambiguous, it must remain uncertain whether Isaiah is here depicting the doom of the Northern Kingdom (as in $9^{7ff.}$ 17^{1-9}), or of the Southern Kingdom, or of both together. In either case the prevalence of wealth and the easy confidence in the more than sufficiency of the military resources of the kingdom point to a very early period in Isaiah's career—say before the Assyrian campaign of 738 B.C., —as the probable if not certain date of the poem; some, too, detect the "rush and abandon" of youth in the composition, and the

influence in vv.[12-16] of the great earthquake that occurred in Isaiah's childhood (Am 1^2, Zec 14^5).

6. *For he hath abandoned his people*] so 𝔊: 𝔐 *for thou hast abandoned thy people* (see phil. n.). The words are obviously not the beginning of a poem; nor could they be so regarded, even if כי might be rendered *surely*, or *certainly* (BDB, p. 472*b*: cp. Nu 23^{23} n.). Nor can they give the reason for v.[5]; they cannot mean "for thou (Israel) hast abandoned thy nationality, or national character"*—an interpretation which places on עם an impossible meaning. The subject of the vb., whether the 3rd pers. (𝔊) or the 2nd (𝔐), is God. What originally preceded v.[6] can only be conjectured; if, as in the translation above, the refrain of vv.[10. 19. 21], the reading of 𝔊 is the more suitable.—*Jacob*] 𝔊 *Israel*: either term might refer exclusively to the Northern kingdom (9[8]); but 8^{14} proves that "Israel" with Isaiah included Judah, and the same is doubtless true of Jacob (cp., further, 5^7 8^{17} 10^{21} 29^{22}). In Mic $3^{8f.}$ *Jacob*, *House of Jacob*, is even used when the reference is to Judah exclusively.—*For his* (i.e. *Jacob's*) *land is full of*, etc.] so 𝔊, in harmony with the following lines: 𝔐 *for they are full of*. The last part of v.[6] is certainly more or less corrupt (see phil. n.). Literally rendered, 𝔐 reads:

For they are full from (or, fuller than) the East,
(or, For they are full from of old)
And of (or, and (they are)) soothsayers like the Philistines,
And they strike (bargains) with (?) the children of foreigners.

𝔊 reads:

And their land is full as of old of soothsayings like that of the Philistines,
And many alien children have been born to them.

The first line in 𝔐 obviously lacks an object: RV "for they be filled (with customs) from the East" is not a translation of 𝔐, but virtually rests on an unacknowledged and improbable conjectural emendation. Many others since Lowth have *conjecturally* supplied, as an object to *they are full of*, the word *diviners*: then the first and second lines in 𝔐 thus emended express the same general thought as the first line in 𝔊—the land of Jacob is full of soothsayers. The connection between the presence of sooth-

* Saad., Hitz.

sayers and the striking of bargains with foreigners (third line in 𝔐) is not obvious; and since the meaning of the third line is by no means beyond question, Marti suspects a third reference in that line to magic or enchantment. Still no such meaning can be extracted from the text of the third line or from any obvious emendation of it. But if we look at the wider context, another question arises, viz., Is any reference to soothsaying or the like probable? Ought we not rather to find in the line(s) that precede a sense parallel to that of the third line? By a conjecture discussed in the phil. n. and more fully in *ZATW*, 1911, pp. 112 ff., and tentatively expressed in the above translation, this is obtained. Judah (or Israel) has become a busy commercial people thronged with foreign traders: hence flows wealth, which is expended on munitions of war and the manufacture of handiwork to which, instead of Yahweh, the people pay worship. The word כנענם, conjecturally substituted for עננים and rendered "*traders*," is literally *Canaanites* (cp. Zeph 1^{11}, Ezk 16^{29}, and ? Hos 12^{8}; Is 23^{8}, Pr 31^{24}, and ? Zec 14^{21})—a fact which would increase the suitability of *foreigners* in the parallel. For the association of the presence of foreigners with a wealth-producing commerce, cp. ch. 23, Ezk 27. On the increase of trade in Israel in the sixth century B.C., see G. A. Smith in *EBi.* 5174, "the Hebrew prophets from Amos onwards bear witness to an extraordinary increase of trade, and to the tempers which grow with it. . . . The old agricultural economy is disturbed; farmers give place on their ancestral lands to a new class of rich men, who can only have been created by trade; and the rural districts are partly depopulated (Is $5^{8ff.}$, Mic $2^{1-5.\ 9}$). The sins of trade: covetousness, false weights, and the oppression of debtors and of the poor, are frequently castigated (Am 2^{6} 4^{1} $8^{4ff.}$, Hos 12^{7}, Is $3^{5.\ 15}$ 5^{23}, Mic 2 and 3)."—*Like the Philistines*] the appropriateness of the comparison in the text of 𝔐 or 𝔊 is obscure. We have no other indication that the Philistines were pre-eminent in divination. That the Philistines consulted oracles (2 K 1^{2}) and resorted to magic practices (1 S 6^{2}) merely shows that they formed no exception to the general habits of the ancient world. On the other hand, the Philistines were great traders, and Gaza was one of the great markets of the ancient world: cp. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, ch. ix. If we retain the Hebrew text, we may perhaps best explain—alike from East and West (cp. 9^{11} 11^{14}) they borrow their magic customs. The

particular form of magic expressed by עננים, which is denounced in Dt 18^{10}, Lv 19^{26}, and otherwise referred to in Jg 9^{37}, Mic 5^{11}, Is 57^{3}, 2 K 21^{6}, is uncertain; it has been variously explained from ענן, *a cloud*, hence rain-producers, from עין, *the eye*, hence persons who exercise the power of the evil-eye, a power widely believed in and dreaded down to the present day in Palestine; from the Arabic *ġunnat*, a *twang*, the hum of *insects*, hence diviners as the interpreters of such sounds, or as delivering their instruction with such sounds, or "singing" *their spells; and from the Arabic *ʿanna*, *to appear*, hence dealers in phenomena (see references in BDB, *s.v.*).—*He strikes bargains with foreigners*] ויפקו *they*, etc.: the sing. in reference to Jacob, the personified people, should probably be restored in agreement with the following clauses. On the degree of uncertainty attaching to the verb, see phil. n.: the rendering adopted seems at least more probable than the alternative *they abound with* (𝔊, AVmarg.).—**7.** Whether the previous v. had led up to it or not, we have here clearly enough a description and tacit condemnation of the multiplication of material resources (*gold*, *silver*, and *stores*) and equipment of war (*horses*, *chariots*) which had been the result of the long and successful reign of Jeroboam II. in the N. and of Uzziah in the S. Isaiah in common with other prophetic writers condemns these things because they blind men to worthy and spiritual ideals, which are summed up for him in Yahweh the Holy One of Israel: cp. $30^{15\text{-}17}$ $31^{1\text{-}3}$, Mic 5^{10}, Hos 8^{14}, Zec 4^{6} 9^{10}, Dt $17^{16\text{f.}}$ (cp. $20^{1\text{-}4}$), Ps 20^{8}.—**8.** *Idols*] the word אליל also occurs in vv.$^{18.\ 20}$ $10^{10\text{f.}}$ $19^{1.\ 3}$ 31^{7}, Ezk 30^{13}, Hab 2^{18}, Ps 96^{5} (= 1 Ch 16^{26}) 97^{7}, Lv 19^{4} 26^{1}. It often conveys an unmistakable suggestion of contempt. The meaning of the word as used by the prophets is sufficiently indicated by the expressions רעי האליל, *worthless shepherds* (Zec 11^{17}), and רפאי אליל, *good-for-nothing physicians* (Job 13^{4}). It is possible that it was originally a respectable word for gods,† just as כמרים must have been for priests, and that it was the irony of the prophets that associated it with the adjective אליל, *worthless* (cp. Syr. ܠܐ ܐܠ), or perchance the negative אל, perhaps, too, with a play on אֵל, *strong*; so here,

* Cp. *Incantatio*, *carmen*, *ἐπαοιδή*, and see references and illustrations in J. B. Jevons's Essay, "Graeco-Italian Magic," in *Anthropology and the Classics* (ed. R. R. Marett), pp. 94 ff., 99 f.

† See BDB.

his land is full, not of strong ones, but of noughts or good-for-nothings.—*The work of his hands . . . that which his fingers have made*] cp. 17[8], Hos 13[2].—**9.** The v. omitted in the translation above is parallel in sense to v.[11]; the last clause seems corrupt; the first two clauses re-appear in 5[15], whence perhaps they were transferred to the present passage, in the first instance as a marginal parallel: see, further, phil. n.—**10.** Variants of the refrain occur in vv.[19] and [21] for which see phil. n.; on the original position of the refrain, see above, p. 49.—When Yahweh marches forth on His day, the earth quakes (Jg 5[4]), or He comes in the thunder-storm. If from human enemies men run for safety to the caves (1 S 13[6]), how much more before this foe! cp. Hos 10[8].—*From before the terror of Yahweh, and from his glorious majesty*] cp. the expressions of Assyrian conquerors, *pul-ḫa-at bílû-ti-ia na-mur-rat kakki-ia iz-zu-ti ip-la-ḫu-ma*, "of the terror of my lordship, the panic of my mighty weapons they were afraid" (Shalmaneser, Monolith, ii. 79 = *KB* i. 171); "Him, Hezekiah, terror of the glory of my lordship (pul-ḫi mí-lammí bílû-ti-ia) overwhelmed" (Sennacherib, Taylor Cylinder, iii. 29 = *KB* ii. 95).

12–17. V.[12] states the general theme of the strophe: Yahweh on His Day will lay low every lofty object, that His own unique exaltation may appear (v.[17]); then in detail the prophet pictures the overwhelming and irresistible might of Yahweh, affecting first Lebanon (10[34] 14[8] etc.) and Bashan (33[9] n.), laying low the great and strong trees that cover them (v.[13]) and the hills themselves (v.[14]), and then the creations of man's pride and confidence—on land, his citadels and walled cities (v.[15]), and on sea, his ships (v.[16]). The line of movement is from the N.E. (Lebanon N., Bashan E.): does the prophet think of the Assyrians as Yahweh's warriors (cp. 10[4])?—**15 f.** In these verses Isaiah may have specially in mind, though not exclusively, the towers and fortifications which Uzziah built and the new sea trade which resulted from Uzziah's capture of Elath on the Red Sea (2 K 14[22]). "Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem over the corner gate, and over the valley gate, and over the angle (of the wall), and fortified them," and Jotham "built much on the wall of Ophel" (2 Ch 26[9] 27[3]; cp. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 119 f., 125).—**15.** *Fortified*] בצורה means *cut off, inaccessible*, and so *fortified, impregnable* (cp. Jer 15[20]): cp. "thy high and fortified walls

wherein thou trustest" (Dt 28^{52}).—**16.** *Ships of Tarshish*] ships fit to make the longest voyages, large ships, consequently ships with lofty masts. The meaning is obvious from the context here and in some of the other passages where the phrase occurs ($23^{1.\ 14}$ 60^{9}, Ezk 27^{25}, Ps 48^{7}, 2 Ch 9^{21}). 𝔊 either transliterates the proper name (60^{9}), or renders by πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος ($23^{1.\ 14}$), or, as perhaps here, by πλοῖον θαλάσσης (but see *EBi.* 4897 n. 1); see also Ezk 27^{25}. The best identification of Tarshish still seems to be Tartessus (23^{6} n.) in Spain—at the remote corner of the ancient world.—*And against all . . .*] the phrase (שביות החמדה) might perhaps (see phil. n.) mean *desirable or costly imagery*, but this does not suit the context, which requires that the phrase should describe some lofty object; moreover, the analogy of vv.[13-15] suggests that the phrase should describe something closely resembling, or intimately connected with, large ships. None of the various suggested renderings of the phrase, as in 𝔐 or emended, satisfy both these requirements (see phil. n.).—**17.** Cp. v.[11].—**18.** *But the idols will one and all vanish* forms an excellent antithetical parallel to the third line of v.[17] *Yahweh alone will be exalted*: cp. Ps 102^{27} heaven and earth *vanish* (חלף as here: also Job 9^{26}), Yahweh abides.

19. Cp. v.[10], and see phil. n.—*When he arises to terrify the earth*] לערץ הארץ, *ut terreat terram.*—*Enter into the caves*] so v.[10] 𝔊; 𝔐 *and they shall enter*, which would mean that the idols will enter into the caves.—**20.** An annotation in prose, or, at least, not in the dominant rhythm of the poem. It explains how the idols will get into the caves (v.[19] 𝔐). Men perceiving the uselessness of the idols will throw them away (cp. 30^{22} 31^{7}) to animals that house in the darkness of caves and holes.—*Moles*] or *rats.* The noun חפרפרה means literally *a much-digging* (animal). AV, RV rightly, though without acknowledgment, abandon the unintelligible MT (לחפר פרת) and follow 𝔙 *talpes.*—*Bats*] "The majority of the bats of Palestine (and they are very numerous) inhabit caves, caverns, tombs, ruins, and disused buildings" (*EBi.*). With the standpoint of this annotator, cp. Bar $6^{20f.}$. "They are as one of the beams of the temple; and men say their hearts are eaten out, when things creeping out of the earth devour both them and their raiment . . . upon their bodies and heads alight bats, swallows, and birds; and in like manner the cats also. Whereby ye may know that they are no gods."—

21. Either a corrupt variant of vv.[10] and [19] (Du.), or the annotator (v.[20]) has slightly modified the refrain to convey his meaning—men will cast away the idols so that they, the idols, may find themselves clefts and crannies (Marti).—**22.** A still later annotation,* for, unlike v.[20] (21), it is later than 𝔊, from which the v. is absent. It is an obvious reflection on the chapter—cease to place confidence in man (cp. Jer 17[5], Ps 146[3f.]), who is of no account; but it is the reflection of some reader possessed of a roll of the prophet rather than (as Di. suggests) of Isaiah himself when he put ch. 2 and ch. 3 together.—*In whose nostril is a breath*] Cp. Gn 2[7] 7[22], Job 27[3]. The breath being given by God, man lives; but being withdrawn, he dies (רוח, Ps 104[29]).

The history of the interpretation of the v. is interesting and explains the rendering of the 𝔙, and consequently of some English versions. Jews, correctly understanding the clause *at what is he accounted* to mean that he is of no worth, referred the passage to Christ. Jerome met this not by denying the reference to Christ, but by placing on the words כי במה נחשב an impossible meaning. He points out, correctly, of course, that במה may be pronounced BAMMA *at what*, or BAMAH, which he interprets *excelsus* (it is, of course, *the* (heathen) *high place*). He renders the whole verse, "Quiescite ergo ab homine, cuius spiritus in naribus eius: quia excelsus reputatus est ipse," and comments, "Quisquam ne hominum ita quempiam laudet ut dicat: cavete ne offendatis eum, qui omnino nihili est? Ergo e contrario sic intellegendum: Cum haec universa ventura sint vobis, et prophetali spiritu praedicantur, moneo atque praecipio, ut quiescatis ab eo qui secundum carnem quidem homo est, et habet animam, et ita spirat, et naribus halitum trahit ut nos homines spiramus et vivimus: sed secundum divinam majestatem excelsus et est et reputatur et creditur. Tacita mecum mente pertractans, non possum invenire rationem quare LXX tam perspicuam de Christo prophetiam in Graecum noluerint vertere. Caeteri enim, qui verterunt quidem, sed sermonem ambiguum ad impietatis traxere sensum, non mirum cur male interpretati sint, nec voluerint de Christo gloriosum quid dicere in quem non credebant: videlicet Judaei aut Semijudaei, id est, Ebionitae."

6. נמשחה עמך] For the form נמשחה, see G–K. 44*g*. 𝔊 (𝔏) reads *ἀνῆκεν γὰρ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ*. It is disputed whether this represents a real Hebrew variant נמש עמו (so Mar.; cp. Du.) or not (Che. *SBOT*). 𝔊 fits the context better, for nowhere else throughout the entire passage is Yahweh addressed, except in a probably corrupt clause (v.[9]). On the other hand, it is difficult to account for the derivation of 𝔐 from 𝔊's reading. If the stichos be editorial (Che.), 𝔐 may be right; but if part of the poem, 𝔊 is to be preferred. If the text were substantially correct a suggestion of W. R. Smith in a letter to Che. (*SBOT*) would deserve attention; this is, that ה (lost by haplography after יהוה) should be prefixed to כי, so as to give a

* So Che. (following Studer: see *SBOT*), Du., Marti, Cond.

sentence of the form of Mic 4^9 and of the same tenour as Ezk 8^{12}, Jer 2^5, 2 K 1^3. —יעקב] 𝔊 Ἰσραήλ.—מלאו] 𝔊 ἐνεπλήσθη, *i.e.* מלא or rather מלאה, since 𝔊 read ארצו after מקדם.—מקדם] 𝔊 ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (cp. 𝔗𝔗𝔖) perhaps freely for 𝔓, or reading כמקדם; after ἀρχῆς, 𝔊 continues ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν (𝔗 ארעכון) = ארצו (cp. v.^{7}), and then for ועננים has κληδονισμῶν, *i.e.* עננים without the waw. Apparently, then, 𝔊's Hebrew text read כי מלאה כמקדם ארצו עננים; this is probably nearer at least to the original text than 𝔐 MT, which arose from the accidental loss of ארץ in ארצועננים and the subsequent change of מלאה into מלאו. If 𝔊 read כמקדם, the כ also dropped out. But 𝔊 even is scarcely the original text. Possibly כמקדם is a corrupt dittograph of במלאה. This would leave a better sentence than 𝔐, but substantially the same sense: *their land is full of enchanters like the Philistines.* If the allusion to enchanters is rightly suspected (see comm.), we may conjecture that עננים is an error for כנענים, *traffickers*; by also omitting כפלשתים we should obtain, finally, a line not only parallel to the probable sense of, but rhythmically equal to, ובילדי נכרים ישפיקו. That the clauses כי מלאו מקדם ועננים כפלשתים are in some measure corrupt is generally admitted; the emendation most usually adopted, since the time of Lowth, has been the insertion of מקסם or קסמי מקסמים before מקדם, or the substitution of one of these words for מקדם; but there are serious objections to this widely accepted emendation: (1) מלאו with a personal subject and a personal object is improbable; (2) the emendation fails to explain 𝔊, and falls to the ground if 𝔊's text, which contains an object for מלאו, be correct; (3) ועננים כפלשתים is left awkwardly limping, if a second object of מלאו, and inelegant, though abstractly possible (Dr. § 135 (6)), if it be a new predicate; (4) כי מלאו . . . כפלשתים is too long for one line, somewhat too short for two, and if two lines, the following line is left isolated.—ועננים] if the text be correct (but see last n.), עננים is Poel part. without the formative מ, as in Jer 27^9; G–K. 52*s*.—וובילדי נכרים ישפיקו] ילדי נכרים, if the text is correct, must be a unique variant of בני נכר or נכרים; it scarcely means *young foreigners* (Di.). Hitz. proposed בִּידֵי for בילדי. The vb. שפק, *to suffice*, occurs once in the Kal in a North Palestinian source (1 K 20^{10}), and the noun שפק, *sufficiency*, in Job 20^{22}; the vb. also occurs in the late Heb. of Ecclus. (39^{33} (Kal), 39^{16} 42^{17} (Hiph.)), and שפק is common in Aramaic. The use by Isaiah of a vb. with such a history is not very probable, though it was natural for 𝔊 to assume its use. It is safer to suppose that שפק here = ספק (G–K. 6*k*); this (with כפים) means *to strike hands* (in anger, Nu 24^{10}, or mockery, La 2^{15}, Job 27^{23}); cp. سفق, and the citation by Lane (*Arab. Dict.* 1373) of the tradition "السفق فى الاسواق means *the striking of hands* of the contracting parties on the occasion of selling and buying in token of ratification thereof *in the markets.*" Unless we adopt Hitz.'s emendation we must suppose that שפק(ה) is here a breviloquence for שפק כפים(ה), cp. תקע, Pr 11^{15} = תקע כף, Pr 17^{18} 22^{26}, and the alternative expressions صفق يده, صفق على يده, and صفق (Lane, p. 1700), meaning to strike hands in concluding a bargain: cp. also صفقة, (1) *a striking of the hands*, (2) *a contract.*—The most suspicious thing in the present text is the prep. ב: we

should rather expect ל or עם.—**7.** ואין קצה ל] Nah 2^{10}.—**8.** ותמלא ארצו אלילים very probably a parallel line has fallen out: Du. suggests ואין קצה לעצבתיו.—ישתחוו] read ישתחוה, note ירו: otherwise explain by G–K. 145*m*.—**9.** וישח אדם וישפל איש ואל תשא להם] *and so mankind is bowed down and man humbled*: the consequences of v.^{8}, though actually appertaining to the future, are described as though they had already ensued (Dr. *Tenses*^{3}, p. 94): *and* (*therefore*) *do thou* (Yahweh) *not forgive them*, a poetical way of expressing—and therefore shall they not be forgiven (Dr. § 57). So with some ingenuity, but without probability, 𝔐 may be explained. It is difficult to believe that vv.$^{9.\ 11a.\ b}$ are anything but corrupt variants of the refrain which occurs in nearly its original form in vv.$^{17.\ 18}$. Yet another variant probably occurs in 5^{15}: there the first four words are as here, but instead of the almost certainly corrupt ואל תשא להם, 5^{15} has ועיני גבהים תשפלנה. For תשא, 𝔊 has ἀνήσω= אשא.—**10.** The refrain occurs with variants in v.^{19}: it is improbable that the rhythmical dissimilarity of the two occurrences of the refrain is original; since the rhythm was probably 3 : 3, restore מערות (or נקרות, cp. v.^{21}) and מחלות as in v.^{19}. Moreover, read באו (𝔊: cp. v.^{19}) for בוא and הטמנו for הטמן: in v.^{19} supply from here הטמנו before מחלות. At the end of the v. 𝔊 read בקומו לערץ ארץ as in vv.$^{19.\ 21}$ 𝔐. —מהדר גאונו] for similar combinations of synonyms, cp. Ps $145^{5.\ 12}$: J. Kennedy proposes מַהֲדֶרֶת גאונו (cp. 1 S 14^{15}): unnecessary; see Che. *SBOT*.—**11.** עיני גבהות שפל] G–K. 146*a*: but the text is probably corrupt. See on v.^{9}.—ביום ההוא] rhythmically redundant and probably an editorial addition; but the refrain should be completed as in $17^{f.}$ by restoring here והאלילים כליל יחלפו.—**12.** ושפל] 𝔊 *καὶ μετέωρον καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται*, of which the first two words = וְנָבַהּ or a word of a similar sense. The parallel suggests that this was right; *καὶ ταπ.* rendered ושפל after it had come into the text.—**13.** הרמים והנשאים] Sta., Marti omit: the words are rhythmically redundant and they weaken the sense, for cedars of Lebanon being the tallest of their kind need no epithet (cp. "ships of Tarshish" without epithet).

16. חמדה] שביות החמדה means *that which is desirable*, or, by a slight and easy transference of meaning, *precious, costly* (see 2 Ch 36^{10} "all the *costly* furniture" of the temple; cp. Hag 2^{7}). But the art. is suspicious: ct. כלי חמדה regularly: possibly החמדה as well as שביות is corrupt. The idea of *desirableness* or *costliness* does not elsewhere in this strophe interrupt the monotonous expression of the idea of loftiness. שביות together with משביות, the only other derivative of the root found in OT (see Nu 33^{51} n.), is explained by the Aram. סכא, *to look out, look for, expect*. Meanings that have been suggested are *imagery* (EV: cp. משבית in Nu.; and 𝔊 here *καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους*), *watch towers* (? ⅁ ⅂⅁⅁, Ew., RVmarg.), *flags* (of ships as being conspicuous; Ges. *Thes.*). Other renderings presumably based on the text, but either questionable, or paraphrastic, are *palaces* (𝔗), 𝔙 *quod visu pulchrum est* (for both words). The most interesting emendation suggested in שפינות = ספינות (Jon 1^{5}), *ships* (Siegfried-Stade); while Bennett (see BDB, *s.v.*) and others have suggested that שביות itself may have been a term for a particular kind of ship: cp. Che. in *SBOT*, who ultimately prefers to read כסאות החמדה; both emendations half, but only half, meet the case (see comm. above).—**18.** והאלילים כליל יחלף] exactly equal rhythmically to the first two lines of v.^{17} and also to the last line, if we omit ביום ההוא as

editorial. Restore יחלפו באו (Marti); this gives at once the pl. vb. required after האלילים (cp. 𝔊 κατακρύψουσιν) and the imper. at the beginning of v.[19] corresponding to v.[10]. כליל is acc. (cp. G–K. 118, 5) *in entirety, all together, one and all*; cp. الناس جميعا as a variant on جميع الناس (Wright, *Ar. Gram.* ii. 82*b*), and, *e.g.*, انفروا جميعا, *go forth all together* (Ḳor. 4, 73), حتى اذا ادّاركوا فيها جميعا, *until they shall all have entered therein* (*ib.* 6, 36).—**20.** עשו] subj., acc. to Hitz., Di., is *they*, viz. the craftsmen: improbable. Either ידיו has dropped out (cp. 31[7]), or the vb. was sing.—עשה, scarcely עָשׂוּ (Lag., Du.) with retention of the original 3rd radical (cp. G–K. 75*b*). 𝔊 also has no equivalent for לו.—לחפר פרות] the correct *Massoretic* text, though a few Hebrew MSS have gone back to the original reading of 𝔙 לחפרפרות. 𝔊 (τοῖς ματαιοῖς) clearly read one word only: so Theod. *φαρφαρωθ*. For meanings that have been suggested for the impossible לחפר פרות, see Ges., Di.; for the nominal form חפרפרה, G–K. 84*n*.—**22.** חדלו מן] So with different nuances, Ex 14[12], 1 S 9[5], Pr 23[4], Job 7[16], 2 Ch 35[21].—נחשב] with gerundive force, G–K. 116*e*.—בבהמה] ב *pretii*: G–K. 119*p*.

III. 1–15.

This section has been commonly regarded as a single continuous whole. More probably, as Du. has suggested, it consists of two poems, (1) vv.[1-12], (2) vv.[13-15]; the first has been enlarged by the incorporation of notes and parallels, the second perhaps lacks its conclusion.

The reasons for supposing that there are two poems here are briefly these: (1) v.[13] constitutes an obviously suitable commencement of a poem; (2) the attitude towards the rulers in vv.[1-5] and v.[14] is different; the point of the former verses is that the rulers are to be removed, and that their removal will cause the fall of the state, the point of the latter that the conduct of the rulers has brought Yahweh to judgment; (3) a marked difference of rhythm and structure.

In vv.[13-15] a consistent rhythm is very clearly maintained (3 : 3) and in three out of the four couplets the lines are parallel in sense; in vv.[1-12] no single rhythm is maintained throughout in the present text, but the dominant rhythm is 3 : 2; see v.[1] (to ומשענה, two distichs), v.[5] (two distichs), v.[8] (to נפל); v.[4] is ambiguous—3 : 2 (MT) or 3 : 3. Another good 3 : 2 distich may be obtained by transposing [7e] and reading לא־תשיכני קצין עם | לא־אהיה חבש. The interruption of the 3 : 2 rhythm may be partly, or entirely, due to textual corruption and interpolation; but whether this be so or not, there is certainly but little of the rhythm and parallelistic

structure of vv.[13-15] in vv.[1-12]; it appears only in v.[12] and possibly also v.[4]; vv.[10. 11] divide into periods of three accents, but the periods of parallelism are 6 : 6. Thus, judged by rhythm alone, v.[12] might go with vv.[13-15]; but if [1-15] is not continuous, the new start in v.[13] obviously marks the main division.

III. 1–12.—*A Prophecy of Anarchy in Judah.*

Rhythm.—Irregular, but in vv.[1-8] the distichs shown in the translation are mostly 3 : 2, in [10-11] they are 6 : 6. See more fully just above.

[1] For behold the Lord
Yahweh of Hosts
Is removing from Jerusalem and Judah
Staff and stay.

[2] The whole staff of bread and the whole staff of water. The mighty man and the warrior, the judge and the prophet and the diviner and the elder; [3] the captain of fifty and the man of repute and the counsellor and the skilled in magic arts and the expert in charms.

[4] And I will give youths to be their captains,
And caprice shall rule over them;
[5] And the people shall tyrannise man over man,
Yea, each one over his neighbour;
The youth shall act rudely towards the old man,
And the lightly esteemed towards the highly respected.
[6] When a man shall lay hold on his fellow,
In whose father's house is a mantle (saying,)
Come, thou shalt be our ruler,
And this ruin shall be under thine hand,
[7] He shall make utterance in that day, saying,
I will not be a binder up,
For in my father's house there is no bread,
And there is no mantle;
Ye shall not make me ruler of the people;
[8] For Jerusalem hath stumbled,
And Judah hath fallen;
For their tongue and their deeds are against Yahweh,
(?) Provoking the eyes (?) of His glory.
Their partiality hath witnessed against them,
And they have given evidence of their sin like Sodom
without concealing ought.

Woe to themselves, for they have done themselves harm.
10 'Happy is' the righteous, for he is fortunate: for they
eat the fruit of their doings.
11 Woe to the unrighteous: he is unfortunate: for the
dealing of his hands is done unto him.
12 The taskmasters of my people deal cruelly,
And exactors of usury rule them.
O my people, thy guides mislead,
And confound the way of thy paths.

The main theme of the foregoing verses is as follows: Yahweh is on the point of removing from Judah all those who give stability to the state by the discharge of civil or military duties, or by advice. All effective administration will then come to an end, violence will pervail, age and character will no longer command respect, and, even if appealed to, men of standing and substance will refuse to act as leaders. This imminent and certain collapse of the state (vv.[1-7]) is Yahweh's judgment on His people for evil ways and unblushing sins (vv.[8f.]).

As a matter of fact this theme is exhausted in vv.[1-9b], and indeed is sufficiently presented in the rhythmically similar distichs (3 : 2) within vv.[1-9]. Vv.[4. 9a-12] may be sayings that had at one time another setting. The last clauses of v.[1] have been generally, and rightly, regarded as a gloss (see below): and some (cp. Che. *Introd.* 17) consider that the catalogue in vv.[2f.], which seems to be in prose, has been interpolated or at least expanded.

For all that is known the main theme of vv.[1-12] might have been handled at many periods of Isaiah's life. The argument drawn from vv.[4. 12] that these verses were written in anticipation, or at the beginning, of the reign of Ahaz, is very precarious (see comm.); and not much less so Hackmann's argument (p. 122) that the wickedness of which Isaiah speaks must have been long observed by him and in vain denounced, to account for his certainty of ruin.

1. *For*] the כי links 3^{1-15} to $2^{6ff.}$ (Marti), or 2^{22} (Di.), but is perhaps editorial, and was possibly absent from the text of G (see phil. n.).—*The Lord Yahweh of Hosts*] 1^{24} n.—*Jerusalem and Judah*] cp. 1^{1} n.—*Staff and stay*] all means of support whatsoever, all "pillars of the state" (cp. 19^{13}, Jg 20^{2}, 1 S 14^{38}, Zec 10^{4}): EV by its alliteration happily secures some similarity

to the original (see phil. n.).—"Staff and stay" appears to receive two explications: first, in the clause *every staff of bread and every staff of water*, it is interpreted of what supports physical life; the removal or breaking of such a staff means famine, see Lv 26^{26}, Ezk 4^{16} 5^{16} 14^{13} (where *staff* is מטה, not משען). Since there is no further suggestion of famine (except, at most subsidiarily, in v.[7]), but the entire prophecy turns on the removal of the *staff* as next explained, this clause is generally considered to be a gloss supplied by a reader who was familiar with Ezekiel, and who saw in the present passage a prophecy of the famine that accompanied the Fall of Jerusalem in 586.*—**2. 3.** An enumeration of typical pillars of state,—military, judicial, religious; vv.[4ff.] the social disorder and confusion which follows when every such *staff and stay* (v.[1]) is removed. The pillars of state are enumerated mostly in pairs, but in a curious order, or lack of order; v.[3] contains a second and similar series rather than a continuation of the series begun in v.[2], yet scarcely of less important though similar officials (Di.), for the classes mentioned second and third in v.[3] are certainly important. Further, the enumeration is of persons whom the prophet's audience accounted sources of strength: "diviners" and "charmers" could never have appeared such to Isaiah himself, and indeed his fundamental thought here as in ch. 2 is that Yahweh alone is the true strength of Judah; in alienating Him and thus losing His support, the people work their own fall and ruin (v.[8]).—*The mighty man and the man of war*] cp. Ezk 39^{20} where the prefixing of "all" to the second term (איש מלחמה) suggests that the first (גבור) denotes the soldier under some aspect of superiority, whether the veteran or soldier in command (Di.), or the soldier by profession, *Berufsoldat* (Ges–B.), a member of the bodyguard as distinguished from the man who simply takes to arms in time of war (cp. 2 S 23^{8}, Jer 5^{16}). In view of such passages as 1 S 16^{18} 17^{33}, 2 S 17^{8}, the distinction, if it ever existed apart from the suggestion of the context, was scarcely well-marked.—*The diviner*] the term קֹסֵם denotes a person who obtained information by divination, as, for example, by drawing lots with arrows (Ezk $21^{26f.}$ $^{(21f.)}$); the practice is directly or tacitly condemned whenever it is referred to in OT (cp. *e.g.* Dt $18^{10f.}$). See fuller notes in *Numbers*, 329, 355.—**3.** *Captain of fifty*] may be intended to refer typically to petty

* So, or substantially so, Ges., Hitz., Di., Che., Du., Cond., Marti.

military officers: or possibly 𝔊 should be differently punctuated and the term rendered "captain of the armed men" (see phil. n.).—*The man of repute*] lit. *he whose face is lifted up* (נשוא פנים), the person whose reputation rests on actual achievement rather than on mere occupation of office; cp. 2 K 5^{1}, Naaman not only held high office, but enjoyed a high repute because of his victories over Israel; the phrase also occurs in 9^{14}, Job 22^{8} (‖ איש זרוע).—*The counsellor*] an important person—see 1^{26} 9^{5} 19^{11}, Mic 4^{9}, Job 3^{14} 12^{17}.—*The skilled in magic arts*] so with RVmarg. rather than *the cunning artificer* or *craftsman*, see phil. n.—*The expert in charms*] or, more literally, *he that has understanding of whispering charms*; the adjectives (חכם, נבון) used in the two parallel clauses are frequently combined (Gn $41^{33.\ 39}$, Dt 1^{13} 4^{6}, 1 K 3^{12}). The noun לחש, starting from the sense of *whispering*, found in the vb. in 2 S 12^{19}, Ps 41^{8}, and in Aram. and Eth., came to be used specifically of the speech of the serpent-charmer (Ec 10^{11}, cp. Ps 58^{6}), and then, as apparently here, more widely of charms or spells (cp. 3^{20}).

4. *And I will make youths their captains*] the sudden introduction between vv.[1-3] and vv.[5ff.] of Yahweh speaking in the first person is strange: the v. is possibly not in its original position (see above).—*Captain*] שר as in v.[2].—*And caprice shall rule them*] abstract for concrete—capricious persons. The kind of conduct intended by תעלולים is illustrated less by the only other occurrence of the noun (66^{4}) than by some uses of the vb. (התעלל), which means *to treat some one* (maliciously) *for one's own pleasure*, with the result that they are made to look ridiculous, or lose character (Nu 22^{29}, Ex 10^{2}, 1 S 6^{6}, Jg 19^{25}). The noun seems to denote here the habit of mind that leads to action guided by no sound or grave reason.—If this v. stands in its original position, it repeats the thought of vv.[2. 3] under another form. "In removing the elders he virtually makes youths captains over them" (Di.). The terms are quite general, and there is no good reason for detecting, as many do, a specific allusion to Ahaz, who succeeded to the throne in 735 B.C. at the age of twenty (2 K 16^{2}); and if there were any such allusion, it would be to the prospect (Che. *Introd.* 18 f.) of such a succession, not (as Del. and others assume) to the actual reign of Ahaz: the tenses in vv.[1-5] naturally refer to the future.—**5.** Political and moral anarchy. Respect for the old is a duty coupled in Lv 19^{32} with the fear of God.

6-8. In this condition of things, when the state is obviously falling to pieces, authority and leadership will no longer be desired, but will be refused even by those upon whom it is thrust.—*When a man lays hold on his clansman in whose father's house is a mantle* (*saying*), *Come*] the words may also be translated, *When a man lays hold on his clansman in his father's house* (*saying*), *Thou hast a mantle*: the first translation is supported by the reply *in my father's house there is . . . no mantle* (v.[7]).—*Clansman*] not *brother* in the limited English sense of the word, for note *his* (not, *their*) *father*, and below (v.[7]) *my* (not, *our*).—*In his father's house*] if this be the right translation (see above), the suggestion is that in this evil time men keep at home and need to be dragged into public (cp. Am 5[13]). Does it also imply that the man addressed is a person of family who lives in his own ancestral home? Or should we draw just the opposite conclusion, viz. that authority goes begging (cp. 4[1]) to the lower classes, to those who are singled out by the mere possession of a mantle? Or is *mantle* here a robe of office, and the meaning: you belong to a family which has furnished officers of state?*—*This ruin*] the overthrown mass (המכשלה) caused by the fall of the state (cp. כשלה יהודה, v.[8]).—*Under thy hand*] or authority: cp. Gn 16[9] and (מחחת יד) Ex 18[10]. The phrase is parallel to *thou shalt be ruler* in the previous line: cp. "Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah and made a king over themselves," 2 K 8[20].—**7.** *A binder up*] of wounds or fractures received by the state in its fall (מכשלה, v.[6]: כשלה, v.[8]); cp. 1[6] 30[26], Hos 6[1].—**8.** The reason for the imminent and, as the prophetic perfects in line a imply, certain fall of the state is the opposition of the people to Yahweh in both word and deed. On the strange style of line b, see phil. n.—**9.** *Their partiality*] lit. *their regard for faces*, viz. in dispensing justice. This is certainly the most obvious interpretation; † it assumes that the nominal phrase הכרת פניהם follows the meaning of הכיר פנים in Dt 1[17] 16[19], Pr 24[23] 28[21]. On the ground that the entire people rather than the judicial class alone is here condemned many consider the interpretation unsuitable, and rather hazardously propose either (1) *the show* (or, *appearance*) *of their faces*,‡ or *the examination of their faces*; or (2) *their impudence*:§ but

* Marti.
‡ Di., AV, Ges., Del., Cond.
† 𝔗𝔖, RVmarg., Du., Marti, Che.
§ Joseph Ḳimḥi, Di.

(2) assumes that הכרת is from √הכר (Job 19³†), itself of most uncertain meaning (BDB); cp. 𝔊 *αἰσχύνη*. Some such meaning as the last would no doubt give a good parallel to the following line, and would be acceptable if it were philologically better supported: the whole v. would then mean: they are shameless as the men of Sodom in their sin.

9c, 10, 11. General moral reflections.—"The connection is certainly rather loose and . . . Isaiah is here merely putting together in writing leading ideas of prophecy" (Di.); but the sayings may be later than the age of Isaiah, and probably are if Du. is right, as he well may be, in detecting here (ct. vv.[1-9]) a well-marked doctrine of *individual* retribution, and in *the righteous* and *the unrighteous* the pious observer and the careless disregarder of the Law respectively.—**11.** *The dealing of his hands*] Jg 9[16], Pr 12[14]: for the idea that as a man deals he is dealt with, see 33[1] (of nations).

12. Misgoverned and misled.—The first distich describes the pitiable state of Yahweh's people due to the cruelties of severe rulers and money-lenders (𝔊), or to the caprice of incompetent rulers—boys (cp. v.[4]) and women (MT, EV). Those who adopt the latter interpretation find an allusion here to Ahaz and his harem. Here as in v.[4] Yahweh is the speaker, and, as probably there, the rhythm (3 : 3) is unlike that which most prevails in vv.[1-9]. Unlike v.[4] which predicts, this distich describes an existing state of things.—**c. d.** The change from the 3rd pers. of description to the 2nd of address suggests that the two couplets of v.[12] may come from different poems. A variant of this one occurs, probably out of place, in 9[15].

1. כי הנה] 𝔊 *ἰδοὺ δή*, *possibly*=הנה without כי, cp. 22[17] 10[33] and also 13[9] 62[11] where הנה is rendered *ἰδοὺ γάρ*.—מסיר . . . הנה] of the imminent future: Dr. § 135 (3).—מירושלם ומיהודה] in 𝔊 (except B) the order is reversed: cp. 1[1] 2[1] in 𝔓; but ct. 3[8] both 𝔊 and 𝔓.—משען ומשענה] masc. and fem. forms combined to exhaust an idea: see Kön. iii. 91, who cites Nah 2[13], Ex 35[22], Is 11[12], 2 S 19[26], and Ges. on this passage, who cites Arabic examples, such as لَهُ ٱمرٌ وَلَا ٱمرَةٌ, *he has neither male nor female sheep*, *i.e.* nothing at all. Neither משענה nor (thus pointed) מַשְׁעֵן occurs again: with מַשְׁעֵן (cstr.), cp. 2 S 22[19]=Ps 18[19]†.—וכל . . . כל] 𝔊 omits כל in both clauses.—**2.** גבור] 𝔊 *γίγαντα καὶ ἰσχύοντα*, scarcely a real variant, but the last two words in 𝔊 may be a dittograph from v.[1], or a doublet.—**3.** שר חמשים] the versions anticipate the חֲמֻשִׁים of MT with which Haupt (*SBOT*) compares the Assyr. *ṣab ḫanša*. Che. (after Sta.) points חֲמֻשִׁים *the armed men*; for חֲמֻשִׁים, see

Ex 13^{18}, Jos 1^{14} 4^{12}, Jg 7^{11}, and cp. Ges-B.[15] pp. 239*b*, 240*a*, with references there given.—ונשוא פנים ויועץ] 𝔊 *καὶ θαυμαστὸν σύμβουλον* (cp. 9^{5}) : instead of the two terms of 𝔐, 𝔊 probably had but one : we should perhaps omit ויועץ (Gun. in Sievers), then v.[4] would consist of pairs of grammatically symmetrical terms ; it cannot safely be claimed (Marti) that 𝔊 omits נשוא פנים, for cp. *τεθαυμασμένος προσώπῳ*=נשוא פ׳ in 2 (4) K 5^{1}.—וחכם הרשים] 𝔙 *sapientem de architectis*, and, but that the superlative would be out of place, 𝔐 might certainly mean *the cunningest craftsman* (G–K. 133*g*, *h*). But the gen. is rather that of improper annexion (G–K. 128*x*) and חרשים pl. of an assumed sing. חָרֶשׁ, meaning *crafts*, *handiwork* (cp. EV), or, more probably, in view of the following clause, *magic arts* : cp. حرش, *to practise magic*, see, further, BDB. —4. העלילים] abstract pl. ; G–K. 85*r*.—5. וגנוּשׁ] generally taken to be Niphal, with reciprocal sense (G–K. 51*d*) of נגשׁ, *to drive* (to work : 58^{3}), *be a taskmaster* (cp. Ex 3^{7}) or *a ruler*, especially a foreign or oppressive ruler (9^{3} 14^{4}). The Niph. with a different force occurs in 53^{7}, 1 S 13^{6} (? 14^{24}). נגשׁ read by 8 MSS is not preferable. The Versions read differently or rendered inadequately—𝔊 *καὶ συμπεσεῖται*, 𝔗 ויתגרן, 𝔖 ܘܢܬܒܠܒܠ.—6. והמכשלה הזאת] 𝔊 apparently read וּמַכְשֵׁלְתִּי—wrong ; note לנו, plural suf., in the previous clause.—לכה] either ל + 2nd sing. m. suff. as in Gn 27^{37}, 2 S 18^{22} (G–K. 103*g* and 91*d*), or 2nd sing. impr. of הלך with emphatic ending (G–K. 48*i*).—8. להמרות=למרות (G–K. 53*q*), but many of the alleged instances of this syncope are questionable. מרה, *to be contentious*, *rebellious* (*towards*), is commonly used either absolutely or with a personal, or virtually personal (רוח), object, or with an acc. signifying a command : עני if=עיני is a strange object for the vb. The sentence כי לשנם . . . עני כבודו is rhythmically overloaded and awkward, whether with Di. we interpret *their tongue and their deeds are in relation to Yahweh of such a kind that they must provoke*, etc., or with Du. al. assume that אל stands for על. 𝔊 renders *καὶ αἱ γλῶσσαι αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀνομίας, τὰ πρὸς Κύριον ἀπειθοῦντες. διότι νῦν ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν*, which may point to the presence between למרות and עני of some letters now lost in 𝔐 (cp. 𝔖𝔗). For עני, 𝔊 probably read ענה, 𝔖 ענן ; neither variant is preferable to 𝔐 or supports Grätz's conjecture פני. The *scriptio defectiva* עני for עיני (read by a few Heb. MSS) is suspicious, though it occurs in Phoenician : see Lidzbarski, *NSE* 339, *Eph.* i. 158.—10. אמרו צדיק כי טוב] awkward, even if כי is=*ὅτι* recitative (BDB 471*b* bottom), צדיק subj. of טוב prefixed for emphasis (cp. Gn 18^{20}, Dt 31^{29}, Mic 5^{4}), and טוב means *fortunate*, *prosperous* (Jer 44^{17}, Ps 112^{5})—*Say ye the righteous is fortunate*. Lowth, al. read אשרי for אמרו, which makes כי טוב rather superfluous. 𝔊 renders curiously or from a fuller text *ἐλπόντες Δήσωμεν* (Wis 2^{12} *Ἐνεδρεύσωμεν*) *τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστιν*.—11. אוי לרשע רע] rather awkward whether לרשע be connected with אוי or with רע.—12. מעולל] "כמו עולל," Ḳi. ; but there is no other instance of מעולל for the frequently occurring עלל, *child*. This interpretation is as ancient as Symm., and has been adopted by a stream of interpreters since ; a slight variation of it is obtained by treating כעולל as part. Poel of an otherwise unknown denom. vb. from עולל, *child*, meaning *to act the child* (BDB 760*b*). W. R. Smith cited by Che. (*SBOT*) attempted to obtain a less questionable basis for this interpretation by emending נגשיו מעולל into נגשם עולל. In spite of the lack of

an expressed object it is more probable that מעולל is part. Poel of עלל, *to glean* (𝔊𝔗𝔖, Aq., Theod., 𝔙 *spoliaverunt*), or *to act with severity towards* (Marti, Cond.). For the sing. pred. distributing the pl. subj. (נגשיו), see, *e.g.*, Gn 27^{29} and, further, G–K. 145*l*. Others take נגשיו as *pl. majestatis* (G–K. 124*k*), referring to a single person. —נשים] 𝔊, Aq. Οἱ ἀπαιτοῦντες, 𝔗 מרי חובא, Theod. δανεισταί, *i.e.* נשִׁים (so Houb., Marti, Cond.); 𝔖 ܢܫܐ, 𝔙 *mulieres*, *i.e.* נָשִׁים—MT, Rashi, Ḳi., and most moderns.—דרך ארחתיך] the expression is curious: but 𝔊 scarcely suggests a real variant (ר׳ רגליך), and Cheyne's omission of דרך on rhythmical grounds is very unsafe in view of the varieties of rhythm in the chapter: 𝔐 is an excellent balanced distich.—אֹרחתיך] for אָרְחֹתַיִךְ —lengthened vowel due to ר and the counter tone: Sta. 109.—בלעו] by a bold figure, paths, of which all trace had been obliterated, might perhaps have been described as *swallowed up*. But we may infer that בלע, *to swallow up*, developed, or a distinct root (allied to בלל) furnished, the meaning to *confuse*, *confound*, see 28^{7} 9^{15} 19^{3}, Ps 107^{27} 55^{10}; Barth, *Beiträge*, 4 f.

III. 13–15.—*A Judgment Scene.*

The rhythm is 3 : 3; in three of the four distichs the lines are parallel in sense. The concluding formula is a monostich of three accents.

13 Yahweh is taking his stand to plead,
And is standing to judge 'his people';
14 Even Yahweh will enter into judgment
With the elders and princes of his people.
"And ye, ye have depastured the vineyard,
What ye have plundered from the poor is in your houses:
15 What mean ye that ye crush my people,
And grind the faces of the poor?"
Is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh of Hosts.

The prophet sees Yahweh in the act (נצב, עמד, *participles*, Dr. § 135) of taking up His position as judge (v.13); so far it is the fact that a judgment scene is opening that the order of the words emphasises. But in v.14 the emphasis changes: it is on the judge; it is none other than Yahweh who comes, and He comes to call to account the rulers of His people. Then in vv.14c. d 15a. b He lays the charge which opens with effective abruptness—*and ye*—ye rulers, the very persons appointed to protect the poor—*ye* have robbed and wronged them.

The more elaborate judgment scene of Mic 6^{1} opens also more elaborately. Cp., too, the opening of the judgment scene of Ps 82.

13. *His people*] so rightly 𝔊; cp. v.[14]; 𝔐 *peoples*, which Du. explains, unsatisfactorily, of the Hebrew tribes; the reading has rather arisen from the desire to turn the particular judgment of Israel into a world judgment.—**14.** *The elders*] representatives of the families, survivals from the earlier clan-constitution of Israel.—*The princes*] the officials of the royal government.—*Ye have depastured the vineyard*] perhaps a proverbial expression (Du.): if the vineyard were used figuratively of the Hebrew people or state, perhaps we should have had *my vineyard* (so 𝔊). In either case the meaning is—instead of tending the vineyard, as true guardians should have done, so that the shoots of the vines should not be eaten off by intruding animals, they have used it recklessly for their own immediate profit (cp. v.[14d]) by letting loose their own animals to eat it down.—*Grind the faces*] the verb טחן is commonly used of grinding corn between the mill-stones.—*The poor*] here plural, in v.[14] singular collective.

14. ואתם] cp. ואני, Ps 2[6].—בערתם] cp. בער in 5[5] where the parallel מרמס and the context (cp. 5[5] n.) suggest that בער refers to destruction by animals (cp. Ex 22[4]?). *Depasture* may be a specific development of the meaning *exterminate* (4[4] n. 6[13], Nu 24[22]), or בער, *to depasture*, may have been originally a distinct root; see, further, *Addenda.*—גְּזֵלַת] G–K. 95*h*.—גזלת העני] *plunder taken from the poor*; cp. שלל איביך, *spoil taken from thine enemies*, Dt 20[14]; G–K. 128*h*.—מִלֵּאתֶם] G–K. 37*c*.—**15.** צבאות . . . נאם] 𝔊 omits.

III. 16–IV. 1.—*The Doom of the Ladies of Jerusalem.*

The lines in most of these distichs are parallel in sense, but the rhythm varies: in 3[16f.] 4[1] and probably in 3[25] also (note the echoing *parallelism*) it is still predominantly and was once perhaps exclusively, an echoing rhythm; but the lines balance (3 : 3 or 4 : 4) in 3[24c. d. 26] certainly, and in 3[24a. b] if והיה be disregarded and מקיהיה makkephed: so also, if these verses be not prose, in 3[18-23] and in 3[25], if וגבורתך be read as two accents (Sievers).

16 Because they are haughty—
The daughters of Ṣion,
And go with outstretched necks,
And ogling with their eyes;
Yea, go tripping ever as they go,
And jingling with their feet:
17 The Lord shall smite with a scab the scalps of the daughters of Ṣion,
And Yahweh shall lay bare their shame (?).

18 In that day the Lord will turn away the finery of the anklets and the
net-bands (?) and the moons, 19 the ear-rings and the bracelets and the veils,
20 the head-dresses and the armlets and the sashes and the perfume-boxes and
the charms, 21 the signet-rings and the nose-rings, 22 the state-gowns and the
mantles and the shawls and the satchels (?), 23 the diaphanous garments and
the linen garments and the turbans and the large veils. 24 And it shall come
to pass,

Instead of perfume there shall be rottenness,
And instead of a girdle a rope;
And instead of workmanship of hair well dressed (?), baldness,
And instead of a rich dress girding of sackcloth,
Branding instead of beauty.
25 Thy men shall fall by the sword,
And thy mighty in the battle.
26 Its gates shall mourn and lament,
And it shall be clean empty sitting on the ground.

4[1] And seven women shall lay hold
On a single man in that day,
Saying, We will eat our own bread,
And wear our own mantle:
Only be thy name called over us;
Take away our reproach.

The ladies of Jerusalem, who now spend their days walking about the city, casting wanton looks, and calling attention to themselves, will be smitten with unclean disease and exposed to insult (vv.[16f.]); they will be deprived of all their choice clothing, perfumes, amulets, and knick-knacks (vv.[18-23]); instead they will become offensive, will receive coarse clothing and turn bald (v.[24]): in the city, which will have lost its men in battle (v.[25]) and be lying empty and desolate (v.[26]), seven women will think themselves fortunate if they can find a single man to take them into his possession without providing them with either food or clothing.

The fates of the women are alternatives: for the seven women of 4[1] are scarcely the leprous women of 3[17].

Possibly these alternatives did not originally appear in the same poem. Rhythmical differences in 3[16]–4[1] have been pointed out above. There are other features that throw doubt on the unity, or completeness, of the passage; in v.[25] there is a very sudden address to a city, presumably Ṣion; in v.[26] the

city is spoken of in the 3rd pers.; if vv.[25f.] really led up to 4^1, neither the loss of men nor the emptiness of the city must be taken absolutely. V.[24] might be a development of v.[17] though it is rhythmically different from vv.[16f.]; but if it is, the catalogue of vv.[18-23] "completely conceals the close connection between v.[17] and v.[24]" (Cheyne). In the catalogue, note the use of the article 21 times, and ct. the anarthrous nouns in v.[24]. It is also claimed that the catalogue "displays an attention to trifles which is out of character with Isaiah, who in his description selects representative features (see, *e.g.*, $9^{4.5}$), and abstains from giving exhaustive catalogues (ct. Ezk 27)." On the other hand, Gun. sees in the "jaw-breaking" (Zungenbrecherische) list (Sievers) an expression of the prophet's anger (cp. Whitehouse). Du., Che., Marti, Box attribute vv.[18-23] to "the inveterate editorial habit of supplementing,' and treat vv.[25f.] as a misplaced fragment of an elegy; this leaves, as a single poem in denunciation of the women, $3^{16f.\ 24}\ 4^1$. Possibly, if the unity of the passage is abandoned, and it is difficult to defend it, $3^{16f.}$ is a little poem by itself: it would be quite complete, and as long as some of the shorter and earlier suras of the Ḳoran; 3^{24} is not in the same rhythm, and, perhaps, not even 4^1. Another possibility is that lines have been lost (between vv.[24. 25. 26]) and others mutilated.

There is little to determine the date of this passage: in specially denouncing women (cp. $3^{2\,9ff.}$), Isaiah follows Amos ($4^{1ff.}$); and the picture of the women in search of a husband (4^1) may have been written about the same time as its companion —the men in search of a ruler (3^{6-8}). Du. suggests that $3^{25f.}$ is too elegiac in tone to be Isaiah's.

16. *And Yahweh said*] these words were probably prefixed by an editor * who wished to indicate the commencement of a new poem, and overlooked the fact that the prophet, not Yahweh (cp. v.[17]), is the speaker.—*Haughty*] גבה, *to be high*, acquired the meaning *to be proud, set up, stuck up, self-sufficient*: cp. Jer 13^{15}, Ezk 16^{50}, Zeph 3^{11}.—*The daughters of Ṣion*] the ladies of the "West-end": on Ṣion lay the royal palace.—*Tripping*] the vb. טפוף (here only) probably signifies the quick, tripping gait, making a patter on the ground, of the women whose legs were bound by ornamental chains (v.[20]?); just as טף denotes little children, probably on account of their pattering walk. The word is onomatopoetic: cp. the like sounding Aryan *tap*: طفّ has amongst other meanings that of *passing by quickly*, and طاطف is used of a *flickering* candle. Cp. 𝔙, *plaudebant ambulabant pedibus suis.—Jingling with their feet*] so walking that the metal anklets, a favourite ornament with the women of the East,

* Che., Marti.

striking against one another, make a jingling noise and attract attention. Cp. Muḥammed's prohibition—"Let them not strike with their feet, so that those ornaments of theirs that be hidden be made known" (Ḳor. 24^{31}).—**17.** *A scab*] such as accompanies leprosy, Lv 13 f.—*Shame*] cp. 47^{3}, Jer 13^{26}, La 1^{8}, Ezk 16^{37}; but the meaning of ערה is very doubtful. 𝔗 renders *hair*, and this has been defended by Sta.: the veil worn by women of position will be stripped away (cp. 47^{2}), and the hair exposed; see, further, phil. n.

18–23. A catalogue of one-and-twenty articles of women's finery: probably a prose addition to the poem: see small print n. above. Some of the terms are of uncertain meaning, and it is therefore difficult to say whether the catalogue is carelessly compiled without any principle of arrangement, or an artistically constructed list. Cond. ingeniously defends the latter view, and argues that the bijoux and analogous articles are mentioned first (vv.$^{18\text{-}21}$), and then the sumptuous vestments (vv.$^{22\text{f.}}$). But פארים, *head-dresses* (v.^{20}), and צניפות, *turbans* (v.^{21}), are widely separated from one another. Cond. also detects a subtle arrangement of grammatical forms; the 21 forms fall into three groups of 8, 5 and 8; the first 8 nouns consist of 3 masc. pl. + 3 fem. pl. + 1 masc. + 1 fem.; the second 8 are disposed in an inverse order, 3 fem. pl. + 3 masc. pl. + 1 fem. + 1 masc. Two earlier scholars wrote extensive monographs on this list: N. W. Schröder, *Comm. de vestitu mulierum Heb. ad Jes.* $3^{16\text{ff.}}$, 1745, and A. Th. Hartmann, *Die Hebräerin am Putztisch*, 1809; see also the commentaries of Ges., Del., Di. The following notes merely attempt to indicate briefly the nature of the evidence for the meanings attributed to the words.—**18.** *Anklets*] cp. the sing. עכס in Pr 7^{22}† (text doubtful), the denominative vb. in v.^{16}, and عكاس, the cord tied in the forepart of the nose of a camel to his fore-legs (Lane).—*The net-bands*] the שבים in NH was the ornamental band that passed from ear to ear over the סבכה, a net covering and enclosing the hair (Levy, iv. 498); 𝔊 τὰ ἐπλόκια. Less probably ב and מ have interchanged, and the word means *a little sun* (شمسيس), a pendant worn round the neck. Cp. the next term.—*The moons*] amulets worn by animals (Jg $8^{21.\ 26}$†) as well as women. They were pendants in the shape of the moon, in particular perhaps of the new, or crescent (RV), moon; the meaning was evident to 𝔊 μηνίσκοι (cp. 𝔙 *lunulae*), and is supported by the etymology,

which is obvious: שהרן is a derivative, not necessarily a diminutive (G–K. 86*g*), from שהר (=شهر, *the new moon*), which occurs not only in Aramaic literature (see Levy, *s.v.* סיהרא, סהרא), but also in early Aramaic and in South-Arabian inscriptions as the name of the moon, or moon-God; the god שהר is mentioned along with שמש in the Aramaic inscription of Zakir (9th cent. B.C.).* Similarly, *hilâl*, the *new moon*, is also used of crescent-shaped ornaments or amulets: We. *Reste d. Arab. Heidenthums*[1], 145.—**19.** *The ear-rings*] Jg 8[26]†: there also coupled with "moons." These *neṭiphoth* were probably drop-like or pearl ear-rings; cp. נטף, *to drip*, *niṭphê* (cstr.), drops (of water); Ar. *naṭafat*, an *ear-ring* or *small pearl*, *naṭṭafa*, *to put on ear-rings*, and (reflexive) *tanaṭṭafa*.—*Bracelets*] with שרות† cp. the Aram. שירא, שיאר, chains, both for the arms and other parts of the body. 𝔗 is here explicit, שירי ידיא: cp. also Arab. *siwâr*, a *bracelet*, and Assyr. *šemiru* (=*šewiru*, *šawiru*) with the same meaning: see Zimmern in *ZA* 17, 242. BDB derive from √שרר.—*Veils*] with רעלות†, cp. رِعْل, a kind of *veil* (Freytag). It is doubtful whether 𝔊𝔗 recognised this meaning.—**20.** *Head-dresses*] פארים elsewhere used of the ornamental cap of a bridegroom (61[3. 10]) or of priests (Ex 39[28], Ezk 24[17. 23] 44[18]†).—*Armlets*] with צעדות†, cp. אצעדה (Nu 31[50] (n.), 2 S 1[10]) and عَضُد, the *upper part of the arm*. عِضَاد, *a large bracelet*. Others derive from צעד, *to march*, and render *step-chains*, i.e. chains connecting the anklets (v.[18]).—*Sashes*] Jer 2[32]†: cp. the vb. in Is 41[8].—*The perfume boxes*] lit. *houses of soul*, or *soul-houses*, these may have been carried in the sashes; cp. Ca 1[13]. Unfortunately the meaning is far from certain; Pr 27[9] gives very uncertain support for נפש meaning *perfume*. Nor is *boxes of desire*, or *exciting the sense of smell*, very probable: see BDB 661*a*, 109*b*. Haupt (*SBOT*, p. 82) would derive נפש here from the Assyr. *paššâšu*, and explain *ointment-boxes*. Frazer retains the normal sense of *soul* for נפש, and traces the phrase to the belief in the external soul: "it may well be that these 'houses of the soul' were amulets in which the soul of the wearer was supposed to lodge": *Anthropological Essays presented*

* Pognon, *Inscriptions Sémitiques* (1908), no. 86, ii. 24, reproduced by Driver in *Exp.*, June 1908, pp. 481 ff., with note on *Sahar* (p. 489). See also Cooke, *NSI* 188.

to E. B. Tylor, p. 148.—*Charms*] or amulets probably consisting of something inscribed with magic formulae: with לחשים here, cp. לחש in v.[3].—**21.** *Signet-rings*] see, *e.g.*, Est 3[12] Gn 41[42].—*Nose-rings*] cp. *e.g.* Gn 24[47].—**22.** *State-gowns*] Zec 3[4]: apparently so called as those which were stripped off (חלץ) before resuming ordinary life: ct. the English "undress," dress not worn on formal occasions.—*Mantles*] מעטפות †: cp. עטף, *to envelope oneself* ‖ לבש, *to clothe oneself*, Ps 65[14]; عصاف, *a mantle*.—*Shawls*] or *veils* (*DB* i. 627[b]): Ru 3[15f.].—*Satchels*] or *purses*; with חריטים†, cp. خريطة with the same meaning. Peiser, on the ground that pockets are out of place here, surmises that this is another term for clothing, *ZATW*, 1897, 341.—**23.** *Diaphanous garments*] 𝔊, apparently for גליונים, has διαφανῆ Λακωνικά; if this be the right meaning, the garments are so termed as revealing (גלה) the form beneath: cp. Assyr. *gulênu*, *an article of clothing*, Arab. جُلُوٌّ, *fine silk garments*. Others render *mirrors*, i.e. tablets (cp. 8[1] n.), that *reveal* the reflected face.—*Linen garments*] Jg 14[12. 13], Pr 31[24]†: cp. Assyr. *sudinnu*, a *garment*; see *EBi.* 2933; Moore, *Judges*, 335, 337.—*Turbans*] costly or official: see especially Ecclus 11[5]; see also 62[3], Zec 3[5], Job 29[14], Ecclus 47[6]†.—*Large veils*] like the modern *izar* (*DB* i. 627) may be intended by רדידים (Ca 5[7]†): cp. רְדִידָא, in Gn 24[65] 38[14], 𝔖𝔗[Jer] = צעיף.

24. *Perfume*] the smell of sweet aromatics used, for example, by women in purification (Est 2[12]), or at burial (2 Ch 16[14]). The contrast is *rottenness* (מק), *i.e.* the smell of scabs or festers (v.[17]): cp. "my wounds fester (נמקו) stinkingly," Ps 38[6].—*A rope*†] that encircles (נקף, 29[1]) the waist.—*Hair well dressed*] מְקֻשָּׁה † is to be interpreted, in the light of the context and מְקֻשָּׁה, *hammered*, or *turned*, *metal work*, of some artistic treatment of the hair.—*A rich dress*] such should be the meaning of the obscure פתיגל†: 𝔊 Χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος.—*Sackcloth*] 20[2] n.—*Branding for beauty*] the clause, if not a popular assonance placed on the margin by a reader (Du.), may be a fragment of a distich. With כי cp. כוה, Ex 21[25]. Sta. (*ZATW*, 1905, 133) suggests that it is not the branding of punishment that is referred to, but branding as a means of cure. This is energetically applied to men and children, but the beauty of women and girls is spared: they will be so

spared no more, when the days of catastrophe come.—**25, 26.** On the relation of these verses to the rest, see pp. 70 f.—*Thy . . . its . . . it*] these pronouns are fem. and refer to the city (of Jerusalem). The *gates* (פתחים, 13^{2}) *mourn* (אנו ואבלו, 19^{8}), because people no longer pass through them. The empty city is pictured as one sunk to the ground and mourning: cp. La 2^{10}, Job 2^{13}, Is 47^{1}.—**IV. 1.** Women will not wait for men to ask them in marriage, but will press to be married, promising to forego the food and raiment which a husband should provide (Ex 21^{10}), if only they may gain protection against insults by passing into a man's possession.—*Be thy name called over us*] i.e. pass as our owner, or possessor: cp. 63^{19}, 2 S 12^{28}, Dt 28^{10}, Am 9^{12}.

III. 16. יען כי] 7^{5} 8^{6} 29^{13}: also Nu 11^{20}, 1 K 13^{21} 21^{29}†. Isaiah does not use the more frequent יען אשר.—נמוות] *i.e.* נְמוּוֹת with preservation of the radical (G–K. 75*v*): K^{e}rê, נְמֵיוֹת.—משקרות] not, as in some MSS and the Bomberg edition, מש, whence AVmarg. *deceiving with their eyes.* שָׁקַר is *ἅπ. λεγ.* in Hebrew, but cp. Aram. סקר, *to look out, eye*, especially with evil intent (so 1 S 18^{9} 𝔖), or *to look about*: cp. also סַכְסֵךְ, *squint-eyed.* In שקר עינים the vb. may be causative and the noun a direct acc., *making the eyes look about*, or more probably the Piel is intensive and the noun, as in the previous clause, an epexegetical gen. (G–K. 128*x*), *ogling with the eyes.* 𝔊 renders here *ἐν νεύμασιν ὀφθαλμῶν*, 𝔖 ܒܨܝܢ ܥܝܢ, 𝔙 *nutibus oculorum.* 𝔗 מסרבקן עינין may express the same sense (cp. Levy, *Aram. Wörterbuch*, ii. 571), or, as some think, it means *anointing their eyes with stibium.* "Rabbi Jose of Caesarea explained, 'they painted their eyes with סיקרא'; Resh Lakish said, 'with red collyrium'" (Pesiḳta d. R. Kahana, 132a, b).—הלוך וטפוף תלכנה] G–K. 113*s*, *w*.—ברגליהם] הם– for הן–; G–K. 135*o*.—תעכסנה] pathaḥ for Ṣere: cp. 13^{18}, and see G–K. 52*n*. The vb. is a denominative of עכס; v.^{17} n.—**17.** ושפח] ש for ס: G–K. 6*k*: cp. מספחת(מ), *a scab*, Lv $13^{6\text{-}8}$ 14^{56}.—פתחן] in 1 K 7^{50} פתוח denotes the sockets in the lintel and threshold in which the doors turned, and the Arabic فُوت means *interstitium, space between two fingers*; hence it has been most precariously *inferred* that פת meant *pudenda muliebria.* If this meaning, which seems in harmony with the context, was intended, it is not improbable that פתחן, or rather יהוה פתחן, is a corruption of חרפתהן, חרפה being used as in 47^{3}; see J. Bachmann in *TSK*, 1894, p. 650. 𝔊𝔖𝔗 may have detected this meaning and euphemised—*τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῶν*, ܐܣܟܝܡܐ ܕܝܩܪܗ. 𝔙. *crinem earum*, on the other hand, treated פתחן as = פאתהן (G–K. 23*f*); and this explanation has been defended by Sta., as earlier by Koppe and Hitz., in *ZATW* vi. 336, xxvi. 130–133.—**18.** תפארת] this cstr. case is followed by twenty-one genitives—an extraordinary instance of a construction which, even in milder forms, the language preferred to avoid; G–K. 128*a*: Kön. iii. 276.—**24.** מעשה] pointless before מקשה, and probably a dittograph of it (Du.).—מחגרת] perhaps

the original, or a dittograph, of חגורה above.—**24, 25.** כי תחת יפי כתיך] 𝔊 *καὶ ὁ υἱός σου ὁ κάλλιστος ὃν ἀγαπᾷς*, perhaps presupposes a different text. With the form נִּי (= נָוִי), cp. אי, עי, צי; see G-K. 24*b*, 93*y*.—**26.** ונקתה לארץ תישב] with this cstr. cp. 29[4]; and see Dr. § 163 Obs. *To be cleaned out* (cp. Zec 5[5]), though rare in Hebrew, may be the original meaning of נָקָה: see BDB. —**IV. 1.** ביום ההוא] 𝔊 om.

IV. 2–6.—*Judah and Jerusalem after the Judgment.*

There is unquestionably a marked tendency in the following poem to a rhythm formed by groups of two accents, one, two or three such groups forming lines, which are combined into balanced distichs and are parallel in sense. If the words represented in the translation by small print be additions, and יהיה צמח ([2a]) be read as one accent (cp. Sievers), this rhythm is not merely dominant but maintained unbroken. The separate lines, or the sections marked off by |, correspond (the small print being disregarded) to two accents in the Hebrew. The transposition in v.[5] (ענן יומם *before* ועל-מקראיה) does not affect the rhythm, but it secures greater independence and more complete parallelism for the two lines.

Other views of the rhythmical structure will be found in Marti, Sievers, Cond., and Box. Du. and Che. print the whole as prose.

[2] In that day | the vegetation of Yahweh shall be | a beauty
and a glory,
And the fruit of the land | a pride and an adornment |
for the escaped of Israel
[3] And it shall come to pass those that remain in Ṣion,
And those that are left in Jerusalem—
Holy shall they be called,
All that are written for life in Jerusalem.
[4] When the Lord shall have washed away | the filth of the
daughters of Ṣion,
And shall rinse away from its midst | the bloodstains of
Jerusalem,
With the spirit of judgment,
And the spirit of extermination,
[5] Then will Yahweh create | over the whole site of Mount Ṣion |
'a cloud by day,
And over its assemblies' | smoke and brightness of fire | a
flame by night;
For over all glory is a canopy [6] and a booth,
And he will be a shade | by day (?) from the heat,
A refuge and a shelter | from storm and from rain.

After Yahweh, by means of an exterminating judgment (v.[4]) which will allow few to escape (vv.[2b. 3]), has cleansed Jerusalem from moral filth and bloodstains (v.[4]), a time will come when the land of Israel will be clothed again with verdure and will produce crops, which will make the Jewish survivors from the judgment and their land glorious in the eyes of the nations (v.[2]). Ṣion will again become a city of sacred convocations (v.[5]); the entire community will be holy (v.[3]); and Yahweh will visibly manifest His presence in the same way as at the Exodus—in cloud by day and flaming brightness by night (v.[5]); and He will protect His city and people from all manner of misfortune and disaster (v.[6]).

Even if this poem were Isaiah's, it would be doubtful in what period of his life it was written; it has often been assigned to the same period as 3^{16}–4^{1}, but the connection of 4^{4} and 3^{16} is probably illusory: see below.

It is more probably of exilic, or post-exilic, origin, though by no means necessarily so late as the 2nd cent. (Du.). Whether written for the purpose or obtained from some already existing book, it may have been added to 3^{16}–4^{1} in order that the little book consisting of chs. 2–4 might have a consolatory conclusion.

Though the awkwardness and incoherence of style, the absence of rhythm and the slight amount of parallelism, which have been alleged as reasons for questioning the Isaianic authorship (Che. *Introd.* 20 f.), may be in large part due to textual corruption, or incorrect analysis of the rhythm and parallelism (see above), the ideas and thought of the passage alone are sufficient to render a late date very probable. "Jerusalem is already first and foremost a city of religious rites (cp. 33^{20}). The 'convocations' are the 'holy' ones of the later legislation (Ex 12^{16}, Lv $23^{2. 4. 37}$, Nu $28^{25. 26}$ $29^{1. 7. 12}$). To Isaiah such festivals were uncongenial (1^{13}). . . . To the writer of 4^{2-6} they would be glorified in the future by a constant appearance of the glory of Yahweh (cp. 24^{23} $60^{1. 2. 19. 20}$, Ezk 42^{1-5})" (Che.). The writer by no means disregards ethical qualities (v.[4]), but in his union of ritual and ethical he more closely resembles Ezekiel (ch. 18 with 40–48) and later writers (48^{2} 52^{1} 62^{12}, Zec 14^{20-21}, Jl 4^{17}, Ezr 8^{28}) than Isaiah (*e.g.* $1^{25f.}$). See, further, the Comm.

In language the most significant fact is the use of ברא (𝔊 בא) in v.[5], a word which is predominantly, if not exclusively, late; cp. Che. *Introd.* p. 21, and Ges–B. *s.v.*, with the references there given.

In 1884 (*ZATW*, pp. 149–151), Sta. thought it possible to regard vv.[4. 2. 3] (in this order) as Isaiah's, and only vv.[5. 6] as late; and some still admit the late origin only of v.[6] (with [3c]): so Di., Cond., Whitehouse. But there is really no good ground for separating v.[6] from what precedes; on the other hand, a common rhythmical character probably runs through vv.[2-6] (see

above), and v.[6] is connected with v.[2] by a point of style (see phil. n. on v.[6]). Du., Che., Marti, Kent agree in regarding the whole of 4^{2-6} as late, while Dr. (*LOT*) still assigns the whole to Isaiah.

2. *In that day*] not the day that is mentioned in v.[1], 3^{18}, but a time determined by what follows, to wit, after the judgment.—*The vegetation of Yahweh*] all that Yahweh will cause to grow out of the soil; cp. Gn 2^{9}, Ps 104^{14} 147^{8}. In order to emphasise the point that Yahweh will be the source of the future fertility, the writer employs צמח יהוה as an alternative to the more usual phrases צמח האדמה (Gn 19^{25}), צ׳ השדה (Ezk 16^{7}); but it is at least *unnecessary* to think of the land yielding a miraculous growth without any work of man (Marti): for see Ps 104^{14}. צמח means not *branch* (EV), but whatever grows or shoots forth from the ground, whether herbage (Gn 2^{5}), or trees (Ex 10^{5}); metaphorically it is used as a term for him who should re-establish the Davidic monarchy (Jer 23^{5} 33^{15}, Zec 3^{8} 6^{12}), and it has often * been given a Messianic sense in this passage; but this is inconsistent with the parallel *the fruit of the ground*, which indeed Del. unsuccessfully labours to show also means the Messiah! Di. criticises this and some other mistaken interpretations at length.—*The fruit of the land*] of Palestine (cp. Nu 13^{26}). The land of promise was a fruitful land (Dt 8^{7-10}, cp. 28^{1-14}), but from the first promise was accompanied by warning: if the people neglected Yahweh the fertility of the goodly land was to be destroyed, or neutralised, by war, depopulation, continuous drought, bad seasons; see Lv 26, Dt 28, esp. vv.[22-24. 33. 38ff.], and cp. Mal 3^{7-12}. The people had neglected Yahweh: the threats had been carried out, harvests were yielding little, and what this poem promises is a restoration of the natural fertility of the land to *those that escape and remain* (v.[3]), after the cleansing, exterminating judgment (v.[4]); the fertility and fruitfulness of their land is to be the pride and glory of the community that survives, making it enviable in the eyes of the nations: cp. 37^{30-32} $60^{14f.}$ 62^{2-4}, Jer 3^{19}, Ezk 20^{6} 34^{25-29}.—*The escaped of Israel*] the abstract פליטה is used for the concrete: cp. 10^{20} 15^{9} $37^{31f.}$, Jg 21^{17}, 2 S 15^{14}; it is not confined to late writers, though in its technical sense of those that escape the (final) judgment (cp. Ob [17], Jl 3^{5}) it not improbably is.—**3.** *Those that remain . . . those that are left . . . they . . . all that are written*] all

* 𝔗, Ḳi., Vitr., Del., Lag.

these words in Heb. are sing. collectives; for such sing. collect. participles, see 7^{22}, 2 Ch 34^{21}: cp. also Gn 4^{20}, and see G-K. 126*l*.—*Holy shall they be called*] because they will actually be (1^{26} n.) such: cp. Zec $14^{20ff.}$.—*All that are written for life in Jerusalem*] a third description of the community referred to in a, b; for it is altogether improbable that the clause is restrictive (Di.), meaning that though there will be some who will accidentally (!) escape the judgment, only those who escape by the pre-ordination of Yahweh will be called holy. The v. may be awkward, but the awkwardness is not overcome thus, nor by rejecting this last line as a gloss (Sta.), for this does not restore either ease of style or regularity of parallelism. Those who will be found to have been *written for life* will consist of those who sought and feared Yahweh (Am 5^{4}, Mal 3^{16}), who did good and not evil (Am 5^{14}, Ps 69^{29}), and so avoided the exterminating judgment (v.^{4}), which destroys the wicked (Mal 3^{19}). To be written for life is to have one's name written in "the book of Yahweh," otherwise known as "the book of life (or the living)," etc.; those whose names are written there live, those whose names have never been written there, or have been erased, die. The earliest reference in the OT to this book is Ex $32^{32f.}$; later references are frequent: see Mal 3^{16}, Ps 69^{29}, Dn 12^{1}, En 47^{3} 104^{1} 108^{3}, Jubilees $30^{20\text{-}22}$, Lk 10^{20}, Ph 4^{3}, He 12^{23}, Rev 3^{5} 13^{8} 17^{8} $20^{12.\,15}$ 21^{27}. In most of these later references the life secured for those whose names are written is that of the blessed after death; here it is life on earth as a member of the holy Jewish community. The idea of the book of Yahweh, or of life, has its parallel, if not indeed its origin, in Babylon: the god Nebo wrote on tables "not only the fate of the world, but also that of individuals," and there were "tables of favour" and "of good works": see *KAT*^{3}, pp. 402 ff.; and Jeremias' article "Book of Life," in Hastings, *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*.—**4.** *The daughters of Ṣion*] 𝔊 *the sons and daughters of Ṣion*: this is not a variant, but an amplified translation expressing the probably correct conclusion that the context requires a reference to the entire population and not merely to the women; בנות, *the daughters of*, is very probably an annotator's insertion* to establish a connection with 3^{16}: the omission of the word improves the balance of the two lines and restores the normal

* So tentatively Marti.

parallelism *Ṣion . . . Jerusalem*: cp. *e.g.* 40^{9} 41^{27} 64^{9}, Mic $3^{10.\ 12}$. Then with *the filth* of Ṣion, cp. "the uncleanness" of Jerusalem, Ezk 22^{15}.—*The bloodstains of Jerusalem*] cp. Ezk $22^{2ff.}$, Jer 2^{34}; the writer may be thinking in particular of the innocent blood that was the cause of the Exile: 2 K 21^{16} $24^{3f.}$, Ezk 7^{23} 22^{2-4}, and ? Ps 51^{16}.—*Rinsed out*] רוּחַ is used in Ezk 40^{38}, 2 Ch 4^{6} of rinsing clean animals offered for sacrifices: later (Levy, *NHB*, *s.v.*), of rinsing out cups also. In Assyr. *diḫu* and *riḫṣu* are synonyms, as רוּחַ and רָחַץ here: see Del. *Proleg.* 277 n. 1.—*With the spirit of judgment*, etc.] that unseen power, the spirit of Yahweh, which at other times is creative or life-giving (Gn 1^{3}, Ps 104^{30}), will come into play, executing judgment on those who have filled Jerusalem with blood, and exterminating all evil-doers (1^{28}, Am 9^{10}). The word בְּעֵר, *extermination* (𝔗), may be used with conscious reference to the Deuteronomic phrase, "Thou shalt exterminate that which is evil from thy midst"; *e.g.* Dt 13^{6}. בְּעֵר also means *to burn*: hence 𝔊𝔖𝔙, EV, *the spirit of burning*: cp. Mt 3^{11}.—**5.** Over the city thus purified will rest the same physical phenomena that marked Yahweh's presence at the Exodus, Ex $13^{21f.}$.—*Then will Yahweh create*] 𝔊 *And he will come and* (*it shall*) *be*; but this is not preferable to 𝔐 (see phil. n.). The creation of the *cloud by day* and the *flame by night* is a parallel to the return of the "glory of Yahweh" (Ezk 43^{1-4}) after the Exile to the holy city, which becomes in consequence the city of Yahweh's presence (Ezk 48^{35}); these accompaniments of the divine presence are to cover not only the Temple (cp. Ex 40^{34-38}, 1 K $8^{10f.}$), but *the whole site of Mount Ṣion.—Its assemblies*] 1^{13} n.—*For over all glory is a canopy*] or *for over all* (cp. Gn 16^{12} 24^{1}), *glory is a canopy*. This strange remark, which is not much illuminated by the quotation in Ecclus 40^{27}, is probably an annotation: it may be corrupt; the opening words of v.^{6} *and a booth*, probably belong to it, either as a synonym added to *a canopy* or a note explaining it. חֻפָּה in Jl 2^{16}, Ps 19^{6}† is the bridal chamber: here it is supposed to have a less restricted meaning—*canopy*, *covering*: cp. the vb. in 2 S 15^{30}, Jer 14^{3}. "As the king sits under, as the bride and bridegroom go under, a canopy, so the Temple Mount as a king's throne, the religious community as bride of the heavenly bridegroom, must have a canopy over it" (Du.).—**6.** *And he will be*] so 𝔊; 𝔐 *and a booth* (emphatic) *will be*, or, *a booth will*

it (viz. Ṣion) *be*; both most improbable, for booths (cp. Jon 4^5) and cities at all times furnished some sort of shelter from weather, but the point of the v. is that Yahweh will be the shelter and protection of the community, and that therefore no harm or hurt will befall it: cp. 25^4 and Ps $91^{1f.}$ (where צל, מחסה, and סתר are predicated of Yahweh as are צל, מחסה, and מסתור here), $121^{5f.}$ (Yahweh giving *shade* from the heat), Jl 4^{16} (Yahweh *a refuge*; and so often in Pss.).

2. Whether 𝔊 read very differently (Che.) or paraphrased a text similar to 𝔙 (cp. Oort, *Th. Tijd.* xx. 565) is uncertain; perhaps צמח was read צחח (=λάμπειν, La 4^7).—**3.** יאמר . . . והיה] Dr. § 121, Obs. 1; but והיה can be spared, and it seems to be rhythmically redundant.—יאמר לו] נאמר ל׳, *to be called*, occurs also in 19^{18} 32^5 61^6 62^4†.—**4.** אם] *when*, cp. 24^{13} 28^{25} and, in narrative of the past, Gn 38^9, Nu 21^9, and, if the text be sound, Am 7^2. V.^{4} is taken by many as the completion of v.^{3}, not the commencement of v.^{5}.—**5.** וברא יהוה] 𝔙𝔖𝔗𝔚; but 𝔊 reads καὶ ἥξει καὶ ἔσται=ובא והיה. Che., who renders *He will come and there will be*, and Marti adopt 𝔊; Du. Cond. combine 𝔊 and 𝔙 and read ובא יהוה; this involves, as Du. perceives, the omission, which is supported by neither 𝔙 nor 𝔊, of כל before מכון; for בא על in a friendly sense, cp. Ex 18^{23}.—מקראָה] some MSS read מקראיה.—ועל מקראה] 𝔊 καὶ πάντα τὰ περικύκλῳ αὐτῆς (claimed by Oort as=מנרשיה), 𝔖 (?) ܒܟܠ ܡܬܚܡ, 𝔗 ועל אתר בית שכנתיה, 𝔙 *et ubi invocatus est*. 𝔊's πάντα may render על misread כל, or כל may have been lost in 𝔙 (cp. ‖ מכון (כל); Du. with less probability omits על altogether. The parallelism is improved if we suppose this clause originally stood after יומם.—ועשן] עשן is perhaps a dittograph of ענן, and the two ן subsequent additions. — **5, 6.** כי על־כל־כבוד חפה וסכה תהיה] 𝔊 καὶ πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται καὶ ἔσται. In 𝔊 σκεπασθήσεται (=סכך, Ex $40^{3.\ 21}$) renders one of the words חפה and וסכה, and has no equivalent for the other. Instead of תהיה, 𝔊 probably read והיה; and this, moreover, is probably the true reading, for which תהיה was substituted after סכה was erroneously separated from what precedes. From והיה to the end of v.^{6} is a well-balanced distich (4 : 4) of parallel lines; though the balance would be imperfect if 𝔊 is correct in omitting יומם: probably in this respect 𝔙 is preferable to 𝔊, though it is possible יומם conceals a synonym to צל—*Yahweh will be a shade and a . . . from the heat*; note the writer's fondness for synonyms: see vv.$^{2a.\ b.\ 6b}$ and probably ^{5b}. If the reading והיה be correct, the intrusive nature of כי על־כל־כבוד חפה וסכה is obvious.

V.

This chapter is in no sense a continuation of ch. 4: from the Messianic hopes at the end of chs. 2–4 we return here to announcements of judgments in three very distinct and unconnected poems—(1) vv.$^{1-7}$, the parable of the vineyard;

(2) vv.[8-24], a collection of "woes"; (3) vv.[25-31], the misplaced conclusion of 9^{7}–10^{4}.

V. 1–7.—*The Parable of the Vineyard.*

Special Discussions:—P. Cersoy, "L'Apologue de la Vigne," in *Rev. Bibl.*, 1899, pp. 2–12; P. Haupt, "Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard," *AJSL* xix. 193–202.

The rhythm of the poem can only be reduced to regularity by extensive omissions such as Haupt makes in reducing the whole to four stanzas, each consisting of four lines, each line containing four accents equally divided by a caesura. If the present text is substantially correct, the quality of the rhythm appears to change; the light tripping effect of short lines (down to v.[5b]) gives place to longer and weightier lines in the grave and solemn application of the parable at the close. The following types of distich occur:

2 : 2 in vv.[1a. b] (makkeph אשירה־נא and שירת־דודי), [c. d] (if היה־לי be substituted for לידידי), [2a. b. 3c. d].
3 : 3 in vv.[2c. d. 4a. b] (?) [5a. b] (makkeph את־אשר־אני) [6c. d].
3 : 2 in vv.[1c. d] (?), [2e. f. 3a. b. 4a. b] (probably).
4 : 2 in v.[4c. d].
4 : 4 in vv.[5c. d. 7a. b] (makkeph בית־יש or omit צבאות).
4 : 3 in vv.[6a. b] (if לא־יזמר and ולא־יערר may each be read as one accent), [7c. d].

[1] Let me sing of my loved one, I pray,
A song of . . . touching his vineyard.

A vineyard belonged to my loved one
On a fertile hill-top;
[2] And he opened up the ground, and cleared out its stones,
And he planted it with the choicest vines;
And he built in its midst a tower,
And hewed out in it also a wine-press;
And he expected it to yield grapes,
And it yielded—wildings.

[3] And now, ye dwellers in Jerusalem,
And ye men of Judah,
Judge, pray, between me
And between my vineyard.
[4] What remained to do for my vineyard
That I had not done in it?
Why when I looked for yield of grapes
Yielded it—wildings?

5 And now, pray, let me acquaint you
With what I shall do to my vineyard;
I will take away its hedge that it be depastured,
I will make breaches in its walls that it be trampled down,
6 I will make it a waste, unpruned and unhoed,
And it shall spring up with thorns and briars;
And I will command the clouds
That they rain no rain upon it.

7 For the vineyard of Yahweh Sebaoth is the House of Israel,
And the men of Judah the plantation in which he delighted;
And he expected justice, but, behold, bloodshed,
Righteousness, but, behold, a cry!

In 𝔐 the poem is articulated as follows: v.$^{1a.\ b}$, introduction; $^{1c\text{-}2}$, the prophet's description of the vineyard; $^{3\text{-}6}$, the speech of the owner of the vineyard which towards its close (v.$^{6c.\ d}$) somewhat clearly reveals the speaker to be Yahweh; v.^{7}, the prophet's interpretation of the parable. In 𝔊 vv.$^{1b.\ 2}$ also belong to the speech of the owner.

The vineyard which has received all the care that any vineyard could receive is Judah; its owner, Yahweh; the fruit it should have yielded, righteousness and justice; the fruit actually yielded, violence and inhumanity. With great rhetorical effectiveness the ultimate conclusion is left for the audience to draw for themselves—Yahweh will abandon Judah to destruction.

With the theme of the parable, cp. the teaching of Amos at Bethel a generation before: see especially Am 3^{2}. For other applications of the figure of the vineyard to Israel, see $27^{2ff.}$, Jer 2^{21} $12^{10f.}$, Ps $80^{9ff.}$, Mt $21^{33ff.}$. In the specific application of details, as of the tower in v.^{2} to the Temple, of the wine-press to the altar, 𝔗 (cp. Jerome) is mistaken.

Possibly enough this poem was recited by Isaiah (cp. Introd. §§ 36 ff.) on a great national feast day: at the close of the vintage and in the Temple Courts he would easily have found men of the country as well as of the city—v.$^{3a.\ b}$: cp. Jer 36^{6}. But the year in which the poem was either written or recited cannot be even approximately determined: the thoughts expressed in it may have occupied Isaiah's mind at almost any period of his life. Du. argues, inconclusively, that the parable

form indicates that the poem was written early, since later the audience would have guessed from the start the burden of the song: Hackm. (p. 123), that it was written late, when Isaiah, being long known as a prophet of evil, had to conceal his meaning in order to gain a hearing. An early date has been inferred by others rather on account of the early date, assumed or proved, of the neighbouring poems (chs. 2–4 5^{8-30}) than from anything in the parable itself.

1a. b. These lines are ambiguous, and the text not beyond question.—*My loved one*] ידיד is used of Judah (Jer 11^{15}, Ps 60^{7}), and Benjamin (Dt 33^{12}) as the loved one of Yahweh: cp. also Ps 127^{2}. Here, if the text in v.^{1c} is correct, it must be applied to Yahweh: yet it is remarkable that Isaiah should use, even in parable, so familiar a term: poets of another race and temper may speak of God as "my darling," * but to Isaiah, Yahweh was the Holy One, the Lord, the Mighty One. If v.^{1c} is corrupt we might render in ^{1b} *to my loved one*, i.e. Israel (cp. 𝔊𝔘𝔗, AV), or *of my beloved* (vineyard): see below. That ידיד in v.^{1a} is Israel and דוד in v.^{1b} and by restoration in v.^{1c} is Yahweh, as Sta. (*ZAW* xxvi. 134) proposed, is very improbable.—*The song of . . .*] דודי, left untranslated on account of its ambiguity, may be a synonym (cp. *e.g.* Ca $1^{13f.}$) of ידיד in the previous line: דוד also means *uncle*, and is actually rendered here by Jer., though with obvious unsuitability, *patruelis*. In the pl. דודים means *love*, but always perhaps specifically sexual desire or its satisfaction: see Ezk 16^{8} 23^{17}, Pr 7^{18}, Ca 1^{2-4} 4^{10} 5^{1}. If we render *the song of my beloved* (MT, EV), then v.^{1a} will imply that the loved one is the *subject* of the poem, or the person to whom it is addressed, ^{1b} that he is the *author* of the song and his vineyard the subject: this is awkward and improbable in itself; moreover, the next lines show that the friend is not the author, but the subject of the poem: he is spoken of in the 3rd pers. Di. indeed, though quite unsatisfactorily, attempts to meet this difficulty by suggesting that Isaiah has translated the words of the friend into the 3rd pers. and so avoided making God recite a popular song (ct. 27^{2-6}).—*His vineyard*] 𝔊 *my vineyard*. If we adopt 𝔊, and also the 1st persons of 𝔊 in v.^{2}, and assume further that לידידי in line c is a corruption, under the influence of the same word in the previous line, of לי, that ידיד might be used of life-

* E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 490.

less objects, and that דוד was not limited to sexual desire, then, pointing דּוֹדִי we should have an excellent introductory couplet:

Let me sing of the thing that I love,
The song of my love for my vineyard.

Then the entire song, so far as it treats directly of the vineyard, is in the first person: the prophet in reciting it seems at first to be referring to a vineyard of his own, and only towards the close does he allow it to be seen that he is speaking in Yahweh's name. But the difficulties of the v., and of the relation of 𝔐 and 𝔊, have as yet reached no solution.

1𝔊–2. The site of the vineyard is an isolated hill-top or hill, which catches all the sunshine: the soil is fertile. The owner has carefully turned the soil to increase its power to bear well, and cleared it of stones, an important process in the rocky, stony but potentially fruitful soil of Palestine; cp. Job 5^{23}, ct. 2 K 3^{19}. On this well-chosen and well-prepared soil vines of choice stock have been planted, and something more than a mere temporary shelter (1^{8}), a permanent tower (cp. Mt 21^{33}), has been erected for the protection of the vineyard. Finally, a wine-press is hewn out in the rock to receive the juice of the grapes which ought to be the result of all this care. The actual crop consists of worthless berries.

My loved one] possibly an error for *to me*: see last n. on v.^{1b}.—*A fertile hill-top*] in Heb. idiom, which 𝔙 renders literally, and after it, Wycliffe, *a horn the son of oil*. The use of קרן, *horn*, is paralleled by גּרן, a *small hill*, or *a part of a hill separated from the rest*, and by Alpine names such as Gabelhorn, Matterhorn; with שמן, *oil*, for fatness, fertility, cp. גיא שמנים, 28^{1}, and the use of the vb. in Dt 32^{15}; and for the idiomatic use of "son," see *BDB*, *s.v.* 8.—**2.** *He opened up the ground*] in NH the vb. עזק (here only in OT) means *to turn over the ground*, as, for example, under olive-trees (מצאו שעזק תחת זיתיו), or in a graveyard, to see whether bones remain there: see Levy, *NHB*, s.v. In Arabic the root occurs with a similar meaning. MT perhaps rightly treats the word as a Piel—*he well*, or *frequently, turned over the ground*; 𝔊𝔙, AV, *he fenced it*, anticipate a point that comes out in v.^{5}.—*Choicest vines*] 𝔐 *Sorek*—apparently the name of a specially choice vine: cp. Jer 2^{21}†. The *nomen unitatis* שרקה in Gn 49^{11}†.—*A*

wine-press] the יקב is strictly the lower trough into which the juice pressed out in the upper trough drained off; but it is sometimes used of the whole press: see *EBi.* 5311 ff. The wine-press is *hewn out*, i.e. in the solid rock, which in Palestine rises close to the surface of the soil and often crops out above it.—*Wildings*] 𝔗 renders באשים (v.4†) by *labruscas*, i.e. *grapes that grow wild*: and this is doubtless right. The root in Aram. means *to be bad, evil*, in Heb. *to have a bad smell*.—**3.** For the transition in 𝔐 at this point to the 1st person, see above. Du. supposes that up till now the audience treat the matter as a joke, ask themselves, will the owner get rid of the vineyard to us, or turn it into pasture, or perchance try the experiment of planting it with wild vines. But the owner does not ask the audience what he should do: on this his mind is made up and communicated immediately (vv.5f.). He asks for their judgment on the vineyard, *i.e.* on themselves. Like David (2 S 12), they are driven to self-condemnation; for they can only avoid self-condemnation by denying the applicability of the parable, *i.e.* by denying Yahweh's care (v.7a. b), or the present prevalence in Israel of violence and unrighteousness (7c. d).—**4.** After this v., before the first *and now* of v.5 (cp. v.3), a pause may be assumed in which the audience silently allow that the owner had done all that was required for the vineyard, and that for the vineyard itself no excuse can be offered.—**5 f.** Judgment on the vineyard: all protection, care, and attention to be withdrawn from it. V.5 fills in fresh features of the picture. The vineyard had been protected by a *hedge* such as those hedges of the prickly pear which form so efficient a protection to the gardens of modern Palestine —around Beirut or Gaza and elsewhere, and by a *wall*, perhaps of stone (cp. Nu 22[4]). Hedge and wall will be removed, so that cattle and wild beasts will be no longer hindered from coming in to depasture and trample down; cp. Ecclus 36[30]. Much of the present treeless character of Palestine is due to the grazing off of unprotected young shoots by goats: cp. 7[25].—**6.** All that the site, henceforth unpruned and untilled, will yield will be thorns and briars. Even rain will be withheld from it by command of the owner.—**7.** *For* the owner is Yahweh, who has power to withhold rain, and does do so as a punishment for wrong-doing: cp. Am 4[7], Dt 11[10-17].—*Bloodshed*] the exact meaning is not quite certain: see phil. n. The word was probably a rare one

chosen to gain one of the two effective assonances of these final lines which cannot be satisfactorily represented in English—*he looked for mišpaṭ, and lo! mispaḥ, for ṣᵉdhaḳah, and lo! ṣᵉᶜaḳah*, the *cry* especially of the wronged: see, *e.g.*, Gn 27^{34}, Ps 9^{13}.—*The house of Israel*] either (1) this refers (whether exclusively or inclusively) to the northern kingdom, in which case the parable was composed before 722 B.C.; but, in view of the distinct limitation to Judah in v.^{3}, this seems a little improbable; or (2) it is a synonym for Judah, as *Israel* perhaps is in 1^3 (cp. $8^{14.\ 18}$ 31^6, Mic 1 $^{14f.}$, cf. 1 K 12^{17}); but this usage, though frequent enough later, was certainly, and naturally, rare before the Fall of Samaria.

1. לידידי] for the ל here and in לכרמו, cp. *e.g.* Gn 20^{13}, Ps 3^{3}. 𝔊 apparently read ליריד without the suffix (τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ).—כרמו] 𝔊 כרמי; see Comm.—שירת דודי] Lowth, whom many have followed, suggested דודים ש', *a love-song*, which does not meet the difficulties mentioned above, and labours under the fresh difficulty that the song is scarcely *a love-song* in a general and undefined sense.—**2.** ויסקלהו] Piel privative: G–K. 52*h*.—**4.** לעשות] Dr. § 203.—מדוע . . . באשים] for the interrogative affecting the entire chain of sentences, cp. 22^{12} 50^{2}.—**5.** אני עשה] *fut. instans*: Dr. 135 (3).—הסר] the infin. Abs. is explained by G–K. 113*d* as virtually dependent on the notion of willing implied in עשה: by Kön. 400*d*, as in virtual apposition to the objec. אשר.—משוכה] in MT the כ is dagheshed, which would suggest as the root שכך More probably (note *waw plene*) the כ should be *raphé*, as in Pr 15^{19} and, with ם for ש, in Mic 7^{4}. The root is שוך (Job 1^{10}, Hos 2^{8}†)=סוך (Job 3^{23} 38^{8}), *to shut in*.—בתה] the context is the best clue to the meaning of this word, which, if it occurs again, occurs only in 7^{19}. In 7^{19} MT points בתות, here בְּתָה; if the words are from the same root and that root בתת, the word should be punctuated here בַּתָּה. In Arabic بَتَّ means *to cut off, to cut*, whence it is customary to explain בתיה in 7^{19} as *cut off, abrupt places, precipices*, and בתה here as *end* or *destruction*, and the whole phrase שית בתה as parallel to עשה כלה (10^{23}), *to make an utter end of*. But this is all uncertain. The addition of the clauses לא יזמר וגו' favours a rather different meaning, such as *waste* or *derelict land*.—**6.** עלה] cp. 34^{13}, Pr 24^{31}.—משפח] 𝔊's ἀνομίαν, 𝔙 *iniquitas*, are general renderings guessed from the context; 𝔖 ܥܠܘܬܐ, *rapine, plunder*, is more specific. Del., though without reference to 𝔖, argues for such a meaning on precarious etymological grounds. If ש stands incorrectly for ם (cp. G–K. 6*k*), the word may be explained from the Arabic سفح, *to pour out, to shed* (blood): Lane, *s.v.*, cites the phrase بينهم سفاح, *there is shedding of blood between them*. Cp. دما مسفوحا, Ḳor. 6^{146}. Cp. ספיח, Is 37^{30}: also, if correctly read, Job 14^{19} and, in the Mishnah, שפח of a river *pouring out* alluvial soil (see Levy). Haupt proposes to read משחט=משחת, *corruption*, instead of משפח.

V. 8–24.—*A Collection of Denunciations.*

Six, or perhaps in the original text seven or more (cp. vv.[14. 23] nn.), classes of persons are successively threatened in sections introduced by the word הוי, *ah!* (v.[8] n.).

The third, fourth, and fifth sections are the shortest; they consist of a single tetrastich, tristich, and distich respectively: each defines a class that is threatened, but indicates its fate by means of the ominous interjection alone.

In the first, second, and sixth sections, not only the class but its punishment is described: the threat is introduced by *Ah!* the punishment by *therefore*, in vv.[13. 24] and (by emendation) in v.[9]. So הוי is followed by לכן in Am 6^{1-7}, Mic 2^{1-3}, Jer 22^{13-18} $23^{1f.}$ 50^{27}, Ezk $13^{3-8.\ 18-20}$ 34^{2-7}. Since, however, in 28^{1} $29^{1.\ 15}$, Jer 48^{1}, Am 5^{18}, Zeph 2^{5}, Hab 2, no *therefore* follows *ah!* it is unnecessary to assume with Du. that a description of punishment so introduced must have fallen out of the text in sections 3, 4, 5.

The rhythmical differences, as well as these differences of structure, suggest that the following sections are sayings uttered at different times, perhaps also memorised, or recorded by different disciples of the prophet, and then ultimately brought together by an editor on account of their beginning with the same interjection: cp. chs. 28–33, and the Beatitudes of the Gospels of which one at least of the two arrangements (Mt 5^{3-12}, Lk 6^{20-26}) must be due to an editor.

It is customary to refer these sayings to an early period of Isaiah's life, and to assume that they refer to Judah. The latter assumption at least is probable, failing clear evidence to the contrary. Yet neither the dates at which nor the audience to which they were delivered can be considered absolutely certain.

To facilitate the perception of differences of structure, the translation of all the denunciations is given together. Several re-arrangements have been suggested and are recorded by Giesebrecht, who himself suggests the following: 10^{1} 5^{23} 10^{2-4} $5^{8-10.\ 22.\ 11-13.\ 17-19.\ 14-16.\ 20.\ 21.\ 24}$ (*Beiträge*, 21–23). No great probability attaches to any of these suggestions.

Parallelism is conspicuous and the parallel lines balance perfectly, or give at least more the impression of balance than of echo: the distichs are certainly not for the most part 3 : 2 (Du.). The distichs are 3 : 3 in vv.[13b. c. 21. 24c. d], and probably in [12c. d. 14. 15. 17]; 4 : 4 in vv.[16. 23] and probably [22]; 5 : 5 in [20b. c];

6 : 6 (?) in [19]. In [8a. 11a. 20a] (cp. 2S[1] 31[1] 33[1]) הוי forms no part of the balance of the distich : in [21a] it does. Cp. Sievers, 360 ff.

1.

[8] Ah! they that add house to house,
That join field to field;
Till there is no more room . . .
. . . in the midst of the land.
[9] 'Therefore' Yahweh of Hosts 'hath sworn' in mine ears:
"Surely many houses shall become a desolation,
Great and goodly (houses) without inhabitant;
[10] For ten acres of vineyard shall yield but one bath,
And a ḥomer of seed shall yield but an ephah."

2.

[11] Ah! they that rise early in the morning in pursuit of strong drink,
That tarry into the twilight while wine inflames them;
[12] Whose feast is wont to be (made merry with) lute and harp, timbrel and flute and wine,
But who behold not the activity of Yahweh,
And see not the work of his hands.
[13] Therefore my people hath gone into exile for lack of knowledge,
And its nobility are dying of hunger,
And its populace are parched with thirst.
. . . . . .
[14] Therefore Sheol hath enlarged its appetite,
And opened its mouth immeasurably wide.
And her splendour and her populace shall descend (thither),
And her tumult and (all) in her that (now) is exultant.
[15] And man sinketh down and men are brought low,
And the eyes of the exalted are brought low,
[16] And so Yahweh of Hosts hath become exalted in judgment,
And the Holy God hath shown himself holy in righteousness.
[17] And lambs shall graze . . .
And 'kids' shall feed upon the ruins.

3.

18 Ah! they that draw guilt (on themselves) with cords of ungodliness,
And (the punishment of their) sin as with wagon-ropes;
19 Who say, Let him speedily hasten his work that we may see,
And let the purpose of the Holy One of Israel draw near and be fulfilled that we may know (it).

4.

20 Ah! they that call evil good and good evil,
Making light into darkness and darkness into light,
Making sweet into bitter and bitter into sweet.

5.

21 Ah! they that are wise in their own eyes,
And in their own sight intelligent.

6.

22 Ah! the mighty topers of wine,
And the valiant in mixing strong drinks,
23 Who acquit the guilty in return for a bribe,
And deprive the innocent of his acquittal.
24 Therefore, as a tongue of fire devoureth stubble,
And hay falls (to ashes) in the flame,
Their root shall be as rottenness,
And their blossom when it opens as dust.
For they have despised the instruction of Yahweh of Hosts,
And contemned the word of the Holy One of Israel.

8–10. Denunciation of those who dispossess their neighbours of their homesteads in order to increase their own estates. Such dispossession, whether brought about by fraudulent or oppressive action (Mic 2^2) or by purchase (cp. 1 K 21^3), cut deep into a strong religious feeling in favour of the perpetuation in the family of the family land. It is probable that religious feeling and the immediate appeal to the human

sentiment occasioned by evictions rather than a far-seeing perception of the effect which the new fashion might have on the national economy, account for the common criticism of Isaiah and Micah: Micah appears to feel most keenly the sufferings of the evicted, Isaiah perhaps the effect on the powerful appropriators. But Yahweh has sworn, and Isaiah heard the oath, that these men who trust in the greatness of their estates, purchased, perhaps, with money gained in trade (cp. 2^6 n.), will find in them the cause of their own ruin. Deprived by Yahweh of its fertility, the land will yield no return, and will therefore swallow up the money spent on working it.—**8.** *Ah!*] cp. 1^4 28^1 29^1 etc.—*Till there is no room . . .*] left for any but these rich land purchasers, till the old yeoman class ceases to retain any position in the country. This is what the context suggests: whether it is expressed by the two words which follow in 𝔐, and which may be translated *and ye are made to dwell alone*, is doubtful: see phil. n. —**9.** *Therefore Yahweh of Hosts hath sworn in my ears*] RV tacitly emends the text, but badly. 𝔐 is certainly wrong; it can only be translated *in my ears is Yahweh of Hosts*, which is nonsense, or *in the ears of Yahweh of Hosts*, which would be obviously defective. 𝔊 goes far to support the conjecture adopted in the trans.: see phil. n.—*In my ears*] the prophet has heard Yahweh's threat, Am 3^7.—**10.** *Ten acres*] ten times as much ground as a yoke of oxen can plough in a day, will only yield one *bath*, i.e. about 8 gallons of wine: and seed sown will only yield a $\frac{1}{10}$th; a *ḥomer* = 10 ephahs, Ezk 45^{11}.

8. יקריבו . . . מניעי] Dr. § 117 f.—𝔊 ἵνα τοῦ πλησίον ἀφέλωνταί τι —a paraphrastic rendering of perhaps the same words as now stand in 𝔐.—והושבתם לבדכם] 𝔊 μὴ οἰκήσετε μόνοι may imply very nearly the same letters as 𝔐. But the sudden introduction of the 2nd pers. casts suspicion on 𝔐; and it is very doubtful whether the Hophal of ישב (Is 44^{26}†=*to be inhabited*) really meant *to be a landowner* (Du.).—**9.** באזני יהוה] 𝔊 ἠκούσθη γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὦτα Κυρίου, *i.e.* באזני יי, נשבע, which is obviously in itself unsuitable, but points to [ל]בל יי נשבע באזני as the original text (Marti); for the frequent confusion of מ and ב, cp. Driver, *Samuel*, p. lxviii. Note the formula of the oath אם־לא which follows. Others, on the ground of 22^{14}, restore לבן נגלה.—צמוי] for the closed syllable in the cstr. pl., see G–K. 93*m*.

11–13. Woe to those who give themselves up to carousals, drinking from early morning till late in the evening, made merry with music, and blinded by their gaieties to the work of Yahweh, or, as we might say, to the reality of the unseen. The

punishment of these wine-bibbers and gluttons will be hunger and thirst accompanying exile. Similar denunciations occur in Am 6^{4-8}, and of women who drink in 4^{1}: cp. also Ecclus $10^{16f.}$—*Twilight*] strictly the time when the (evening) breeze springs up: cp. Gn 3^{8}.—*Hath gone into exile*] the perfect used with reference to a future irrevocably fixed.—**13.** *For lack of knowledge*] cp. Hos 4^{6}; for lack of the knowledge of God (cp. 1^{3}), which the leaders ought to have given, but had not, the whole people is doomed: a general captivity is imminent: cp. Am 6^{7}. Possible also is the rendering *without knowledge*, *unawares*, i.e. in their intoxication they will fail to realise their fate: cp. Job 4^{20}.—*Its nobility*] or those held in honour: כבודו is abstract for concrete (cp. 3^{25}), and the sing. suf. refers to *my people*.—*Dying with hunger*] מְתֵי רעב, or מְתֵי ר׳ (MT), *men of hunger*, i.e. famished with hunger.—*Its populace*] or, *the crowd thereof*: the entire people ($13a$), plebs* ($13c$) as well as nobles ($13b$), will suffer privation. For כבוד and המון as antithetic terms, see 16^{14}; and for המון, meaning the undistinguished mass of people, 2 S 6^{19}. The crowd המון is so called from the noise (המה) of a multitude, and most† give the word here a specific reference to the noisy revellers (cp. v.^{14}) of v.^{12}, making the terms of $13b.\ c$ co-extensive instead of complementary.

14. *Therefore*] cp. v.^{13}; the recurrence of *therefore* with no *ah*! intervening suggests that a verse (beginning with *ah*!) has been lost at this point; note also that there is nothing in v.^{13} to which the four pronominal suffixes (*her*) of v.^{14} can attach; these pronouns doubtless refer to a city, probably Jerusalem.—*Sheol*] is personified as an insatiable (Hab 2^{5}, Pr 30^{16}) monster ready to swallow up in an instant the whole of the gay city-throng (cp. $22^{1f.}$); but alongside of this personification, the belief in Sheol as a country under the earth makes itself felt; the multitude *go down* into it: cp. Gn 37^{35}.—**15.** A repetition, with some variation, of $2^{11a.\ b.\ 17a-b}$; here probably out of place, as Eichhorn already perceived. V.^{14} speaks of men perishing, v.^{15} of their being brought low; and, unlike the rest of vv.$^{8-24}$ which speaks of definite classes, v.^{15} refers to mankind in general.—**16.** Cp. 2^{11c}, but the resemblance here is much less close than in the previous v. Nevertheless many‡ consider that this v. also is

* Du. † Hitz., Ew., Del., Di., Che., Marti.
‡ Eich., Sta., Du., Che., Kit., Marti, Cond.

interpolated; yet it would not be impossible to discover a connection between v.[14] and v.[16]: the holiness of God is revealed through His righteousness, His righteousness through His judgment on His own people and city (v.[14]), who have violated His demands for justice and humanity (cp. 5^7).—**17.** A picture of desolation, which once perhaps immediately followed not v.[10] * but v.[14], forming its sequel: on the desolate site of the once busy and exultant city, cattle now feed: cp. 17^2 32^{14}. The point of the v. is clear from the words, *And lambs shall graze . . . and* (*on*) *ruins . . . shall . . . feed*: the other words are uncertain; but probably *kids* (cp. 𝔊) was the subject of the 2nd vb. Line b 𝔐 is commonly understood to mean, (*Shepherd-*)*wanderers shall feed*, i.e. cause their flocks to feed, *on the ruins*, which were once the home *of the fat*, i.e. of the prosperous persons; but this is impossible; not to speak of other improbabilities, גרים does not mean *wanderers*. The corruption of גדים (𝔊), *kids*, into גרים (𝔐), *sojourners*, may be not unconnected with an early allegorising interpretation which may even underlie 𝔊, "and they that were spoiled shall feed like bulls, and lambs shall devour the wastes of them that were led away," and appears clearly in 𝔗, "and the righteous shall feed, as was said concerning them: they shall multiply, and the righteous shall possess the substance of the unrighteous." Jer. gives a Christian turn to the allegory, "Tunc qui fuerunt de agnorum numero non haedorum pascentur in Ecclesiae pratis." Finally, Rashi (abbreviated)—"the poor will now come to sojourn (לגור) in the houses of the rich who had oppressed them, and will devour their portion." These are interesting examples of interpretation eliciting the exact opposite of the writer's intention.

11. משכימי בבקר] cstr. before a prep.; G-K. 130*a*.—יולקם] Dr. § 163.—**12.** משתיהם] sing.; G-K. 93*ss*.—**13.** מבלי דעת] for the causal מן, cp. Dt 9^{28}.—מֻתֵי] MT seems to embody a late interpretation; 𝔊𝔗𝔖𝔙 all imply מְתֵי. With MT, cp. מֻתֵי שוא and מתי און, Job 11^{11} 22^{15}. Hitzig's suggestion to read here מוה after Dt 32^{24} (itself doubtful) has found considerable favour.—**14.** נפשה] נפש, *appetite*, as 29^8, Pr 23^2.—נקרש ב'] *to show oneself holy in* or *by means of*: Nu 20^{13} (P) and several times in Ezek., *e.g.* $28^{22.\,25}$.—**17.** כרברם] 𝔊 ὡς ταῦροι, *i.e.* כאברם. 𝔙 (*juxta ordinem suum*), Rashi, Ḳi., AV, give רבר the meaning of *manner* (cp. *e.g.* Dt 15^2)—feeble and improbable; modern scholars, since Ges., have commonly assumed that מדבר=דבר, *pasture* (cp. נְוֵה *field*), and

* Ew., Guthe, Cond.

rendered *as in their pasture*, i.e. freely ; but in Mic 2^{12}†, where דבר, *pasture* (?) is supposed to occur, the text is very doubtful. Marti proposes כמדבר.—וחרבות מחים גרים יאבלו] corrupt ; for גרים 𝔊, 𝔊 read גְּדָיִם, *kids* (ἄρνες, cp. ἄρνα = גדי, Ex 23^{19} etc.) ; and this was not suggested by כְּבָשִׂים, *lambs*, in the parallel clause, since 𝔊 there renders διηρπασμένοι, *i.e.* גְּבָשִׂים. Whether even גדים is the original text, or a note explaining *fatlings* (?), מחים (Du.) is not quite certain ; but on the whole the simple term *kids* is a more likely parallel to *lambs*. For the meaning of מחים†, cp. מיחים (עלות) Ps 66^{15}† : مسخ, *to contain marrow, be fat* ; (מֹחַ), *marrow*. מחים may be a corruption of יהם[חרבת], or the like. Unless a word has dropped out in *a* (see Marti), *b* should contain only three words, *i.e.* either גרים or מחים is superfluous.

18, 19. Woe to those who give themselves up to sin in the belief that Yahweh will not punish them.—*Who draw guilt*] with its punishment near to themselves by their carelessness : for משך and the parallel terms *cords*, *wagon-ropes*, see Hos 11^{4}. The figure of v.^{18a} is heightened in ^{18b} : *wagon-ropes* are strong, unbreakable.—**19.** Scepticism with regard not to God's existence, but the reality of His moral government (cp. v.^{16}), underlies this mocking speech ; cp. Ps $10^{3\text{-}6}$ $36^{1\text{-}4}$. Possibly v.^{19} has lost an initial הוי ; it is rhythmically unlike v.^{18}.

20. Woe to those who deny the reality of moral distinctions : ct. 32^{5}.—**21.** Cp. $28^{9\text{f.}}$ 29^{14b}.—**22 f.** If these verses are really connected they condemn those who drink heavily and also pervert justice. Isaiah might very well have pronounced woe on those who go fuddled into court (cp. 28^{7}), but this is not what is done here : these persons acquit the guilty not because they are too intoxicated to see who is guilty and who innocent, but because they have taken a bribe from the guilty party ; cp. 1^{23}, Ex 23^{8}. It is forced, too, to assume that the line of thought is—Drinking is expensive, and bribes are necessary to pay the bill. Drunkenness has already been denounced, v.^{11} ; some transpose v.^{23} to follow v.^{11}.—*The valiant in mixing strong drinks*] Heady mixtures are also referred to in Ca 8^{2}, Pr 23^{30} ; and the spiced wines used by the modern Jews of Hebron and Jerusalem are such mixtures. See Kennedy in *EBi.*, *Wine*, § 29. The sin denounced is certainly not that of mingling water with the wine ! (Del.).—*The guilty . . . the innocent*] not *the wicked . . . the righteous* (RV) ; here as in Dt 25^{1} צדיק—רשע retain their original forensic sense.—**24.** Quickly as chaff and stubble catch fire and are reduced to ashes, will judgment fall on those

who have neglected to comply with Yahweh's expressed will. This judgment is not closely related to the sins denounced in vv.[22f.]; the cause for it is given in what follows in lines c and f. Thus the v. has a distinct character, and it may not have reached us in its original form (Du.). Note, too, that the judgment is described figuratively (c, d); and enforced by comparison with another and discordant figure (a, b).—*Their root shall be as rottenness*, etc.] stock and shoot will become worthless, the stock will rot, and the fruit grow mouldy. Cp. Am 2^9, Hos 9^{16}, Mal 3^{19}, and Eshmunazar's curse "Let them have no root below or fruit above" (*CIS* i. ll. 11, 12). The פרח is the budding shoots or foliage (Nah 1^4), the bud or blossom (18^5).—*For they have despised*, etc.] Cp. 1^4.

18. Line a is longer than b; Du. would supply a vb. ‖ to משכי; Sievers would omit חמאה, thereby making v.[18] a single line of 6 accents.—**20.** ל [לרע as in v.[1].—**23.** צדיקים] read צדיק with 𝔊: note the ‖ רשע and the following ממנו.—**24.** כאבל קש לשון אש] the obj. of the infin. first, then the subj.: a rare cstr., G–K. 115*k*.—חשש להבה] *flaming hay* (Kön. iii. 306c); or להבה is acc. —*chaff* (sinks down) into (or, *as*) *flame* (Marti).—ירפה] Dr. §§ 117, 118.

V. 25–30.—*The Final Destruction of Ephraim.*

Vv.[25d-29] contain the conclusion to 9^7–10^4; the translation and critical discussion will be found on pp. 177 ff. Some attribute vv.[25a-c] and [30] also to that poem: more probably they are fragments or editorial additions.

25a–c. The rhythm is obscure (see Sievers), or lacking; but the opening words of the v. may be a distich 4 : 4:

Wherefore the anger of Yahweh was hot against his people,
And he stretched out his hand against him and smote him.

Wherefore] this v. is not needed to give the consequence of v.[24e. f], for that has been already stated in v.[24a-d]. Moreover, the judgment in v.[24] is complete—the people are there described as being destroyed root and branch; but v.[25a] even in itself and still more as leading up to vv.[26-29] describes a *partial* judgment—a destructive but not an absolutely annihilating earthquake:—*the mountains quaked, and their corpses became like refuse in the midst of the streets.—Against him*] the people: ct. *their* in c.

V.[25a-c] may be an editorial link to prepare the way for [25d. e] by indicating a partial judgment that has not exhausted Yahweh's power to punish; it seems to be in part educed from the refrain itself and in part built up with the help of frequently repeated details of theophanies and judgments: with the quaking mountains, cp. 13[13-16], Am 8[8], Mic 1[3f.], Nah 1[5] etc., with corpses abandoned in the streets, Jer 9[21] 16[4] 25[33], Zeph 1[17]: so Giesebrecht, *Beiträge*, p. 9. Others (*e.g.* Du.) hold that [25a-c] is part of a lost strophe of the poem.

25d–29. Conclusion of 9[7]–10[4].—25d. e. The refrain of a lost strophe, or of the last strophe in 9[7]–10[4].—*His anger turned not back*] cp. 12[1], Jer 4[8], Hos 14[5], Ps 85[3] etc.—*His hand is still stretched out*] to smite and to destroy: cp. Ex 9[15], 2 S 24[16]. —**26–29.** This last strophe describes the final destruction of Ephraim: a nation from the end of the earth is depicted advancing swiftly, irresistibly on the doomed nation; Ephraim will resemble the prey of a lion whereof nothing is rescued (ct. Am 3[12]); it will perish utterly, and none will remain to provoke Yahweh's anger further. At the end of this strophe, the refrain (v.[25d. e]), which closes all the other strophes of the poem, would clearly be out of place.

It has been commonly supposed that Isaiah without naming them refers to the Assyrians (cp. Am 6[14]), the only people on his horizon that satisfy the terms used. Gressmann (pp. 174 ff.), indeed, has argued that the description does not strictly apply to the Assyrians, that it was not written from Isaiah's knowledge of them and their methods, but was derived from the stereotyped indefinite descriptions of the Destroying Army which formed a feature of the (hypothetical) pre-prophetic Eschatology. It is true that there is nothing so distinctive in the description that it might not have been applied by later writers to other invaders —Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, or Romans; but this is not strange in a brief *poetical* description of an *expected* invasion. That there is anything actually unsuitable to the Assyrians is a conclusion which appears to rest on prosaic interpretation (see v.[27b] n.).

26a. b. Yahweh summons a nation in arms from the ends of the earth.—*A signal*] cp. 11[10. 12] 18[3]; placed on a bare height such a signal was conspicuous afar. In Nu 21[8f.] נס signifies a lofty *pole*, in Ezk 27[7], Is 33[23] apparently a *sail* or *pennon*, here probably a lofty pole with a flag attached.—*A nation afar off*] so 𝔊; 𝔙 *nations afar off*, a reading which has arisen accidentally (see phil. n.), or is due to a scribe who wished to assimilate

to 11^{12} or to introduce the plurality of nations to which later writers frequently refer. 𝔐 has been explained of the nations united in the Assyrian army (cp. 14^{26} $17^{12f.}$ $29^{7f.}$ 30^{28} 33^{3}), or as a conventional eschatological usage (Gressmann). But the correctness of the reading of 𝔊 is proved by the consistent use of the singular, rendered by plurals in RV, throughout the rest of the strophe. The term *nation afar off* (גוי ממרחק) is applied in Jer 5^{15} to another people, probably the Scythians. On the idea of distance, see 10^{3} n.—*Whistle for it*] summon it; 7^{18} n. —*From the end of the earth*] cp. Jer 6^{22}. The centre of the Assyrian empire lay some thirty days' journey from Palestine. Du., Di., and others infer that Isaiah's earth was a small one; Gressmann (p. 176), that he here uses the phrase because it was a technical eschatological expression. Both conclusions are precarious: Isaiah was a poet.—**26 c–27 a.** Assyria comes with all speed, but without fatigue. With the way in which, while speaking of the entire armed nation as a single personality (cp. *Numbers*, pp. 265 f.), Isaiah yet thinks of the individuals composing it, cp. Dt 25^{18}, Remember how Amalek . . . fell in with thee, and smote at thy rear all those that were fagged (for there were such), seeing that thou (*i.e.* the entire body of the Israelites) wast faint and weary.—**27b.** *It slumbers not nor sleeps*] the line is not improbably intrusive (see p. 177), though it is rather prosaic of Du. to insist that it must be so because the words could apply to God only (Ps 121^{4}).—**27c. d.** The army is all trim, and, **28a. b,** its weapons ready.—*Its bows bent*] as they would be only on the point of being used. For the bows and arrows of Assyrian armies, see 21^{15} 22^{6} 37^{33}; of other armies, *e.g.* Jer 5^{16}.—**28c. d.** The cavalry, too, of the Assyrians (cp. $22^{6f.}$ 36^{8}) sweeps on unhindered and with the pace and onset of the whirlwind.—*Its horses' hoofs are like flint*] horses were not shod, and therefore hard hoofs were a highly prized virtue in them: Ges. compares the χαλκόποδ' ἵππω of Homer, and gives other classical and Arabic illustrations.—*Its wheels like the whirlwind*] cp., in a similar description, Jer 4^{13}; in Is 66^{15} Yahweh's chariots are compared to the whirlwind, which leads Gressmann to consider the present description "fabulous": poetical rather, like the ἀελλόποδες ἵπποι, "horses with feet as swift as the storm," of the Homeric Hymn (*in Ven.* 217), or Fitzgerald's "I came like water, and like wind I go."—**29.** The form of the

text is suspicious, see phil. n., but the sense is clear. The noise of the advancing army, compared in 17^{12} to the tumult of mighty waters, is here compared to the dread (Am 3^{8}) roar (שאגה) of a lion (cp. Jer 2^{15}, Ps 74^{4}); the figure thus introduced is developed, and the utter destruction of Israel to which the poem works up as its climax is expressed, by the statement that the lion (Assyria) growling (ינהם) *seizes* (יאחז), or *holds fast* (cp. W. R. Smith *Proph.*[2], p. 24) its prey (Israel), whom no one attempts to deliver.

26. גוים מרחוק] may be an error for גוי through dittography of מ, or read לגוי ממרחק (Roorda, al. mult.): cp. Jer 5^{15}; after the words had been wrongly divided the *scriptio plena* was inserted in מהרה קל.—רחקה] cp. קל מהרה, Jl 4^{4}: מהרה is adverbial, קל acc. of the state—*hastily as a fleet one.*—**28.** צר] *flint*, thus pointed here only, but cp. צור and Arab. ظِرٌّ.—נחשבו וגלגליו] read rather with 𝔊 נחשבו גלגליו (so Sievers): this balances the lines better; 𝔙 is due to dittography of the ו.—**29, 30a.** There are several considerations which justify suspicion as to the correctness of the text: (1) The Hebrew variant ישאג, ושאג in v.^{29b}; (2) the virtual repetition of the first word of v.^{29a} in ^{29b} (שאגה ישאג): (3) the undue shortness of one of the four lines of v.^{29}—of ^{29b}, if וינהם be thrown forward to ^{c}, or of ^{d} if this line is limited to ואין מציל; (4) the position of וינהם in 𝔊 after ויאחז; (5) certain other features of 𝔊: thus שאגה לו = ὀργιῶσιν (al. ὁρμῶσιν), but ישאג = παρέστηκαν; ויפלט = ἐκβαλεῖ, whereas ἐκβάλλειν nowhere else = פלט; in Is 2^{20} it renders השליך; in 22^{17}, טלטל; (6) the improbable meaning that has to be attached to ויפלט in the present text. There is no means of restoring the exact form of the text, nor is it very necessary, for the sense is sufficiently established. ישאג is not improbably a gloss on, or variant of, שאגה ל'.—ויפלטו] this is supposed to mean *carries off into security*, i.e. the lion carries off the prey to a place where it may eat undisturbed. But the sense of *escape, deliverance* is so prominent in the uses of the root that it is very doubtful whether the Hiphil expressed the very opposite.

30. The succession of intelligible distichs of regular rhythm leading up to a climax and a conclusion in v.^{29}, is here followed by some exceedingly obscure sentences. Rhythm is not obvious, but is certainly different from that which prevails in vv.$^{26\text{-}29}$. Render: *And he will growl over him in that day as the growling of the sea; and if he looks to the earth, then lo! distressful* (?) *darkness, and the light has grown dark in the clouds* (??) *thereof.* There are two main theories of interpretation: (1) Some, including Del., consider that the subject and object of the growl are the same as the subject and object in vv.$^{26\text{-}29}$: Assyria growls, and Israel hears the ominous sound. The growl, and the unrelieved darkness on which the eyes of the prey rest, imply the doom of Israel. On

this interpretation v.[30] is *parallel* to v.[29a. b]; it does not carry the thought as far as v.[29c. d]; for this reason, v.[30] would probably be a parallel, not belonging to vv.[26-29]. (2) Others * consider that the subject changes: it is Assyria here against whom the growl is uttered, and Assyria whose outlook is unrelieved gloom. In this case it is equally difficult to believe that v.[30] is the original sequel to v.[29].

ונבט] Piel or Niph. Elsewhere Heb. always uses the Hiph. of this vb. Du. has pointed out the similarity to 8^{22} of v.[30b] (𝔊), and the still greater similarity of v.[30b] 𝔊, which omits ואור חשך. That the two passages are not unrelated is probable; that a process of assimilation has gone on is also probable. Under the circumstances it is safest to question, or accept very tentatively, the strange interpretations that have been offered of 5^{30}. ערוּף is probably a mere corruption (cp. 8^{23} and 𝔊 in both passages). The accentuation and punctuation of MT חשך צר ואור embodies an old interpretation (noticed by Rashi) which took צר ואור together as = *moon* (צר = סהר !) *and sun*. Cond., making one or two emendations, attaches $8^{20b. 21. 22}$ to 5^{26-29}.

VI. *The Vision and the Call of Isaiah.*

There is no reason to question the impression conveyed by this chapter that we are here reading the prophet's autobiography, from which we have further extracts in 8^{1-18} and, perhaps, in 7^{1-16}. The narrative is in prose; the words spoken by the seraphim and by Yahweh are in poetical form, perhaps also the words of the seraph in v.[7]. The interrogations of Isaiah in vv.[8. 9] are too brief to show poetical form, and the rhythmical quality of his first startled cry in v.[5] is not obvious; the words may be read as three lines (so in Kittel's text) of six accents each, but without parallelism; Du. divides them into four words of unequal length. Cond. remarks: "Le style rhythmé, propre à la solennité des oracles, convient mal à la spontaneité de ce cri d'effroi," which has some force, and would have more if the cry at the time formulated itself in spoken words, and if Isaiah necessarily repeated verbatim in his narrative written subsequently the words he heard, or the words he uttered, at the time of the vision. The translation distinguishes the words that seem more clearly poetical in form.

[1] In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting on a throne that was lofty and uplifted, and his skirts filling the

* Du., Marti; cp. 𝔗.

Temple. [2] Seraphim were standing above him: each had six wings—two to cover the face, two the feet, and two to fly with. [3] And they kept calling to each other, and saying,

Holy, holy, holy is Yahweh of Hosts,
The whole earth is full of his glory.

[4] And the foundations (?) of the threshold trembled at the voice of them that called, and the House began to fill with smoke.

[5] And I said, "Woe is me! for I am undone; for I am a man of unclean lips, and am dwelling in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for it is the King, Yahweh of Hosts, whom mine eyes have seen." [6] Then one of the seraphim flew to me with a red-hot stone in his hand, which with tongs he had taken off the altar, [7] and with it he touched my mouth, and said, Lo! this has touched thy lips: thy iniquity will pass away (from thee), and thy sin will be expiated. [8] And I heard the voice of the Lord, saying,

Whom shall I send?
And who will go for us?

And I said, Here am I: send me. [9] Then he said, Go, and say unto this people,

Hearken on, but understand not!
See, yea, see, but perceive not!

[10] Make dull the heart of this people,
And make its ears heavy, and plaster over its eyes;
Lest it see with its eyes and hear with its ears,
And its heart understand, and it be healed once more.
[11] And I said: How long, O Lord? And he said,
Until they lie waste—
Cities without inhabitant
And houses without human beings—
And the ground be left a desolation;
[12] And Yahweh remove men far away,
And the forsaken places in the land be many:
[13] And though a tenth yet (remain) in it:
It must again be exterminated.
Like an oak or a terebinth, wherein at the felling is a stump.

On a day within a few months of the death of Uzziah,

though whether before or after that event is uncertain, Isaiah came up to the Temple. And falling into an ecstasy, he saw and heard more than he had been wont to see and hear—things that others who were present that day in the Temple Courts neither saw nor heard: he saw Yahweh in kingly state; in His Holy presence he felt his own uncleanness; he realised the power of Yahweh to forgive immediately without sacrifice or gift on man's part (ct. 1^{12-14}); he heard, understood, and obeyed His call to service.

This is record of *fact*; but the fact is spiritual experience, which must be described, though inadequately, by means of material terms and pictures.

The central fact is the decision of the prophet to deliver Yahweh's message to His people; and this decision was taken on a single particular day. Yet, though we cannot be certain, we may somewhat safely assume that the vision of Yahweh, bringing with it the clear apprehension on the prophet's part of Yahweh's purpose concerning him, was the culmination of a longer experience; not, we may well believe, for the first time on that day had he felt his own unworthiness, or contrasted the moral uncleanness of his people with the ethical holiness of God (vv.$^{4.5}$); he had been anxious to speak to his people, but had not yet been sure of the divine commission to speak, nor certain what to say. Some such experience before the call is suggested, if not by one or two details in the account of the day of decision, yet certainly by the analogy of the experience of other great religious personalities — of Moḥammed, for example, who had long felt that his people were astray from God before the particular day when the call came to him, "Recite, in the name of thy Lord, recite" (Ḳor. 96^{1}).

It is not only probable that the narrative thus presupposes a religious experience of which it records the culmination, but it is possible that, as some have supposed, it is coloured by the prophet's experience after the day of decision. It is generally held, and certainly probable, that this account of his call was not written by Isaiah immediately after the event, but some years later, when it was natural to define the year to which the record refers. It *may* be then that the terms of the divine commission in vv.$^{9ff.}$ reflect the discouraging effect on Isaiah of years of fruitless warning (but see below).

1–4. The Vision.—1. *In the year that king Uzziah died*] for this method of dating, see 14^{28}, and cp. *KAT*^{3}, p. 323. The Hebrew year ran from autumn to autumn (*EBi.* 5365). Between two autumns King Uzziah died: between the same two autumns Isaiah received his call. That is all that can be inferred with certainty from the clause. It leaves the question open whether Isaiah received his call before (cp. 1^1) or after Uzziah's death. Early Babylonian usage defined the remainder of a year after the accession of a new ruler as "the year in which N. [the new ruler's predecessor] entered into the house of his father": later, when the system of numbering the years of a king from the 1st of Nisan after his accession prevailed, *i.e.* from about 1500 B.C., the broken year before that 1st of Nisan was known as "the beginning of his reign" (E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*^{2}, I. ii. pp. 330 f.). If Hebrew usage followed contemporary Assyrian usage, Isaiah's call took place *before* the death of Uzziah. Uzziah died within a few years of 740 B.C.: some time before 735 (cp. 7^1), but after 738, if Uzziah (Azariah) is correctly identified with the Azriyau of Jaudi mentioned by Tiglath-pileser in his annals of the year 738. If that identification is fallacious (see Introduction), Uzziah's death may have occurred before 740, yet not so early as 753 (Jerome, cp. Del.).—*Uzziah*] so (עזיהו) 1^1 7^1, 2 K $15^{32.\ 34}$, 2 Ch $26^{1ff.}$ 27^2, and (עזיה) 2 K $15^{13.\ 30}$, Hos 1^1, Am 1^1, Zec 14^5, perhaps also Uzzah (2 K $21^{18.\ 26}$); but *Azariah* (עזריה), 2 K 14^{21} $15^{1.\ 7.\ 17.\ 23.\ 27}$, 1 Ch 3^{12}, and (עזריהו) 2 K $15^{6.\ 8}$. Unless the king bore both names, the distribution of the evidence in OT favours *Uzziah*. *Azariah* would be confirmed if the identification of this king with Azriyau of Jaudi (last note) were certain.

I saw the Lord] There is no elaborate description of the divine being here (cp. Am 7^7 9^1; ct. Ezk 1, Dn 7^9); but the very terseness heightens the impression that is given of the ideas that dominated Isaiah at this moment; he is absorbed with the thought of the kingliness of Yahweh; he sees nothing but Yahweh enthroned: his eyes cannot linger on the divine face (cp. Ex $33^{20\text{-}23}$), they fall instinctively to the skirts of His robes which fill the Temple.—*On a throne*] Isaiah, like Micah the Morashtite (1 K 22^{19}), sees Yahweh in kingly state, enthroned on a conspicuously lofty throne.—*His skirts*] this, however æsthetically unsatisfactory in English, and not *train* (RV), is the

correct rendering of שולים; for the שולים are the loose-flowing parts of the robe or upper garment (מעיל, Ex 28^{33}), especially the part from the waist downward (cp. Jer $13^{22.\,26}$, Nah 3^{5}); here the word is used of the robe as it flows down over the knees of Yahweh seated on the throne, and reaches to and covers the floor. This boldly anthropomorphic touch was euphemised away by the ancient translators: 𝔊 renders *his glory* (cp. Jn 12^{41}), 𝔗 *the brilliance of his glory*, 𝔙 (following Symm., Theod.) *quae sub ipso erant*. Ibn Ezra gains the same end by an interesting, though improbable, explanation; he refers the suffix to the throne, and sees in the skirts the loose hanging draperies with which it is "the custom of kings" to have their thrones covered. *Filling the Temple*] i.e. covering the entire floor, unless, indeed, we could suppose with Jer. and some Jewish commentators that the throne was lifted up high above the Temple, and that the Temple itself was filled by the flowing skirts; but had this been the meaning, covering the Temple would seem the more appropriate description.—*The Temple*] in Hebrew, as in Sumerian (*e-gal*), from whence through the Assyrian (*e-kallu*) the Hebrews borrowed the word, היכל denotes primarily *a great house*, *a royal residence*, *a palace* (1 K 21^{1}, 2 K 20^{18}, Pr 30^{28}); but in actual usage it more frequently refers to the "House of Yahweh" or Temple, whether to the whole (1 S 1^{9} 3^{3}, 2 K 23^{4} 24^{13}, Hag 2^{15}, Neh 6^{10}), or the front and larger chamber (1 K 6^{17}, Ezk 41^{1}) as distinguished from the smaller inner chamber (דביר). In one passage clearly (Ps 11^{4}), in others (Mic 1^{2}, cp. vv.$^{3f.}$, Ps 18^{7} 29^{9}, cp. vv.$^{1f.}$) probably, the term היכל is used of Yahweh's heavenly residence; but in none of these passages is the sense *temple* rather than *palace* required. At a later period the idea of a Temple in heaven was familiar in certain Jewish circles; this can be first traced clearly at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. (Test. Levi 5^{1}), and then frequently in John's Apocalypse (*e.g.* 7^{1}, ct. 11^{19}). That such an idea existed in Israel in the time of Isaiah there is no direct proof, and the attempt to prove the early existence in Babylonia of such an idea has so far met with doubtful success. But even though such an idea may have been familiar to Isaiah, and though, in that case, he might have used the term היכל of the heavenly as well as of the earthly Temple, it is not to any such heavenly temple, as many * have supposed,

* 𝔗, Koppe, Del., Di., Jeremias (*ATAO*^{2}, p. 565, *BNT* 65).

that Isaiah here refers, but to the Temple of Jerusalem * which was daily before his eyes. He sees in vision no strange and unfamiliar scene, but a long familiar scene transfigured. This interpretation is favoured by (1) the unqualified reference to *the temple* and *the altar* (v.[6]), contrasted with the careful qualification ("the temple that is in heaven") of such writers as the authors of the Testaments and the Apocalypse of John, and (2) by the analogy of the visions of Amos (9^1), where an earthly altar and an earthly temple are unmistakably the scene of vision, and of Ezekiel (8^3 10^4). Nor can it be safely urged in favour of the alternative interpretation, that "the presence of the seraphim is a sufficient indication that the scene is in heaven . . if Elisha's servant, when his eyes were opened, saw horses and chariots of fire in Dothan (2 K 6^{17}), Isaiah, with eyes open in vision, might well see seraphim in Jerusalem. It is indeed the very fact that he sees Yahweh holding court in Jerusalem that gives full point to his alarm; it is the actual presence of the Holy One of Israel in the midst of Israel and not remote in heaven that spells doom to the unclean people; the sinners in Ṣion must needs be alarmed (cp. 33^{14})." † A persistent Jewish exegetical tradition, as represented indirectly by Jer. and directly by Rashi, explains that Isaiah saw Yahweh "sitting on his throne in heaven with his feet in the (earthly) Temple, 'the footstool of his feet'" (Rashi); cp. "non ipse Dominus implebat Templum cuius coelum thronus est et terra scabellum pedum eius . . sed ea quae sub pedibus eius erant implebant Templum" (Jer.).—**2.** Beside Yahweh stand *seraphim*: since He is seated and they *standing*, they rise *above him*—not *it*, viz. the Temple (Jer.). Each seraph has six wings (cp. Rev 4^8), one pair to screen their faces from the unbearable brightness of the divine presence (cp. Ex 3^6, 1 K 19^{13}), one to conceal *their feet*, i.e. their nakedness (so 7^{20} 36^{12} Ḳ^{e}rê; cp. "their bodies," Ezk 1^{11}), from the divine eye (Ex 20^{26} $28^{42ff.}$), and one to use in flight (cp. v.[6]). Again, Isaiah only particularises what closely concerns him at the moment. His allusions to the seraphim serve to emphasise his thought of Yahweh's majesty and kingliness; if these lofty and superhuman

* Lowth, Ges., Du., Cheyne (*SBOT* 138 f.), Skinner, Whitehouse.

† Cited from an article by the present writer, "The Heavenly Temple and the Heavenly Altar" (*Exp.*, May, June, 1908, pp. 385–402, 530–546), in which the points summarised in the text are discussed at length.

beings must screen their faces, how much more mortals (cp. Job $4^{17ff.}$): so again not slowly with feet, but with the rapidity of flight they move to do Yahweh's bidding. 𝔊 represents the seraphim as standing round Yahweh (κύκλω αὐτοῦ), feeling perhaps that the majesty of Yahweh requires that He should, even when seated, tower above His attendants. But to Isaiah, Yahweh appeared majestic in size and attended by beings equally colossal. It is unnecessary to press the sense of עמד so as to insist that the seraphim stood on their feet (though see next clause): the vb. is certainly used of objects or beings without feet (Nu 14^{14}). But the attempt made by Del., Di., Che. (in *PI*), and others to prove that it means "to hover," is not successful.

Many interesting questions are raised by this description which it was no concern of Isaiah's to satisfy, and which modern investigation has only partially illumined. What was the form of the seraphim? Were they human? Were they serpentine? How many were attending Yahweh? As to their form: they stand (עמר, see above), and have feet (v.^{2}) and hands (v.^{6}), and therefore, if originally connected with serpents, they have acquired non-serpentine characteristics. Beings half human half animal in appearance figure in later descriptions (Ezk 1, Rev 4^{7}). The connection of the seraphim with serpents is suggested by the name שרף, which, meaning *to burn*, is used in Nu $21^{6f.}$ of serpents, apparently so called from the burning sensation produced by their bite (see *Numbers*, p. 277), and in Is 14^{29} 30^{6} of *flying* serpents (‖ נחש, אפעה). According to 2 K 18^{4}, at the time of Isaiah's vision there still stood (probably in the Temple Court) the bronze serpent, or seraph, the erection of which popular tradition attributed to Moses (Nu 21^{4-9}); on this object Isaiah's eye may have been resting just before he fell into ecstasy. We may infer, if not with certainty yet with probability, from v.^{4} that the seraphim of Isaiah's vision were stationed about the threshold of the temple, and by a further inference may be led to suspect that the seraphim belong to the class of guardians of thresholds—that part of the dwelling with which so much religious or superstitious awe has been widely associated (H. Clay Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 1890)—who repel intruders, or, as rather here (v.$^{6f.}$), admit under fit conditions to the presence of, or communication with, the deity. Some analogy both to the name and to this function of the seraphim has often been sought in the Egyptian *Sefr* (demotic *Serref*), a winged griffin guarding an Egyptian tomb; see, further, BDB, Ges–B., *EBi.*, and *DB*, *s.v.* On the other hand, the connection sought by some Assyriologists (Del., Hommel) between שרפים and *Sarrabu* (or *Sarrapu*), a name said to have been borne by the god Lugalgira (? Nergal) in the westland, is denied by Zimmern (*KAT*^{3} 415). The number of seraphs that attend Yahweh in Isaiah's vision is uncertain; the phrase זה אל־זה (v.^{3}) rather suggests *two* (see phil. n.), the plural שרפים (not שני שרפים) in v.^{2}, on the other hand, rather suggests many. Early Christian interpreters

commonly thought of two, and allegorised: the two seraphim were the Son and the Holy Spirit attending the Father—a view not unnaturally rejected by Jerome as "impious." The view that the two seraphim represented the Old and New Testament found more favour. Jewish interpreters differed as to the number—יש אמרים שנים והנכון רבים (Ibn Ezra).

3. The constantly repeated (וקרא) refrain of the seraphim sung antiphonally (זה אל זה). For other allusions to songs sung by heavenly beings, see Ps $29^{1.\ 2.\ 9}$, Job 38^{7}, Rev $5^{8ff.}$ $7^{11ff.}$.—*Holy*] thrice repeated for the sake of emphasis: cp. Jer 7^{4} 22^{29}, Ezk 21^{32}. One of the main tasks of the prophets was to transform, and especially to ethicise, current religious terms: so Amos dealt with the "Day of Yahweh," so Hosea with "the marriage of Yahweh," and so Isaiah ethicises the word "Holy." Originally a term without, in Isaiah's hands it became charged with, moral import, so that when he speaks of the "Holy One of Israel" he thinks of a power that executes justice and demands just dealing of His worshippers. How unethical a term the prophets found it may be most briefly suggested by the fact that the religious prostitution which Hosea denounced was carried on by "holy" men and women (see, further, *Numbers*, pp. 209–211). In Isaiah's conception we see points of contact with the popular thought; with him, too, it is dangerous to approach that which is Holy (v.^{5}); with him, too, a common quality is needed in the Holy Being and those who approach Him; but with Isaiah this common quality is freedom from sin (חטאת): what this in turn is may be seen by noting such passages as $1^{16f.}$; it is moral, not ceremonial; it is acquired not by expiatory sacrifices, but by turning from evil to good, by executing justice and cultivating mercy (cp. also $5^{7\ (16)}$). One of a sinful nation whose lips are rendered unclean, unfit to speak to Yahweh, Isaiah is himself sinful, unable to address Yahweh; he does not even, like the publican of the parable (Lk 18^{13}), cry to God for forgiveness; his lips open, but in self-address—"Wretched man that I am." But freed from sin (v.^{7}), Isaiah is fitted to be entrusted with the secret of Yahweh (cp. Am 3^{7}), or, as we might express it, for communion with God. This holy, moral power which is revealed to Isaiah in his vision is Lord of the (heavenly) hosts, and the whole world reflects the lustre of His righteousness. History, human life is under the government of a righteous power that rules the world, and is not devoted merely to satisfying the unethical desires of

a petty nation or tolerating its sins. Isaiah is no exponent, like the author of chs. 40–55, of an intellectual monotheism, but he is possessed by the moral thought that in due time demanded an explicit monotheistic statement.—*His glory*] here, as in Nu 14^{21}, Ps 72^{19} 96^{3}, of Yahweh's self-revelation in His dealing with men. **4.** The Temple quakes to its foundations (?) with the sound of the song of the seraphim, just as mountains tremble when Yahweh appears (Ex 19^{18}, Jg 5^{4}); whether a heavenly temple would have quaked at what in a heavenly temple should have been an ordinary occurrence, may be doubted.—*The foundations of the thresholds*] the exact sense of the Hebrew phrase is uncertain: see phil. n.—*Them that called*] i.e. the seraphim,* who alone as yet have called (v.^{3}): the sing. part. (הקורא) is used collectively as are other sing. participles elsewhere; see, *e.g.*, Jos $6^{7.\ 9}$, Gn 4^{20}; G–K. 126*m*; Kön. iii. 256. Others have given to the part. a sing. sense and referred it, inappropriately, to Yahweh thundering out "welcome" to Isaiah (Ew.), or expressing anger at the sin of the people (Di.).—*The house*] the Temple: cp. 1 K $6^{4.\ 6}$ etc.—*Began to fill with smoke*] in spite of "cloud" rather than smoke being mentioned there, Ezk 10^{4} seems the nearest parallel, and to suggest that the smoke here is the cloud that so commonly accompanied theophanies—Ex 14^{19} 40^{34}, 1 K $8^{9f.}$, Is 4^{5} (cp. *EBi.*, *Pillar of cloud*, *Theophany*). Only for a moment does Isaiah see the unveiled glory of Yahweh. Others explain the smoke as the breath of the seraphim (cp. Ps 18^{9}: so Du.), or as the smoke of Yahweh's anger (Ps 74^{1} $80^{5\ (4)}$, Dt 29^{19}; Di.).

1. ואראה . . . בשנת] Dr. *Tenses*, 127 *β*. 𝔊 begins with *καὶ ἐγένετο* to establish a connection, which did not originally exist, with ch. 5.—ארני] here and in v.^{8} many MSS read יהוה: so in $3^{17.\ 18}$.—רם ונשא] not grammatically parallel to ישב, and, as in 57^{15}, directly descriptive of Yahweh, but (as in 𝔊 clearly) attributives of כסא.—**2.** ממעל לו] *above him*, cp. 14^{13}, Dn $12^{6f.}$, Gn 22^{9}; עמד ממעל ל is not merely the same as עמד על, *to stand in attendance on*—Jg 3^{19}, Jer 36^{21} (reading על for ממעל).—יכסה] this and the following imperfects describe what is *liable to* occur (Dr. 33 *β*), really therefore the purpose of the wings, rather than what Isaiah actually saw *frequently* occur (Dr. *Tenses*, 30 *α*).—**3.** וקרא . . . ואמר] frequentatives: Dr. § 120, G–K. 112*k*.—זה אל זה] *the one to the other*: cp. Ex 14^{20}. In similar correlative usages זה refers definitely to *one* of two (Gn 29^{37}, Ex 14^{20}, 1 K 3^{23}), or to a single individual of a series (1 K 22^{20}, Is 44^{5}). In Ps 75^{8} זה appears to correspond to the English

* So 𝔊, Ges., Del., Du., Marti.

indefinite *one . . . another*: cp. the second זה in Job 1^{16-18}, but to the Hebrew mind the זה was probably vivid and definite. Certainly זה אל זה is not the *normal* Hebrew for "to one another," which is expressed by the plural vb. with איש אל רעהו (G–K. 139*e*). Nor again would it normally express "the one group to the other group": this should be אלה אל אלה (cp. Dt $27^{12f.}$, 2 S 2^{13}, 1 K 20^{29}, Dn 12^{2}). Unless זה אל זה here implies *two* seraphs only, we can only find a somewhat inadequate parallel in Ec 3^{19} where one זה refers to a pl. (בני האדם) and the other to a collective (בהמה).—מלא כל הארץ כבודו] cp. 8^{8}, and for the cstr., Driver, § 189. Possibly מָלְאָה should be read: cp. 𝔊𝔖𝔗, and see Nestle in *ZATW*, 1905, 218 ff.—4. אמות הספים] (apart from א=*cubit* and, in 2 S 8^{1}, *mother-city*) here only. It has been explained as a metaphorical development from אם, *mother*, and hence *foundations*; uncertain; but cp. Assyr. *ammatu*. סף regularly means *threshold*, though ܣܦ has also the meaning *porch, doorpost*. 𝔊 renders the two words by the single word ὑπέρθυρον, *lintel* (cp. 𝔗𝔈𝔖). Grä. suggests אמ[נ]ות, *supporters*, i.e. *pillars* (2 K 18^{16}), which brings us back, so far as the meaning goes, very nearly to *the posts of the doors* of AV, which rests on a philologically questionable Jewish exegesis; cp. Rashi.—ימלא] impf. of incipient action: Dr. §§ 26, 27.

5–8. The effect of the vision on Isaiah.—5. Having in vv.$^{1-4}$ described what he saw, the vision proper, Isaiah passes on to speak of the effect on himself; the alarm which he felt was the effect of the whole of what he saw, not merely of the last or any other single detail. He is a sinful man, member of a sinful nation, and yet he has seen God! cp. Lk 5^{8}, Ex 33^{20}, Jg 13^{22}. He is in the presence of God, but has not that cleanness of lips which they need who would call upon God (Zeph 3^{9}). He cannot pray for himself, or his sinful folk.—*For I am undone*] for the vb. see, *e.g.*, 15^{1}, Hos 10^{7}. An ancient theory that Isaiah was struck dumb for not rebuking Uzziah's presumption (2 Ch $26^{16ff.}$) was based on the confusion of the roots דמה and דמם (*to be silent*): hence 𝔙 *quia tacui*, Aq. ἐσιώπησα, cp. 𝔗 and possibly 𝔊's κατανέννυμαι.—**6, 7.** But Isaiah does not find himself driven forth on account of his sinfulness: on the other hand, the same vision which had intensified his consciousness of sin is, before it vanishes, to assure him of the removal of his sin. One of the seraphim, leaving his fellow(s) at the threshold, flew to the altar which stood just in front of the porch of the Temple, and, taking off the altar a glowing coal, or stone, continued his flight across the court of the Temple to the place where Isaiah stood, perhaps near its entrance, and touched his unclean lips with it, purging them with fire (cp. Mal $3^{2f.}$, Lk 3^{16}) and making them clean; his lips being cleansed he can address Yahweh (v.^{8}).—*Thy iniquity*

will depart] the sense of the pf. with waw Conv. must be future here (Dr. 119 α): EV *is taken away*, is wrong both in respect of the tense and the passive vb.; סר in Heb. is intrans. *to remove, depart, pass away*. For such quasi-personification of sin as the expression implies, cp. 2 K 7^9, Iniquity (punishment) will find, overtake, us (ומצאנו); cp. (with חטאת as subj.) Nu 32^{23}.—**8.** The sense of forgiveness in Isaiah is immediately accompanied by the desire for service; cp. the prayer of Ps $51^{13\text{-}15\ (11\text{-}13)}$; purification from sin has set him free to understand Yahweh's will; he now hears Him consulting the members of His court (1 K $22^{19\text{ff.}}$) and asking who shall be His messenger; Isaiah offers himself. The passage is important for the light it throws on the nature of the prophetic consciousness and inspiration. Isaiah becomes a prophet owing to no physical compulsion, but by a perfectly free choice, or at least all that compels him is his sympathy with the purposes of Yahweh; cp. Am $3^{7\text{f.}}$.

5. נרמיתי] Houtsma in *ZATW*, 1907, p. 57, conjectures נְטָמֵיתִי = נטמאתי.—**6.** רצפה] also 1 K 19^6—רצפים (ענת), (*bread baked on*) *hot stones*; cp. Syr. ܪܨܨܐ, *bread baked on ashes*; Ar. رضف, *a hot stone*. רצפה, *pavement* (Ezk 40^{17}), is from a different root, رصف, ڕەسف; see BDB. 𝔊 rightly ἄνθρας.—**7.** וינע] MT rightly points as Hiphil; the unemphatic object is omitted.—וה] neuter; see Kön. iii. 45.—**8.** לנו] 𝔊, perhaps to avoid the question raised by 𝔐 (see above), substitutes πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον: cp. v.^{9}.

9–13. The message entrusted to Isaiah by Yahweh. —The doom of the people is inevitably fixed: there is to be no further healing of their sick state (cp. $1^{5\text{f.}}$); let them now persist in their insensitivity (cp. 1^3) to the voice and will of God: even the prophet's preaching is but to render them blinder, deafer, and more insensitive. The gradual hardening and ultimately fatal effect on character of continued disobedience to the voice of God is here stated in the bold, direct, dramatic speech of prophecy. The doings of God will still be before the people, the voice of God will still speak through the prophets and in the events of the time, but they will not understand!—*This people*] so also $8^{6.\ 12}$ 9^{15} $28^{11.\ 14}$ $29^{13.\ 14}$, contemptuously, and always, except in 9^{15}, of the unbelief or superstitions of the people (Du.). The phrase is ambiguous, and raises the question whether at his call Isaiah was charged with a mission to Judah only or to the Northern kingdom only, or to both kingdoms. Against limiting

the phrase to Judah is the fact that much of Isaiah's earlier prophecies was actually addressed in whole or in part to the Northern kingdom ($9^{7ff.}$ $17^{1ff.}$ 28^{1-4}). Hackmann (pp. 52–54, 70–76) has argued strongly that the phrase here refers to Israel only; he points out that the prophecies clearly belonging to Isaiah's early life are mainly devoted to Israel, that the fate of Israel predicted in them is along the lines of the preaching of Amos and Hosea, and agrees with the terms of the commission here—total destruction; that, on the other hand, Isaiah's attitude towards Judah as depicted in ch. 7 f. does not correspond to the commission. The fatal objection to this otherwise attractive theory, which is insufficiently criticised by Cheyne (*Introd.* p. 28), is that the people in v.^{9} cannot well be an entirely different body from the people of v.^{5}, and that in v.^{5} the people must *at least* include Judah. But if we must conclude that "this people" includes Judah as well as Israel, or even, as surely v.^{5} suggests, refers particularly to Judah, how is the unrelieved pessimism as to the national future to be accounted for in view of ch. 7? And how on any interpretation is the absence of any reference to Isaiah's fundamental (7^{3} n.) doctrine of the remnant to be explained? Cheyne (p. 29) finds it sufficient to assume that ch. 6 was originally intended as a prologue to 7^{1}–8^{18} (in the course of which the doctrine of the remnant is developed); others, following Ew., think that this record of Isaiah's call having been written long after his call, was influenced by the darker outlook of a later time. The difficulty is not completely overcome, but escape is least of all to be found by retaining, against the evidence of 𝔊, the last clause of v.^{13}.—*Dull the heart*] Heb. *make fat*, i.e. insensitive; cp. Ps 119^{70}.—*Plaster over its eyes*] as with the sticky secretion that exudes from diseased eyes. —*And it be healed once more*] as it had been wont to be healed by Yahweh (Hos 6^{1}). 𝔊 replaces the indefinite subj. of 𝔐 by the 1st pers., *And I heal them.* EV, "and turn again [*i.e.* to God] and be healed," follows the erroneous punctuation of MT.— **11–13.** How long, asks Isaiah, is this hardening process to proceed? The answer comes clearly: till the nation be no more, till it be destroyed root and branch, and the country which it now inhabits be left full of uninhabited ruins and untilled: cp. 22^{14}.—*Be left a desolation*] so 𝔊; 𝔐 *be wasted into a desolation.* —**12.** *And Yahweh remove men*] Yahweh will not Himself be

destroyed, as the people supposed, in the destruction of His people; He is Himself the cause of it. Israel will vanish; Yahweh will remain. The land of Israel will become a desolation, but the whole earth (v.[3]) will still reflect Yahweh's righteousness; the very desolation of Yahweh's country will speak of His righteous anger, which will not tolerate the sins of those whom He had chosen to be peculiarly His own (cp. 5^{1-7}, Am 3^{2}). This thought remains implicit in the entire suggestion of the vision (cp. especially v.[3]), even if with Marti we were to consider v.[12f.] a post-exilic explanatory addition to v.[11]; but his arguments are hardly quite conclusive; for it is perhaps hypercritical to claim that men cannot be removed (v.[12]) from an already (v.[11]) desolated country; and the use of Yahweh in words attributed to Yahweh—particularly at some little distance from the beginning of the speech, is hardly sufficient by itself to prove that v.[12] was not the original continuation of v.[11].—**13.** Even though a fraction of the population, *a tenth*, is left behind in Judah when Yahweh exiles the rest (v.[12a]), it will not escape, but it too *must be exterminated*, as when a tree is cut down, the stump which remains is also destroyed—such seems the intention of the text. If the last clause of the v. were really original, and not a late gloss added to 𝔐 after the time of 𝔊, it would be necessary to suppose that the announcement of judgment closes with the word *exterminated* (בער); and that then a figure of hope is abruptly introduced—*As an oak or a terebinth wherein at felling is a stump, so the holy seed is its stump*, from which a new and holy Israel will spring; such in any case is the meaning of the annotator who added the last clause. With the phrase *holy seed*, cp. the post-exilic זרע הקדש of Ezr 9^{2} and זרע אלהים, Mal 2^{15}.

9. שמעו שמוע] G-K. 113*r*.—**10.** וְשָׁב] point so, connecting closely with what follows (cp. v.[13]), not וְשָׁב (MT).—ורפא] *and one heal*; indef. subj.—G-K. 144*d*.—**11.** תשאה] 𝔊 καταλειφθήσεται = תִּשָּׁאֵר. 𝔐 is a poor repetition of the vb. in the first line; MT attempts to create a difference by pointing this form Niphal; but note the different sense of Niphal in 17^{12}.—**13.** והיתה לבער] cstr. as in 5^{5}, but the meaning of בער is different: here *to exterminate* (cp. 4^{4}, 2 S 4^{11}, Dt 13^{16} etc.), there *to depasture*. Budde, indeed (*New World*, 1895, p. 12), adopts the latter meaning here—*it shall be for* (*cattle*) *to feed on*, and sees in the words a promise that Judah will return to pastoral life and the divine favour.—**13.** כאלה ובאלון] probably neither term denotes a distinct species of tree (1^{29} n.): the combination of the two terms is curious: Kit. tentatively proposes the omission of ובאלון: note that about 100 Hebrew MSS (and ? 𝔊) read בה, not בם, in the next clause.

VII. 1–VIII. 18.—*Incidents and Prophecies at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish War* (735–734 B.C.).

Special Literature:—F. Giesebrecht, "Die Immanuel Weissagung," in *TSK*, 1888, pp. 217–264 (in the main a detailed discussion of ch. 8); A. B. Davidson, "Immanuel" (in *DB*); A. S. Peake, "Immanuel" (in *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*). See, further, pp. 135 f.

This section consists of (*a*) narratives in prose relating Isaiah's interview with Ahaz 7^{1-16}, his use of the name Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz, 8^{1-4}, and his use of his disciples and his children, 8^{16-18}; (*b*) poems, 7^{17-25} $8^{5-10.\ 11-15}$; (*c*) prose notes ($8^{5.\ 11}$) prefixed by Isaiah to the last two of these poems.

In 8^{1-18} both the prose style and the autobiographical character of ch. 6 re-appear, see $8^{1-3.\ 5.\ 11.\ 16-18}$; but the narrative parts of ch. 7 speak of Isaiah in the 3rd person. That Isaiah spoke of himself in immediately consecutive passages, now in the 1st, now in the 3rd pers. (Di.), is not very likely. More probably the use of the 3rd pers. indicates either (*a*) that the author of 7^{1-16} was not Isaiah himself, but that the passage like chs. 20 and 36–39 is biographical; or (*b*) that 7^{1-16}, originally like chs. 6, 8 autobiographical, was modified by an editor who added v.[1], and for reasons no longer obvious substituted the 3rd for the 1st person. Of these alternatives the second is favoured by a usage (יען כי) characteristic of Isaiah in 7^{5} and by the general similarity of style throughout the narratives of chs. 7 f.; cp. 7^{5} and 8^{6}, 7^{7} and 8^{10}, 7^{10} and 8^{5}, $7^{14.\ 16}$ and $8^{3f.}$. Isaiah's memoirs must then have suffered a similar fortune to those of Ezra, surviving in part intact (cp. *e.g.* Ezr 9), in part modified by an editor who substituted the 3rd pers. for the 1st (cp. *e.g.* Ezr 10).

The prophecy in 8^{19-23} is scarcely derived from Isaiah's memoirs, still less 9^{1-6}; nor again within 6^{1}–8^{18} is 7^{17-25} so derived; see below on the several passages.

VII. 1. A summary statement of the ill-success of the operations of Syria and Israel against Judah.—The v. is logically out of place, the hostile approach of the Syro-Ephraimitish army to Jerusalem and the failure of the attack are events which occurred *after* what is related in vv.[2-12]. The verse with some verbal variations not affecting the sense occurs also in 2 K 16^{5}. It was probably derived from Kings (cp. chs. 36–39) by the editor of the present passage; ct. the genealogical description of Ahaz with Isaiah's simple reference to Uzziah in 6^{1}.

The priority of Is 7^1, at one time commonly assumed or maintained, is now generally abandoned, but Di. still defended it on these grounds: (1) 2 K 16^5 stands very isolated; (2) Is 7^2 requires some introduction; (3) the omission of עליה at the end of the v. in Kings is less correct; יכלו (Ki.) is easier than יכל (Is.), and therefore presumably secondary. Of these arguments the second is the weightiest, and indeed it should be recognised that something once preceded and introduced v.^{2}. Either that introduction was lost through mutilation before the passage came into the hands of the editor, or for some reason unknown he preferred to substitute for it 2 K 16^5. The first argument is of little weight; 2 K 16^5 may stand isolated, but Is 7^1 is logically out of place (see above). As to the 3rd argument, the reading יכל in Is. is uncertain: 𝔊 has the *pl.* The additional clause וצרו על אחז of Ki. is not strikingly like an editorial expansion to improve the bad style of Is.; the awkwardness of Is. is rather due to abbreviation.

And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz . . . king of Judah] this rather vague time definition was correctly inferred by the editor from what immediately precedes 2 K 16^5; the phraseology is not that of a contemporary, who would have said "At the beginning of the reign of Ahaz," or "In the first year of Ahaz."—*Reṣon*] EV Rezin (see phil. n.). Reṣon was king of Damascus as early as 738, for he is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser in his annals of that year; but Peḳaḥ's accession must be placed later, for the king of Israel who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 738 was Menaḥem, and between Menaḥem and Peḳaḥ intervened the reign of Peḳaḥiah.— *Went up*] so regularly of motion towards Jerusalem (cp. *e.g.* 2^3, Ezr 7^7, Jn 2^{13}, ct. Lk 9^{53}), departure from Jerusalem being expressed by *to go down* (1 K 22^2, Ac 8^5).— *Reṣon went up . . . to Jerusalem to attack it, but could not attack it*] 2 K 16^5 runs: "Reṣon . . . went up to Jerusalem to attack (it), and laid siege to Ahaz (𝔖 'to it'), but could not attack it." The meaning of Kings is clear: Reṣon and Peḳaḥ reached Jerusalem and invested it, but were unable to proceed to actual assaults on the city: no sooner was the investment complete than the besiegers were called away. The meaning of Is. is the same, though it is more awkwardly expressed: the last clause is more specific than "they could not prevail against it" (RV), which might imply failure after a long siege; it means that they were not even able to make any active assault on the city. The speedy withdrawal from Jerusalem may be attributed to news having reached the besiegers that the Assyrians were advancing westwards. In 735, as in the two previous years, Tiglath-pileser had been campaigning to the S.E. and N. of Assyria, *i.e.* in parts

remote from Syria; to this period we may attribute the raid on Judah in the last year(s) of Jotham (2 K 15^{37}). In the early spring of 734 we may suppose that the allied armies marched on Jerusalem, but had scarcely laid siege to the city when news reached them that Tiglath-pileser was moving westward; his objective in this year was, as we know from the Eponym Canon, Philistia. Starting about the same time (cp. 2 S 11^{1}), Reṣon might well traverse the distance (about 140 miles) from Damascus to Jerusalem, and prepare to lay siege to the latter city, before he received news that this year the Assyrian king was marching from Nineveh on his own capital; the military route from Nineveh to Damascus would be about 550 miles (cp. *EBi.* 5167).

ולא יכל . . . ופקח . . . עלה רצין] if יכל is correct, the waw before פקח is *waw concomitantiae*, which in Arabic requires the acc. after it—*Reṣôn with Peḳaḥ went up and was unable*; the instances in Heb. are at best few; see G–K. 154*a* footnote; BDB 253*a*. In this case Reṣôn appears as the principal person. More probably יכל should be read יָכְלוּ with 2 Ki., 𝔊 and 𝔖, and 𝔗 here: then עלה is sing. as *preceding* the subj.; G–K. 146*f*.—[רצין] 𝔐^{1} רצן was erroneously amplified in 𝔐^{2} to רצין instead of רצון; 𝔖, Ῥαασων, Ῥασσων (with late variants Ῥασειν accommodated to 𝔐^{2}), and the Assyrian Ra-ṣun-nu alike indicate that the final vowel was *o*.—[למלחמה עליה] 2 Ki., למלחמה ויצרו על אחז, where על אחז is perhaps an erroneous specification of an original עליה (Stade); whether the omission of ויצרו in Is. was editorial or transcriptional is uncertain. The actual investment of a city is expressed by צור על, the more active operations, such as assaults on the walls, carried on during the investment in order to reduce the city, or as the immediate prelude to its capture (לכד), by הלחם על (Dt 20^{19}, 2 K 12^{18}, Jos 10^{34}), or הלחם ב (1 K 20^{1}, Jg 9^{45}, 2 S $12^{26.\ 27.\ 29}$, Is 20^{1}) or simply הלחם (2 S $11^{1.\ 20}$). The purpose of a hostile approach to a city may, of course, be described either as "to besiege it," or "to attack it" (להלחם עליה, Dt 20^{10} and here, with the noun instead of the infin. הלחם עליה). הלחם does not mean "to continue the fight" (Box), or "to be successful in fighting"—"to prevail," not even in Nu 22^{11} cited for this sense by BDB; success is there implied by the following verb וגרשתיו.

2–16. Isaiah's interview with Ahaz. "Immanuel."—At a time when news has reached Jerusalem of the union of the Syrian with the Ephraimite army at two or three days' distance from Jerusalem, and the court and people are in great alarm, Isaiah is commanded by Yahweh to take with him his son Shear-jashub, whose name signified "A Remnant shall return," and to meet Ahaz outside the city in the "Fuller's Field Road"; he is to exhort the king to keep calm, and to assure him

that Syria and Ephraim possess no power to do Judah serious mischief, or to carry out their plan of taking Jerusalem and overthrowing the Davidic dynasty in favour of an outsider (probably a Syrian). Lack of trust in Yahweh can alone, but would surely, lead to Judah's undoing. In a further appeal, Ahaz is offered any sign (of Yahweh's sufficiency) that he likes to choose, but he declines the offer. Thereupon Isaiah announces that Yahweh nevertheless will (hereafter) give a sign of His own choosing: the nature and purpose of this sign has been much discussed, and no general agreement has been reached (see below); but Isaiah goes on to predict (v.[16]) that within two or three years Ephraim and Syria will be a land of ruins. In vv.[17ff.], which probably do not belong to the original account of the interview, the desolation of Judah also is predicted.

In this passage much is obscure; two things are clear: Isaiah's contemptuous disbelief in the power of the allied armies of Syria and Israel, and his profound belief in Yahweh: in both respects he differs from king and people, who fear the foe and have no sustaining confidence in Yahweh.

Isaiah's attitude to Assyria is not definitely stated in vv.[1-16]; and it must be a matter of inference only whether Ahaz had already paid tribute to Assyria, or was at the time contemplating doing so. Isaiah may have judged the allied armies as he did, because he was convinced that an immediate advance of Assyria to the West would force them to turn back before they could inflict serious injury on Judah; but even if so, this was but the form which his belief in Yahweh took, for with him Yahweh directed the movements of Assyria.

The date of this interview is the early part of 734. It fell some few years later than Isaiah's call (ch. 6): see on v.[1].

2. News comes to the court in Jerusalem that the plans of Syria and Ephraim (v.[5]) for attacking Jerusalem and overthrowing the Davidic dynasty (vv.[5. 6]) are now taking practical and menacing effect. The entire might of Syria has settled for the moment in the country of its allies, the Ephraimites; the Syrian army has covered more than half the distance between Damascus and Jerusalem, and is within two or three days' march of its goal. King and people quail at the news, like trees bending before the wind (cp. Mt 11[7]).—*The house of David*] so vv.[13. 17].

The substitution of an alien for the reigning king (v.[6]) would involve loss of place and power for the entire *house* or entourage (cp. *e.g.* 2 S 9) of the king. They therefore, and not Ahaz alone, are described as recipients of the news, and active promoters of the policy directed against Syria and Ephraim (v.[13]); but it is unnecessary to conclude that on account of the youth of the king, who may have been barely twenty-one (2 K 16[2]; but see 2 Ch 28[1], Kit.), other members of the royal house took at this time a more than ordinary part in government.—*Syria hath settled down upon Ephraim*] the phrase *to settle upon* (נוח על) is used (11[2]) of the spirit taking possession of men, of the ark grounding on Mt. Ararat (Gn 8[4]), of carrion birds lighting on dead bodies (2 S 21[10]); construed with ב the verb is also used of insects, such as locusts (Ex 10[14]), settling on a tract of country (v.[19]). None of these uses quite corresponds to what the context here seems to require, the friendly and temporary halt of an army in the country of allies; the nearest parallel for the temporary halt is the absolute use of the vb. in Nu 10[36]. It is doubtful whether the verb was so associated with swarms of insects as to suggest by itself that the army of Syria was large (Di.). The unjustifiable rendering *is confederate with* (EV), or conjectural emendations to obtain such a sense, increase, if they do not create, difficulty; the hostile *alliance* in itself was no new thing needing to be announced: it already existed before Ahaz became king, 2 K 15[37].

3–9. Yahweh commands Isaiah to interview Ahaz outside the city, and to assure him that he has no cause for fear; for the plans of the allied powers will be frustrated. The carrying out of the command is not directly recorded; it is merely implied by the fact that in vv.[10ff.] the actual interview is in progress; so the fulfilment of Jer 19[1f.] is implied in 19[14] but not directly recorded.

3. *Shear-jashub*] unless with Che. (*Crit. Bib.*) we substitute for שאר ישוב of 𝔊 אשר ישוב, a name of purely sinister meaning—"Asshur shall return," the name of the son whom Isaiah is bidden to take with him, is at once a warning and a promise: a large part of the whole will perish and not return, but the remnant will return and be saved. Isaiah may at different times have explained the whole and the remnant differently; but on this occasion he would explain it as meaning that the

larger part of "the whole house of Israel," the northern kingdom, will certainly perish; but the remnant, Judah, may return to Yahweh and be saved (cp. vv.[14-16]). In any case we must assume that Isaiah takes his son, whose name was a sign (8[18]), because he knows that King Ahaz when he sees the boy will recall his name and its significance. Before this time Isaiah had probably drawn public attention to his elder son's name, as later he did to the name of the younger (8[3f.]), and an account of this may have stood originally in the memoirs. There is no suggestion that Isaiah was to carry Shear-jashub: the child therefore must have been old enough to go for a walk. The name with its prophetic significance must have been given after the call (ch. 6): therefore this incident falls at least two or three, perhaps several years, after that event.—*Go out . . . to the end of the channel of the upper pool, to the Fuller's Field Road*] we may assume that Ahaz was engaged at the time in inspecting the water supply of the city against the siege which might now be expected within a day or two. The city of Jerusalem contains no springs, but is and must always have been entirely dependent for its water supply * on cisterns filled by (1) the rain of winter, or (2) by aqueducts from springs, or reservoirs, outside the city. The only perennial supply of water in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem is the Virgin's Spring, "'Ain Sitti Maryam": this was connected, perhaps later than the time of Ahaz (cp. 2 K 20[20], 2 Ch 32[30]), by an underground passage, 586 yards long, with the pool of Siloam within the city, and so made available for the inhabitants in time of siege. An *external* conduit had previously connected these points (Benzinger, *Kön.* 187), but this was liable to be cut by an enemy. The place of the interview, in spite of the full definition, cannot be identified; perhaps it lay to the north of the city, for the Assyrian army is said to have encamped there (36[2]), and the north is the natural side from which to attack Jerusalem, as the Romans also later perceived. Others † put it to the S.E., below the city "at the mouth of the Tyropoeon valley." The Fuller's Field may indeed have lain there, "where alone water abounded"; but was the entire course of the Fuller's Field Road below the city? The

* G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 15 and ch. v.

† Sta. *Gesch.* i. 592 f. (with plan); G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 105, 114 ff., ii. 127.

verb *Go out* does not suggest descent into the valley.—**4.** Isaiah is to say to Ahaz: *See to it that you keep quiet*, free from agitation, not like trees trembling in the wind (v.[2]); *have no fear* of Syria and Ephraim, who, worn out with their previous internecine warfare, have little power of mischief left, but are like the *stumps* of *fire brands* now *smouldering* before they finally grow cold and harmless. Smoke, not fire, is all that the latest news means. Isaiah condemns two things in Ahaz: his fear, for it is needless; his faith in material resources—here typified by a secure water supply in time of siege; the only faith that will secure the real solidity of the state is faith in Yahweh (v.[9]). He demands of Ahaz, directly by his words, confidence and, by the presence of his son Shear-jashub, "return" to Yahweh. The point of view is essentially the same years later, and expressed in part by the same terms: "in returning (*shubah*) and resting shall ye find support, in keeping quiet (השקט, as here and 32^{17}, cp. 18^{4}) and confidence shall your strength lie" (30^{15}), not in cavalry or the power of Egypt (30^{16}).—*At the heat of the anger of Reṣon and Syria, and Remaliah's son*] an explanation, supplied perhaps by the editor, of the figure of the smouldering stumps in the previous clause. The combination of the terms *Reṣon*, *Syria*, *Remaliah's son* is curious. *Remaliah's son* appears to be a contemptuous mode of reference to Peḳaḥ: cp. 1 S 20^{27} and, below, "the son of Tabeel."—**5, 6.** The plan of the allies, which has alarmed Ahaz, but appears to Isaiah certain of frustration (v.[7]), is to take Jerusalem by storm and then dethrone Ahaz, overturn the house of David, and set up as king of Judah a creature of their own, called contemptuously not by his own name, but merely *the son of Tabeel.* If 𝔊 preserve the correct pronunciation, Ταβεήλ, the name (cp. Ezr 4^{7}) of the father is Aramaic and the man, presumably, an Aramaean. If this be so, then, whether Winckler be right or not in identifying the son of Tabeel with Reṣon,* we have here an indication that Syria is the dominant power in the alliance.—*Let us go up into Judah and cause her to be in dread*] or, more probably, reading נציקנה for נקיצנה, *and let us bring her into straits*, cp. 29^{7}.—*And let us break into her*] here, if not in the previous clause, the suffix refers to Jerusalem rather than to Judah as a whole; it can scarcely be "let us force a passage into her territory" (Box), for the first

* *ATUntersuchungen*, 74; *KAT*[3] 135.

clause of the v. already expresses invasion of the territory. For the vb. (בקע, Kal, Niph.) of breaking into cities, see 2 Ch 32^{1}, 2 K 25^{4}, Ezk 30^{16}, Jer 39^{2}. Even in 2 Ch 21^{17} ויבקעוה is probably a breviloquence for "and broke into the cities thereof." —*For us*] let us break in it so as to bring it *unto us* (אלינו, cp. 2 Ch 32^{1}), *i.e.* into our hands.

7–9. Over against the fears of Ahaz and the plans of Syria and Ephraim is now set the sentence of Yahweh. The evil plan (רעה, v.[5]) will not be carried out. Reṣon is head of Damascus, Damascus capital of Syria, Peḳaḥ head of Samaria, and Samaria capital of Ephraim, and they will never be anything more; not to them belongs, or ever will belong, the headship of Judah. So far as they are concerned, Judah is safe. But its ultimate safety and continuance rest on its relation to Yahweh. It is not really threatened by the evil plans of its foes; it is not rendered safe because their plans are foiled. Safety will be secured by a practical and personal belief in and understanding of Yahweh, which will lead to a quiet confidence in His sufficiency (v.[4] $30^{15f.}$), and to righteousness of life (cp. Gn 15^{6}); but *if ye believe not, ye shall not be established*: an early and correct interpretation of this great saying is found in 2 Ch 20^{20}; the positive alternative, here left to be understood, is expressed by Isaiah in 28^{16}. Note the paronomasia—*'im lo ta'amînu ki lo tē'āmēnu*, cp. 1^{23} 5^{7} etc. This passage or Gn 15^{6} is the earliest extant containing the expression *to believe*.

8b. *Sixty-five years hence Ephraim shall be broken in pieces, that it be no more a people.*—Eich. and Ges. pointed out, and later scholars have very generally recognised, that these words are an annotation by a later writer. Like the Aramaic gloss in Jer 10^{11}, they spoil a sentence by intruding into the middle of it. Moreover, the note in its present position anticipates the allusion to Ephraim (v.[9a]) which it attempts to explain. The origin and nature of the clause are sufficiently indicated by its position; but it may be observed further that it could afford Ahaz little assurance that the present peril was unreal, to know that long after he was dead Ephraim would be destroyed. The *precise* dating of a prediction, too, would be without analogy in Hebrew prophecy, round numbers occur, 16^{14} 20^{3} 21^{16}, Jer $25^{11f.}$. The writer of the note refers to some event in the history of Ephraim that occurred 65 years after 735 B.C., *i.e.* in 670–669 B.C. The Book

of Kings appears to know nothing of any kingdom of Ephraim after its conquest by Sargon in 722 B.C. (2 K 17). On the other hand, Ezr $4^{2.\ 10}$ speaks of settlements of Babylonian peoples in Samaria in the time of Esar-haddon (681–668) and Osnappar = Asshurbanipal (668–626). Since there is no obvious reason why a late annotator should invent the number 65, it is probable that the gloss is the note of a seventh century scribe, and records some deportation of the inhabitants of Ephraim by Esar-haddon or Asshurbanipal. Cp. Winckler, *ATUntersuchungen*, 97 ff.

2. נחה] Fem., in reference to the whole people of Aram: cp. 21^{2} 42^{11}, Ex 12^{33}, and see G-K., 122*h*, *i*. Houb. emended to נלהּ, Lag. to נאחה, a verbal form assumed from אח, *brother*. If emendation were necessary, חנה (cp. Sebastian Münster) would be easy, but the prep. על would give it an inappropriate hostile force. 𝔊 renders *συνεφώνησεν* (=חברו, Gn 14^{3}; אוח (Niph.), 2 K 12^{8}), 𝔗 אתחבר, 𝔖 ܐܬܚܒܪ.—**4.** ונרזּ] Kal impf. in *a*, G-K. 67*p*.—בחרי אף ורצין וגו׳] loosely attached to the foregoing. For this clause and the whole of the next v. 𝔊 has *ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου γένηται, πάλιν ἰάσομαι· καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀρὰμ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ῥομελίου ὅτι ἐβουλεύσαντο βουλὴν πονηράν.* This is obviously not the original sense; nor is an original text to be obtained by mere retranslation. But possibly the difference between 𝔐 and 𝔊 is in part due to a short original text having been expanded by glosses which did not find quite the same place in 𝔐 and the original of 𝔊. Perhaps the original of vv.^{4b} (from בחרי) and ^{5} consisted simply of יען־כי יעץ עליך רעה; all beyond this adds words, but nothing to the sense.—**5.** יען כי] rather characteristic of Isaiah: 3^{16} n.—**6.** נעלה ביהודה] עלה ב implies actual entrance *into* the city or district concerned, not mere approach to it: see 2 S 2^{1}, Jg 1^{3}, 1 Ch 14^{11}, 2 Ch 21^{17}, and even in Jer 48^{18}, where the object is the personified people (cp. Jos 9^{7}).—ונקיצנה] Hiph. (here only) of קוץ in the sense found in v.^{16}, Ex 1^{12}, Nu 22^{3}. Read rather (with Ges. *Thes.* al.) וְנָצִיקֶנָּה—a better transition to ונבקיענה. 𝔊 *συνλαλήσαντες αὐτοῖς*, doubtful.—טבאל] if Aramaic, cp. טברמון, Ταβερεμά (1 K 15^{18}), the name of Ben-hadad's father. If the name was Hebrew, it was pronounced טֹבְאַל, and would then have been transliterated by 𝔊 Τωβιήλ: cp. טוביה, Τωβίας. MT (טָבְאַל) in the first syllable preserves the tradition that the name is Aramaic; in the second the pathaḥ is hardly pausal for ṣere, but rather a punctuator's witticism, who would have the name mean "No-good."—**7.** אדני יהוה] 𝔊 Κύριος *σαβαώθ*.—**9.** כי] *surely*, as in כי עתה, etc.: BDB 472*b*; G-K. 159*ll*. But כי may be an error for בי; on this and on 𝔊 (𝔏𝔖) *συνῆτε intellegatis* = תְּבִנוּ for תנו(א)מנו; see Nestle in *ZATW*, 1905, pp. 215 ff.—**8.** יחת] for the less usual sense of חתת, *to be shattered*, cp. the use of the Hiph. in 9^{3}, of חתים (pl.) in 1 S 2^{4}, and of מחתה (? Piel) in Jer 51^{56}. The use of the Kal in 30^{31}, often cited as parallel, is ambiguous. For the more usual sense *to be dismayed*, cp. 8^{9} n.

10–13. Isaiah offers, and Ahaz provokes his indignation by refusing, a sign.—10 f. Isaiah offers then and there

to Ahaz any sign he may like to demand, in Heaven above or Sheol below, in proof that Yahweh determines what shall come to pass, and that it is His present will that Jerusalem shall suffer nothing from the advancing armies of Ephraim and Syria, but that these armies will within a short time retire and leave Judah unmolested.

Obviously we have no full account of the interview. We must, therefore, *infer* what definite statements by Isaiah preceded this offer of a sign, and what that sign was to prove.

And Yahweh again spake] Yahweh spoke through His prophet, Isaiah: cp. 3^{16}. In the original form of the narrative, if autobiographical, the clause must have run, "I spake again."— **11.** *A sign*] a sign (אות) is an event which is the pledge for the fulfilment of a prophecy, the genuineness of a promise, the reality of an experience, and the like. It may be given as a token that something really *will happen* in the future, or as a reminder that something predicted previously *has now actually happened.* The sign may be a quite ordinary event, especially if it is itself a matter of prophecy (as in v.[14]), or it may be of an extraordinary, miraculous nature, in which case it is also a "wonder" (מופת). An example of the first kind is afforded by 1 S 2^{27-36}, where the removal of the priesthood from the house of Eli is predicted; and the sign that this prediction will come true is that, in the nearer future, Eli's two sons will die on a single day—a striking, but by no means a miraculous, occurrence. Again the sign, or reminder (Ex 3^{12}), that it really was Yahweh that spoke to and commissioned Moses, will be the fact that in *Sinai* the Hebrews will worship God, *i.e.* the later event confirms the reality of a previous experience. Jeremiah confirms his prediction of the annihilation of the Jews in Egypt by the prediction that (in the nearer future) the king of Egypt will fall into the hand of his enemies (Jer $44^{29f.}$). For signs which are also wonders, see $38^{7.\ 22}$, Jg 6^{17}. Here Isaiah first *offers* Ahaz a *miraculous* sign to take place *at the present moment* in proof that things will happen as he has said. But (v.[12]) Ahaz declines the offer, asserting that he is unwilling to tempt Yahweh by making Him prove His power (cp. Ex 17^{7}). Isaiah is not deceived by this show of piety, but interprets the king's refusal of a sign as an indication of his unwillingness to accept the guidance of Yahweh, and his determination to pursue his own policy. With the king and

(v.[13]) court in this mood a miraculous sign at the present moment becomes useless; on the other hand, Yahweh insists that whether Ahaz and his court will it or not, a *sign* they shall have, not now but *after the event*, which will recall the correctness of the prophet's prediction, and refer the relief from the siege not to the human efforts of Ahaz, but to the will of Yahweh. This sign will be not of Ahaz', but of Yahweh's choosing, and, its purpose being different, it will *not* need to be *miraculous* like that offered to and rejected by Ahaz.—*Ask a sign from Yahweh . . . deep down in Sheol or high up above*] Yahweh's power extends to Sheol below, as well as to the heights above, Am 9[2]; alike in Sheol and in heaven, He can work wonders. Isaiah's willingness that Ahaz shall choose the sign, indicates that he had already proved by experience his power to work wonders, unless we should detect here the result of an enthusiastic disciple's exaggerated conception of the prophet's powers (cp. Che. *EBi.* 3859). There is, of course, no question of necromancy: the sign is to be a sign from Yahweh. But to avoid misunderstanding, 𝔗 paraphrased—Ask of thee a sign from the Lord: ask that a miracle may be done on earth, or that a sign may appear in heaven. But to interpret 𝔊 *Ask it either in the depth* (MT, EV), instead of *deep down in Sheol*, though idiomatically possible, is certainly wrong: it involves a weak repetition of *ask* and a mutilation of the parallelism in the last clauses of the v.—*Yahweh thy God*] Isaiah addresses Ahaz, and Ahaz replies (v.[12]), as a servant of Yahweh: after Ahaz' answer, interpreted by Isaiah as contumacious, Isaiah significantly varies the phrase and says "my God" (v.[13]).—**12.** See n. on *sign*, v.[11].—**13.** *And he said*] *sc.* Isaiah; originally perhaps *and I said*: see v.[10] n.—Let Ahaz and his courtiers know that it is not only *men*, prophets like and including himself, whose patience they exhaust: they *weary* (cp. 1[14]) out Yahweh Himself by their persistent disregard of what He really requires.

14–16. Immanuel.—Christian interpreters, dominated by the use in Mt 1[23] of v.[14], for many centuries saw in these verses an assertion that our Lord was "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." Jewish interpreters have throughout insisted that what Isaiah here predicts is a birth due to ordinary human intercourse, and about to take place in the normal manner. Modern interpreters, whether Jews or Christians, are much divided, and in particular on these points: (1) Who is the mother

and who the son referred to in v.[14]? (2) What is the sign given by Yahweh Himself, and what does it signify? Is it miraculous? Wherein precisely does it consist? Does it signify (*a*) that Judah will be delivered, or (*b*) that it will be destroyed, or (*c*) that it will be first delivered and then destroyed? The ambiguities and awkwardnesses of the passage are so numerous as to give little hope of reaching an interpretation that will command general assent; and under these circumstances even the dogmatic or traditional Christian interpretation will doubtless continue to find defenders, while others may infer that the text has been deeply corrupted and must be reconstructed by bold and extensive conjectures: see Che., most recently in the *Two Religions*, 309 ff. It will be convenient to summarise here before passing on to the discussion of details, pp. 123–133, and the history of the interpretation, pp. 133–136, what appears on the whole to be the most probable interpretation of two disputed particulars, and the general meaning of the verses on the supposition that 𝔐 is not hopelessly corrupt: (1) the predicted birth will be in no way abnormal; but a child (or children) conceived and born in the ordinary course of nature will be named Immanuel, God with us; (2) v.[15] predicts plenty and not starvation. The general meaning of the whole is this: Judah will not suffer harm from Ephraim and Syria (cp. v.[4]); on the other hand (v.[16]), Ephraim and Syria will within two or three years be in ruins. If this interpretation is correct, Isaiah concludes his interview with Ahaz by reiterating what he was sent to tell him (v.[4]). Such a conclusion would be altogether natural, and the interpretation just suggested might be regarded as certain, but for v.[13], in which Isaiah expresses his indignation at the unbelief of Ahaz and the court. Some interpreters out of regard to v.[13] interpret vv.[14-16] as wholly or in part a threat: v.[14] can be ingeniously interpreted in this sense; v.[15] is commonly, but mistakenly, construed as a threat by modern scholars: v.[16] can be turned into a threat only by omitting the last part of it, or by an illegitimate view of the construction.

14. Ahaz refused (v.[12]) to accept Yahweh's offer (v.[11]) that he might choose any sign he liked to be wrought at once; *therefore* Yahweh *Himself* chooses the sign, and will see that it takes place not at once, indeed, but in the near future. It has been repeatedly argued by Christian scholars from Justin Martyr downwards that the sign which Yahweh is Himself to choose and give

must be a miracle: "Signum autem a Deo, nisi novitas aliqua monstruosa fuisset, signum non videretur" (Tert. *Adv. Jud.* 9); but the argument rests on a misconception of what the term אות, *sign*, necessarily implies, and of the purpose of the particular sign here contemplated; Yahweh had been willing to do a miracle to convince Ahaz, but a very ordinary event may serve to remind him, when the time comes, that what His prophet predicted has come true. The miracle here, so far as there is a miracle, may lie solely in the prediction. Neither the term אות, *sign* (see v.[11] n.), nor the circumstances compel us to seek a miracle in the event predicted. This being so, we shall be safest in understanding the statement of vv.[14-16] as follows: within a few months at most, and perhaps immediately, a child (or children) now in the womb will be receiving the name *Immanuel, God is with us*: for the present popular tension will be relieved; and mothers will express the general feeling of relief at the favourable turn in public events (ct. 1 S 4[21]) when they name their children. Such children with their names will be a reminder that the terror of the king and the people (v.[2]) was groundless, and the confidence of the prophet justified. Moreover, the withdrawal of Syria and Ephraim will not be merely temporary; the child(ren) to be born will neither starve as they grow up in a beleaguered city, nor in a devastated country side: they will feed on *curds and honey* (v.[15])—the highly prized products of the land of promise. For within two or three years, Ephraim and Syria will have perished, their land will be a land of ruins (v.[16]). The sign lies not, as the traditional Christian and some recent theories assume, in the circumstances of the birth, but in the chain of events now predicted, and their association with the birth and naming of a child, and in the time and order of their occurrence being determined by reference to the child's growth, as in 8[3f.] This interpretation is by no means beyond criticism or without difficulty; but it is at least less improbable than others that have been offered.—*Therefore*] לכן often introduces a threat, as in 1[24] 5[13. 24]; but it does not always do so (cp. Jer 16[14]), and it is therefore precarious to argue, as Di. does, that the sign so introduced *must* be a threat of punishment. Again, it would not have been surprising to find that Isaiah, driven by the king's contumacy, substituted a threat (cp. 1[19f.]) for the promise which he came to bring: still the v. does not as a matter of fact

refer to any such change; the v. does draw attention to a change; but, as the emphasis shows, it is a change of the person who chooses the sign, and indeed of the sign, but not of the future to which that sign is to refer: *the Lord* (v.l. *Yahweh*) *himself will* now choose and *give a sign*. V.[16] clearly contemplates the same view of the future as vv.[4-9], and these contemplate nothing that would justify fear in Judah. Certainly the presence of God of which the sign speaks might mean a great deal more than relief from the threatened invasion if Ahaz and his court continued contumacious, but it is not clear that it was Isaiah's purpose at this interview to dwell on this side of the matter.—*Behold, a damsel is with child, and shall bring forth a son, and call his name Immanuel*] the Hebrew article is ambiguous (see phil. n.): העלמה may mean either *the damsel*, or *a damsel*, or even *damsels*. That it has here one of the two latter meanings is the view advocated above; among earlier advocates of this view are J. D. Mich., Eich., Kuen., Du., W. R. Smith, Budde, Sta., Marti. It falls to the ground if, as is possible, though not necessary, in 𝔊, and impossible in 𝔊, Immanuel is addressed in the vocative in 8[8]. If a particular definite individual is intended, it is curious that she is not more precisely specified. *The damsel* would be a strange mode of reference either to the wife (or a concubine) of the king,* to the prophet's own wife,† or to some pregnant woman present at the interview and singled out by the prophet for his purpose; ‡ but for this much might be said for identifying *the damsel* with Isaiah's wife, who is, however, called "the prophetess" in 8[3]: knowing that she was near child-birth, Isaiah would be thinking of a sign that he could be certain of bringing about, except so far as the sex of the child is concerned, and that is immaterial to the sign. The sign, moreover, would be of the same kind as the signs that he (8[3f.]: cp. 8[18] 7[3]) and other prophets (Hos 1) employed. The mode of reference would be better satisfied by a theory of Rosenmüller's which has been recently revived in a modified form by Gressmann and others. Gressmann § *postulates* the existence

* Early Jewish Exegesis (see Jer.), Ḳi., and, recently, C. M. Brown in *JBLit.*, 1890, 118–127; Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, iii. 184.

† Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Grotius, Ges., Hitz. ‡ Isenbiehl.

§ *Eschatologie*, pp. 276 f., cp. 270 ff., 284; cp. Burney (independently) in *JThS* x. 580–584; Jeremias, *ATAO* 556 f.; Box.

in Judah before and at the time of Isaiah of a well-known prophecy that a wonderful child was to be born and was to be called Immanuel, was to eat milk and honey in his infancy, and before he was five years old deliver his people. All that Isaiah does, according to this theory, is to assert that this (hypothetically) well-known prophecy is on the point of fulfilment, *the damsel* familiar to every one in the current prophecy is about to bear her child, the divine mother is to give birth to a divine child. Difficulties arise, as Gressmann admits, if we begin to press the words of the text: *e.g.* the words taken strictly mean that the delivery of Judah is to be delayed for the child to accomplish, *i.e.* five years. Gressmann accounts for these difficulties, which he does not eliminate, by the assumption that in reproducing traditional material Isaiah retains irrelevances. This theory and all theories that detect the influence of mythology here start from an alleged but unreal necessity for satisfying two conditions of which the text says nothing: it is assumed that there must be something miraculous here, though the text speaks merely of a *sign*, and that the child must be a deliverer, whereas the text neither says nor implies anything of the kind; and, indeed, the passive tense in v.[16] is altogether unfavourable to the assumption that Judah will be delivered by Immanuel. There is just as little suggestion here that Immanuel will deliver Judah as there is in Hos 1 that Hosea's son Jezreel would exact vengeance on the house of Jehu.—*Damsel*] Ⓖ παρθένος, EV *virgin*; but this rendering is unquestionably, and is now generally admitted to be, unjustifiable. The word עלמה is fem. of עלם, *youth*, which is used in 1 S 17^{56} 20^{22} and corresponds to غلام, a derivative not from the root עלם, *to conceal*, which seems to be unknown in Arabic, but from עלם, غلم, *to be lustful*; עלמה means a girl, or young woman, above the age of childhood and sexual immaturity (in this being more specific than the synonymous נערה), a person of the age at which sexual emotion awakens and becomes potent; it asserts neither virginity nor the lack of it; it is naturally in actual usage often applied to women who were as a matter of fact certainly (Gn 24^{43}, Ex 2^{8}), or probably (Ca 1^{3} 6^{8}, Ps 68^{26}), virgins. On the other hand, it is also used in Pr 30^{19} where the marvels of procreation and embryology (cp. Ps $139^{13\text{-}16}$, Ec 11^{5}) seem to be alluded to, and

the corresponding term (or terms) is used in Aramaic of persons certainly not virgin, as, *e.g.*, in 𝔗 Jg 19^5 of a concubine who had proved unfaithful; in Palmyrene it is used of harlots, and in a bi-lingual inscription עלומתא apparently corresponds to [ἑ]ταιρῶ[ν]: see Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 330, 335, 340. The Hebrew word for *virgin* is בתולה (Ex 22^{15}, Lv 21^{14}), and corresponding to the difference between בתולה and עלמה are the different abstract nouns עלומים, *youth* and *youthful vigour*, naturally including sexual maturity (Job 20^{11} 33^{25}, Ps 89^{46}, Is 54^4), and בתולים, *virginity* (Jg 11^{37}, Dt 22^{15}). Where stress needed to be laid on a woman's virginity even more unambiguous phraseology was employed; see Nu 31^{35}. All this serves to show how the prophet would have expressed himself if he had had to announce the miracle of birth without loss of virginity. Why the term עלמה in preference, say, to אשה or נערה was chosen, no theory yet propounded explains, but least of all the theories that require the passage to express the fact that the woman conceives and bears without ceasing to be a virgin.—*Is with child, and shall bear*] this rendering is justified by Gn 16^{11} where the same phraseology is used of a woman who has already conceived (cp. vv.$^{4ff.}$) and is near giving birth. If this is intended here, the promise is that within a few weeks, or days even, God's act of deliverance will be in every one's mouth. The alternative rendering, *shall be with child and bring forth,* would postpone the deliverance for the best part of a year, whereas the narrative seems to suggest that Isaiah expected it at once.—*And shall call his name*] MT rightly punctuates וְקָרְאָת—an unusual form of the 3rd pers. fem.: the child is to receive his name in the ordinary way, viz. from his mother: see Hastings, *DB* iii. 480^b; prophets who wished to use their children's names as signs naturally availed themselves of the less usual naming by the father; see 8^3, Hos 1. 𝔊 can indeed, and would most obviously, be pointed וְקָרָאתְ, *thou shalt call*; so $\mathfrak{G}^{AB}$, Aq., Symm., Theod., cp. 𝔏 *vocabitis*; 𝔗 is ambiguous, but 𝔖𝔙 render by the passive; cp. the 3rd pl. of $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ and of Mt 1^{18}. *Thou shalt call* would, of course, imply that the child was to be a son of Ahaz.—*Immanuel*] this name, *God is with us*, no more implies that the child will be God, as Christian exegetical tradition kept affirming, or that he will in any other way be remarkable, than do other names,

which predicate something of God or Yahweh, assert anything in reference to those who bore them. The name in 9^5 is different in character. The name Immanuèl asserts that God will be present with the Jews, that they will experience success, deliverance, freedom from danger and anxiety; the meaning and result of God's presence can be gathered from such sayings as "I fear no evil, because thou art with me," Ps 23^4; "I will be with thee, and bless thee," Gn 26^3; "Yahweh of Hosts is with us"—the refrain in the confident lines of Ps 46; cp. also Jg $6^{12f.\ 16}$ and Am 5^{14}, where the synonymous prep. (את) is used, "Seek ye good . . . that ye may live, and that Yahweh God of Hosts may be with you, as ye say." Porter in *JBLit.*, 1895, pp. 19–35, has argued that such a prediction of the beneficent presence of God with Judah, is inconsistent with the standpoint of the pre-exilic prophets, including Isaiah. He suggests, therefore, that "the name Immanuel expresses not the prophet's faith, but the false faith, the ungrounded confidence, of the king and the people. It is a name which a Jewish woman, soon to give birth, might naturally give to her son, but which the experiences of such a son, even in his earliest infancy, would contradict. The sign consists, then, not in the name, nor in the lot, of the boy, but in the relation of the two, in the contradiction of the name by the lot." But this is really difficult and unsatisfactory; it is also inconsistent with the rest of the narrative, according to which Isaiah did expect immediate relief for Judah, and so far at least such a beneficent presence of God as to justify the name. If Porter's objection to the common interpretation of the name holds good, the genuineness of the whole passage would have to be questioned, or with Che. (*The Two Religions*, p. 316) we should have to suppose that a name implying a threat has been altered so as to convey a consolatory sense by an editor who modified this ancient prophecy in the interests of a Messianic interpretation.—**15, 16.** After the name, the reason might be expected, as, *e.g.*, in Gn 16^{11} "Thou shalt call his name Ishmael (God hears), because God hath heard"; but these verses at best *imply* a reason. V.[16], indeed, opens with כי, *because*, but it refers to what is to happen some years after the birth of the child, not to anything which happening at the birth might account for the name; for the explanation of the name we must turn back to what precedes v.[14] and *infer* that the presence of God with Judah

at the time when the child is born will be manifested in the withdrawal just at that time of the Syro-Ephraimitish army. A considerable degree of awkwardness in the composition at this point is not to be overlooked; it may, like other features in the narrative, be due to abbreviation and alteration of the original memoirs. This awkwardness is not eliminated, nor even diminished, by omitting either v.[15],* or v.[16].† On the other hand, the omission of both verses would allow the narrative to conclude appropriately and clearly; yet it would be difficult to give any reason for the subsequent addition of the two verses.—*Curds and honey shall he eat*] "Victus ei affluet" is Grotius' terse and pertinent comment: he rightly sees in these words a promise; ‡ for milk and honey were highly esteemed.§ Nevertheless, since J. D. Mich. most modern interpreters, including Koppe, Ges., Ew., Del., Di., Che., Du., Marti, Skinner, Peake treat the v. as a threat; see below. *Curds* (חמאה) are milk (חלב) that has thickened: in several passages of the OT, including the present, it seems to answer to *leben*, or sour milk, which is used, not by any means alone by nomads, in Syria to-day: it is a valued and refreshing article of diet: see, *e.g.*, *EBi.* 3089. This form of milk was offered by Abraham to the three men who came to him in the heat of the day (Gn 18[8]), by Jael to the weary Sisera (Jg 5[25]), to David and his thirsty company (2 S 17[27-29]). The value set on it is also attested by the part it plays in descriptions of abundance, and that not only in the OT (Job 20[17] 29[6]); an Assyrian prayer has been cited (*EBi.* 2104), which in invoking a blessing on a king begs that God may cause to flow into his channels "honey and curds" (*dispa ḫimeta*). Honey and curds, moreover, play an important part in Babylonian cultus; see *KAT*[3] 526. Since חמאה is a valued form of milk, it is extremely difficult to believe that, though "milk and honey shall he eat" would have been a promise, "curds and honey shall he eat" was a threat: we may rather with safety cite as further illustrations of the promise here made, the fact that "milk and honey" are the two things singled out to indicate the abundance

* Hitz., Du., Che., Marti, Peake.

† Budde, cited and supported by Kuen. *Onderzoek*, ii. 43 f.

‡ Cp. Rashi, Lowth, and recently F. Wilke, *Jesaja u. Assur*, 1905, pp. 37–39.

§ See at length Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, iv. 12.

of the land of promise; the land in which the Hebrews were to exchange their nomadic for a settled life was in the oft-recurring phrase "a land flowing with milk and honey"; in a longer description of the land of promise both forms of milk are mentioned—"curds of kine and new milk of sheep," Dt $32^{13ff.}$, cp. Gn 18^{8}: and much later Ben Sirach defines the staple of food as consisting of "flour of wheat, and honey, and milk, the blood of the grape, and oil" (Sir 39^{26}). It should be clear then what "curds and honey" meant to Hebrews of the time of Isaiah, whether we feel free or not to accept an attractive theory that has recently been advanced, according to which the phrase "curds (milk) and honey," describing in the first instance the food of the gods, had its origin in mythology and, in particular perhaps in Iranian mythology, which knew of heavenly honey and holy cows; whence the phrase descended through Babylonia to the Hebrews and by another line to the Greeks, who described the food of the infant Zeus on Crete as curds and honey.* A phrase with such associations cannot either here or in v.[22] imply hardship; and to make v.[15] mean he shall eat (nothing but) honey and curds, because these will be the only products of a land devastated by war, is much as if we were to say in English—it will be all butter and honey then, so reduced will they have become! or as if we were to justify calling a painful career "a path of roses," by remarking that roses have thorns! And not only do the associations of the phrase suggest the very reverse of a threat: so too does the context; v.[14] says God will be with Judah at the time of the child's birth, and v.[16] that before the child is two or three years old, Ephraim and Syria, which now threaten Judah, will be destroyed. V.[16] gives the ground for v.[15], and a promise cannot be the reason for a threat. Nor again is the v. a veiled promise and the meaning that Immanuel shall be brought up on the fare of nomads and Judah in his childhood return to nomadic life for its moral warfare (cp. Hos 2): † for "eating curds and honey" cannot have meant living the nomadic life to a people who called the land in which they had abandoned the nomadic life "a land of milk and honey," and centuries after they had outlived the nomadic stage of their history held

* See H. Usener in *Rhein. Museum für Phil.*, 1902, pp. 177–195; Eichhorn as cited in Gressmann, p. 291.

† Budde.

"curds (milk) and honey" in the esteem indicated by the passages mentioned above, especially Sir 39^{26}, Dt $32^{13f.}$.—*At the time that he knows*] at about three years of age: see next n. The alternative rendering, *that he may know*, is grammatically legitimate, but this translation stands or falls with the interpretation rejected at the end of the last n.—*To reject the bad and choose the good*] this most probably refers to the power to distinguish between good and bad, palatable or unpalatable, food; a child without this power (Dt 1^{39}) is a child as yet unweaned, or but lately weaned, *i.e.* of two or three years of age (cp. 2 Mac 7^{27}).

The point is illustrated by a modern Syrian popular tale: "It is said of Moses that when he was three years of age, Pharaoh set him on his lap; and Moses stretched out his hand to Pharaoh's beard, and pulled some hairs from it. And Pharaoh was angry, and said: This is my enemy: he must be killed. And Âsiah, Pharaoh's wife, said to him: It is the nature of small children: they have no knowledge; and I will show thee a thing that will prove it to thee. And she went and brought two vessels, in one a stone, in the other fruit, and put them before Moses, that Pharaoh might know the nature of small children. And Moses chose the vessel in which was the stone, and Pharaoh ceased from his wrath against Moses, when he saw that he knew not to distinguish between them" (*PEF Qu St.*, 1909, p. 37).

Some* interpret the phrase "knowledge to reject the evil and choose the good" of moral perception, and place the age here implied much later than the 3rd year (*e.g.* 10 or 20; Di.). But the analogy of 8^4 and the proof thereby afforded that Isaiah a little later certainly expected the desolation of Ephraim and Syria within a year or two, favour an interpretation of the phrase that implies a brief period in the life of the child.—**16.** Within two or three years (see last note) from the present time and the immediately expected birth of Immanuel, Ephraim and Syria will be depopulated. With this final stage in the future of Ephraim and Syria, the word of Yahweh (v.^{3}), with which Isaiah was sent to Ahaz, reaches its natural conclusion. It is improbable that vv.$^{17ff.}$ predicting the desolation of Judah formed any part of Isaiah's speech on this occasion. The v. does not, as the introductory *for* might suggest, give the reason for the name *Immanuel*; the name will be given in consequence of the withdrawal of Ephraim and Syria from Judah; but this v. looks forward to a later stage of events: the Assyrians will first by their advance recall the Syrians and Ephraimites to their own

* Ew., Di.

territory, and then after defeating them devastate their country. Isaiah expected the subjection of Ephraim and Syria to take some little time: and his forecast was substantially justified by events. We may place the interview with Ahaz early in 734. Damascus was reduced in 732. The captivity of Galilee (2 K 15^{29}) may be placed in 734.—*The child*] The term (נער) is used of any age from infancy (Ex 2^{6}, 1 S 1^{22}) up to early manhood (Gn 34^{19}, Jer $1^{6.\ 7}$).—*The land of Ephraim and Syria, o whose two kings*, Reṣon and Peḳaḥ *thou art in dread* (קץ, see BDB), *shall be left by* (תעזב), and so be empty of, its inhabitants; cp. Jer. 4^{29}, Zeph. 2^{4}, and עזובה in 6^{12} 17^{9}. The singular האדמה, *land*, for the two countries of Syria and Ephraim is curious; if Isaiah's sign was a threat, and if v.[17] was the direct continuation of v.[16], it would be reasonable to suspect that the last clause of the v. is intrusive and that the original text ran: *For before the child knows*, etc., *the land* (viz. of Judah) *shall be abandoned*; [17] *Yahweh shall bring upon thee* (viz. Ahaz) *and upon thy people*, etc. Cond. has revived the attempt to gain the same sense by following 𝔊 but retaining the last clause: *the land* (viz. of Judah) *for which thou art in dread because of two kings*: but see phil. n.

11. העמק שאלה] the construction implied by MT שְׁאָלָה is, of course, in itself possible and thoroughly idiomatic—*go deep, ask*, i.e. *ask in the depth*, the first verb having an adverbial force (G–K. 114*n*): cp. Ps 51^{4}. For the emphatic form of the imperative thus presupposed, cp. סְלָחָה, שְׁקָעָה, and cp. G–K. 48*i*. The construction was so understood by 𝔖 (and ? 𝔗), but wrongly. 𝔙 *in profundum inferni*, Aq., Symm., Theod. (*εἰς ἅδην*), and *perhaps* 𝔊 with its brief rendering of the two clauses *εἰς βάθος ἢ εἰς ὕψος*, correctly read שְׁאֹלָה, *to Sheol*. It is unlikely that MT meant "to Sheol" and yet pointed שְׁאָלָה, to gain an assonance with לִמְעֹלָה (Kön. i. p. 262).—**14.** ארני] some 40 MSS read יהוה.—הוא] G–K. 135*a*, *c*.—הנה העלמה הרה וילדת בן וקראת] "the part. is used, lastly, of future time, which it represents as already beginning: hence, if the event designated can only in fact occur after an interval, it asserts forcibly and suggestively the certainty of its approach." "The part., after הנה does not necessarily refer to the future . . . it may describe an occurrence in the present, Jg 9^{36}, 1 S 14^{33}" (Driver, § 135 (3) and Obs. 1). In Gn 16^{11} the first part. after the הנה refers to the present, the second to the fut.: and so probably here. Similar combinations of the vbs. הרה, ילד, קרא occur in Jg $13^{5.\ 7}$.—העלמה] this may, of course, according to the commonest use of the art. in Hebrew as in other languages, mean "the (well-known) young woman"—some one so known already to Isaiah and his audience that it was unnecessary to define her further. But the art. may also "indicate a particular *unknown* person or thing which under the given circumstances is to be thought of as being concerned" (G–K. 126*q*; Dav.

Syntax, 21 (e): see, *e.g.*, Am 3^{12} 5^{19}, 1 K 20^{36}). In Am 3^{12} the circumstances are such as may affect many members of the class defined, and הרעה becomes equivalent to *shepherds*. So here the future circumstances may similarly affect more than one young woman: העלמה may therefore mean "*a* young woman" as yet unknown, but whom future circumstances may define, or since the circumstances may similarly affect an indefinite number, "young women." Which of these *grammatical* possibilities was intended must be determined (if possible) by the entire context.—קראת if 3rd sing. fem. pf., as in MT קָרְאַת, it stands for קָרְאָת, a form retaining like אֻוְלַת the orig. ת of the fem. Cp. the forms נפלאת, Ps 118^{23}; הבאת, Gn 33^{11}; G–K. 74*g*. The form can be pointed קָרְאַתְ; but had the writer intended to change the subject and to make the point that Ahaz himself would give the name that was to convict him of ungrounded lack of faith, he would almost certainly have expressed the subject ואתה תקרא.—**15.** [לדעתו *at the time that he knows*—ל of the *point* (rather than the *period*) of time, as in Gn 3^{8} לרוח היום, 8^{11} לעת ערב, 2 S 11^{1}, Ps 30^{6}, and, with an infin. as here, בקר, לפנות ערב, Gn 24^{63}, Ps 46^{6}. The use of ל, meaning *up to*, *till* (for which עד is normally used), is rarer; but see Ex 34^{25}, Am 4^{7} (not infinitives); ל, with the infin. meaning *in order that*, is, of course, common (G–K. 114*f*, *g*; BDB 517*a*). 𝔊 renders *πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι* influenced by v.[16] rather than by a variant לפני דעתו.—[מאום] inf. abs., direct obj. of דעתו: G–K. 113*d*.—האדמה אשר אתה קץ מפני שני מלכיה] Cond., after Ephraem Syrus ܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܬܒ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܬܪܝ ܡܠܟܝܗ ܕܐܢܬ ܩܛܝܢ, renders *la terre pour laquelle tu redoutes les deux rois*; but this would require in 𝔙 no less than in Syriac the addition of עליה. Moreover, the indef. מלכים which Cond. substitutes for מלכיה would be unsuitable, and המלכים which his translation (*les. . . . rois*) really implies is less like 𝔙.

History of the interpretation of vv.[12-14 (16)].—The earliest interpretation is to be found in Mic 5^{2}, if, as is commonly assumed, the words עד עת יולדה ילדה refer to Is 7^{14} (but see *Exp.*, April 1911, p. 209 f.). The writer, whatever his date, then identifies the child to be born with the coming deliverer of Israel, synchronises with his birth the restoration of Israel to Yahweh's favour, and probably (see v.[1]) regards the coming deliverer as a scion of the House of David, though some infer from the last words of v.[1] that the child will be of divine lineage. The term יולדה used in Micah is far more colourless than עלמה, and does not even remotely suggest that the mother must necessarily be young or unmarried, still less that she must be virgin. Indeed, the use of this colourless word is to be explained by G–K. 144*e*, so that the sentence means until his mother, whoever she may be, shall have borne him, *i.e.* until he is born.

Apart from Mic 5^{2}, the earliest interpretation of Is 7^{14-16} is 𝔊. Here we note the following as the main points: (1) הרה is rendered *ἐν γαστρὶ λήμψεται*, *i.e.* the conception as well as the birth of the child is still future; (2) if *καλέσεις* (BA, cp. Mt 1^{23d}) be the true text of 𝔊 and not *καλέσει* (א), or *καλέσετε* (Q*), or *καλέσουσιν* (Γ, Mt 1^{23}), the child is to receive its name from Ahaz, and is therefore presumably to be the child of Ahaz; the variants in 𝔊 may be due to a change of interpretation of this point; (3) here as in Gn 24^{43}, 𝔊 renders העלמה by *ἡ παρθένος*; this should imply at least that 𝔊 understood and wished to make clear that *at the time the sign was given* the

future mother was a virgin and that Immanuel would be her first-born. But it is very far from certain that the translators held that the mother would still be virgin when the child was born. On the other hand, their rendering would be entirely explained and in harmony with the reading καλέσεις and the future rendering of הרה, if 𝔊, anticipating the later Jewish interpretation, saw in the child to be born Hezekiah the first-born of Ahaz, and conceived the interview as taking place in immediate prospect of the marriage of Ahaz.

It is then very doubtful whether, and, if καλέσεις be the true text in Is 7^{14} 𝔊, exceedingly improbable that, 𝔊 gave to Is 7^{12-14} any Messianic significance. It is certainly worthy of note that in 8^{8} 𝔊 does not, like many modern interpreters, who thereby support the Messianic interpretation of 7^{14}, treat עמנו אל as a proper name in the vocative, but (like כי עמנו אל in 8^{10}) as a sentence. For a fuller discussion of the place of 𝔊 in the history of the interpretation of Is 7^{14-16}, see *Exp.*, April 1911, pp. 300 ff.

The first clear and unmistakable Messianic interpretation of the passage is to be found in Mt 1^{18-23}. It is an interesting question whether the quotation goes back to the Aramaic original of the Gospel, or first appears in the existing Greek version; unlike παρθένος, עלמה would not suggest to the Aramaic writer virginity; and if the quotation goes back to the Aramaic, it was introduced without any intention of specifically matching the virginity of Mary with the prediction: the primary point was the identification of Jesus and Immanuel (cp. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iii. 12). But once the Gospel was current in Greek form, Christian interpreters of Is 7^{14} were compelled to recognise in it the prediction not only of the incarnation and redeeming work of Jesus, but also of the virginity of His mother.

Henceforward down to the 16th century, and in the main for yet another two centuries, Jewish and Christian exegesis remained totally opposed; Christians affirmed and Jews denied that Isaiah spoke of the birth of the Messiah from a virgin mother; Jews affirmed and Christians denied that Isaiah spoke of a birth which was to take place in his own age of the son of a human father and a woman not virgin. The influence of this opposition is seen in the substitution of the more correct νεᾶνις for the παρθένος of 𝔊 in the versions of Aq., Symm., Theod. (2nd cent. A.D.), for which these translators were very naturally, though most unjustifiably, upbraided by Christian scholars; and, on the other hand, of the translation of עלמה by ܥܠܡܬܐ in the (probably) Christian version 𝔖; 𝔏, of course, and 𝔙 render *virgo*.

In greater detail we can watch the conflict of interpretation in the writings of many of the Fathers, and first in Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 43, 48, 66, 67–71, 77 f., 84). In Justin's dialogue, Trypho the Jew maintains that עלמה means νεᾶνις and not παρθένος, and that the child to be born ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου was Hezekiah, the first-born (cp. c. 84) son of Ahaz. Justin uses but a single argument against this, viz. that the birth of a first-born after ordinary human intercourse would be no sign; 7^{10-16} 8^{4} 7^{17} thus combined (though 8^{4} refers to Isaiah's son!) explains to believers what is, and what Is. elsewhere (53^{8}) implies to be, inexplicable to men in general, viz. that the birth of Jesus the Messiah will take place without loss of virginity by His mother: Justin does not reject Trypho's statement that such an interpretation makes the prophecy as silly as the Greek fable of the birth of Perseus from

the union of Zeus with the virgin Danaë, but argues that the Greek fable is a devilish imitation of the prophecy, which is a prediction of actual fact.

Very different from the rhetoric of Justin is the refutation of the Jewish theory by Jerome. Following Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* vii. 1), he shows that Hezekiah was already born before the sign was given (2 K 16^2 18^2, 2 Ch. 28^1), and by a philological argument defensible then, though so no longer, argues that עלמה meant "virgo abscondita et secreta, quae nunquam virorum patuerit aspectibus." The child to be born so long afterwards will yet be able to save immediately, for he is identical with Him who appeared to Abraham and spoke to Moses; and, a point already made by Irenaeus (iii. 21. 4), he will be no phantasm, but will eat *butyrum et mel* in proof of his humanity. For further patristic interpretations, see Iren. *Haer.* iii. 21^{1-6}; Tert. *Adv. Marc*, iii. 13, iv. 10, *Adv. Jud.* 9; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 34 f.; Eus. *Dem. Ev.* vii. 1; Cyril. Hier. *Cat.* xii.; Basil. *Comm. in Is.*; Cyril. Alex. *In Is.*

The patristic criticisms of the early Jewish theory, that the child to be born was Hezekiah, had its effect; when we come to mediaeval Jewish scholars we find them identifying the עלמה either (1) with the wife of Isaiah —a view already mentioned as that of some Christians (*quidam de nostris*) by Jer.; so Rashi, Ibn Ezra; or (2) with another wife of Ahaz, Ḳi.

Protestant scholars in the 16th cent. follow in the main the traditional Catholic tradition, though Luther (cited by Del.) and Calvin, for example, are willing to grant that עלמה need not necessarily mean, though here, as often, it actually does refer to, a woman still virgin. Pellicanus attributed to the passage a double meaning — the current Christian interpretation and, for Ahaz who could not appreciate this, the meaning that "quae hodie virgo est propediem conceptura sit et filium paritura qui et nomen habiturus sit Immanuel in signum proxime ingruentis redemptionis vestrae." Later, Grotius abandoned the traditional Christian interpretation. The Catholic J. L. Isenbiehl in 1778 published a monograph, *Neuer versuch über die Weissagung vom Immanuel*, in which he argued at length that the prophecy related to the time of Isaiah; he also argued that the עלמה was some woman present at the interview, and that the article was used *δεικτικῶς*. Isenbiehl suffered heavy pains and penalties for his temerity (see Ges. p. 309); but from this time onward an exclusive Messianic interpretation became increasingly less frequent, and an increasing number, especially of Protestant scholars (see Che.'s article "Immanuel," in *EBi.*), denied that the prophet intended to make any reference to the birth of Jesus.

But no sooner had Christian scholars begun in numbers to accept the fundamentally more defensible interpretation of the Jews than Rosenmüller gave a new turn to the Messianic interpretation, substantially anticipating an exegetical theory which has recently been expounded and defended by a number of scholars—Gressmann, Jeremias, Box, Burney. Rosenmüller in a monograph published in Gabler's *Journal f. auserlesene theol. Lit.* 1806, and in the 2nd edit. of his *Scholia*, argued that Isaiah did definitely intend to speak of the virgin-birth of the Messiah, and in defence of this view appealed to numerous ancient myths which speak of great men born of virgins or in other marvellous ways. Rosenmüller cites many of these; and it is now possible to survey them conveniently in E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of*

Perseus, vol. i.; but Ges. rightly disputes the relevance of them to the passage in Isaiah. Recent exponents of this theory lay stress, in particular, on what is claimed to have been a belief dominating the entire Orient (Jeremias); Burney recalls the remarkable circumstances attending the birth of many Hebrew heroes (Gn 11^{30} $18^{9ff.}$ $25^{21ff.}$ 30^{1}, Jg 13, 1 S 1), and the birth and infancy of Sargon of Agade; he appeals to Mic 5^{2} to show that in the age of Isaiah the birth of a great deliverer was expected, and he argues that Isaiah's sign consists in setting a time in the immediate future when the damsel, well known to every one from the part assigned to her in the current expectation, would bring forth the Deliverer in marvellous circumstances befitting his high destiny: see *JThS* x. 580–584. All such theories are vitiated by the fact that Is 7^{14-16} speaks clearly of a Deliverance, but is silent as to a Deliverer: it is not said that Immanuel will deliver, and the passive in v.^{16} rather clearly implies that he will not. Different forms of another improbable theory, noted in *EBi.* (*l.c.*), and recently favoured by Whitehouse, treat העלמה as a personification (cp. בתולה, Am 5^{2}) of the house of David, or the community of Ṣion, Immanuel as the new generation, or the ideal ruler.

17–25. A prophecy, or a collection of prophetic fragments, predicting ruin and especially depopulation of a country which, according to v.^{17}, is unmistakably Judah.

Attempts have been made to discover a connection, either between vv.$^{1-16}$ and $^{17-25}$ or, v.^{17} being omitted as a gloss, between $^{1-16}$ and $^{18-25}$. If v.^{17} (with its reference to Judah) be omitted, $^{18-25}$ can be treated (Hackm. p. 66) as an amplification in detail of what is stated summarily, but sufficiently, in v.^{16b}, the ruin of Ephraim and Syria. But the theory of Du., Che., Marti, that v.^{17} is a gloss written to connect vv.$^{1-16}$ and vv.$^{18-25}$ founders on the fact that it is particularly between v.^{16} and v.^{17} that the lack of connection is most conspicuous; 𝔊 feeling this supplied ἀλλὰ at the beginning of v.^{17}. To attribute v.^{17} to a glossator who wished to create a connection between $^{1-16}$ and $^{18-25}$ is at the same time to accuse him of failing in his attempt. The entire tenor of $^{1-16}$ as interpreted above is that Judah has nothing to fear, is not to suffer ruin; the entire tenor of vv.$^{17-25}$ is that a most complete ruin is impending over the country: of course either Isaiah himself or a glossator may very well have held that these two contrary fortunes were to be successive stages in the future, but v.^{17} fails to mark a transition from one stage to another. Or again, Isaiah's promise of (lasting) safety for Judah may have been and indeed was (cp. v.^{9}) conditional, so that vv.$^{17-25}$ would have been intelligible if they had immediately followed v.^{13}; we could have understood Isaiah illustrating his

general principle enunciated in v.[9] by saying to Ahaz, You have refused to believe, therefore Judah shall not stand but come to ruin. He does not do this, but makes the promise of vv.[14-16]. After that, to such a threat as is contained in vv.[17-25] some clearly marked transition would be required. Even if it were correct to see in v.[15] a threat, it would still remain altogether forced and artificial to treat vv.[16] and [17] together as the ground of vv.[14] and [15] taken together, v.[16] justifying the promise of v.[14] and v.[17] the threat of v.[15]; and yet this is the best that can be done to connect the two passages—a significant indication that there is no organic connection. Vv.[1-16] and [17-25] are of independent origin. They were placed in juxtaposition by an editor, possibly on account of the similarity of vv.[15f.] and v.[22].

Some early annotations have crept into the text: such are the words "the king of Assyria" (vv.[17] and [20]) at least, as most scholars since Houb. and Lowth have recognised, perhaps also (Du., Mar.) "at the end of the streams of Egypt" and "which is in the land of Assyria" (v.[18]). Even what is left after the removal of these notes looks more like an editor's collection and restoration of fragments than a prophetic poem in its original form: note the recurrent "And it shall come to pass in that day" (vv.[18. 20. 21. 23]), the awkward fourfold occurrence of היה in v.[23], and the apparent mixture of rhythmical and unrhythmical elements. To what part of Isaiah's lifetime the groundwork belonged, and what precisely are the limits of Isaiah's work, cannot be determined with certainty.

17. *Yahweh will bring upon thee*] the words are addressed to a king of Judah—possibly Ahaz in any case, and certainly if v.[17] is the continuation of v.[16].—*Days such as have not come*] the loss of the ten tribes was as nothing to the loss of population that now awaits Judah—such is probably the thought of the writer; but an early annotator explained these words as meaning *the king of Assyria.*—*Since Ephraim withdrew from union with Judah*] Ephraim is used for the entire Northern kingdom, as in 9[8] and Hos. The standpoint is obviously that of Judah.—**18 f.** Under the figure of swarming and ferocious insects the writer predicts that Yahweh is about to bring on Judah (v.[17]) an overwhelming invasion. If his verses have reached us in their original form, he expected invasion from both Assyria and Egypt—a point of view which finds an incomplete parallel in

Hos 9^8, and none at all in Isaiah. Elsewhere Isaiah feared alliance with (chs. 29–30), not invasion from, Egypt. Moreover, previous to Sabako's accession, *c.* 712 B.C., Egypt was too weak to cause much fear in her neighbours. If *which is in the end of the streams of Egypt* and *which is in the land of Assyria* are notes added to the text by an annotator who mistakenly inferred that two insects must imply two nations,* Isaiah was predicting here, as elsewhere, an Assyrian invasion. The omission of the prosaic annotations leaves two almost perfect distichs 4: 4—

> Yahweh will whistle for the fly and the bee,
> And they will come . . . and settle all of them,
> In inaccessible wadys and clefts of the rocks,
> And on all the thorn-bushes and all the pastures.

Will whistle] cp. 5^{26}, Zec 10^8, with men as obj.; here perhaps the word is used in strict keeping with the figure. Bochart (*Hieroz.* Lib. iv. c. x.) has collected a number of ancient testimonies to the custom of summoning bees by various noises, such as the clanging of brass instruments (Verg. *Georgics*, iv. 64), of which the most pertinent, if it is not merely educed from the biblical passages, is Cyril's comment on this v.: "Bee-keepers are accustomed to whistle (συρίζειν, as 𝔊 here) to the bees, and so entice them out of their hives to the flowers and herbs, or get them in from the fields and make them stop at home."—*The fly*] Flies abounded in Egypt, but were, of course, frequent elsewhere, though, curiously enough, allusions to the fly in the OT are confined to this passage and Ec 10^1 and the divine name Baal-zebub. A further allusion to the flies of Egypt has been often but mistakenly discovered in 18^1. Apart from the following clause the fly would not suggest Egypt; it suggests number (cp. Hom. *Il.* ii. 469) and noisomeness, not locality.—*In the end of the streams of Egypt*] in far-distant Upper Egypt. The plural *streams* (יארים) is also used of Upper Egypt in Nah 3^8: 𝔊 here has the sing.—*The bee*] a figure for persistent, numerous and ferocious enemies; see Dt 1^{44}, Ps 118^{12}, also Homer, *Il.* ii. 87 ff.; the bees of the East are a far more aggressive race than those of England (*EBi.*, *s.v. Bee*).—*And settle*] v.^{2} n. The figure is maintained: the invading insects settle in such places as they are wont to settle

* Du., Che., Marti.

in, where they can find food and shelter; but there is also probably an implicit resolution of the figure; the Jews will find no escape from the Assyrians even *in inaccessible wadys and in clefts of the rocks* (cp. Dt 7^{20}).—*Thorn-* (?) *bushes and pastures* (?)] 𝔊 *caves and clefts.* But although the 2nd term (נהללים) occurs nowhere else and the first (נעצוצים) only once (55^{13} sing.), it is probable that both refer to feeding-places of insects: see, further, phil. n.—**20.** A new figure of devastation and depopulation: here, whatever may be the case in v.^{18}, Yahweh's agent (cp. 10^{5}) is Assyria only. In $1^{5f.}$ Judah is personified as a man with no sound spot left in his body; here, as a man who is to be subjected to the extreme ignominy of being shorn of his hair from head to foot (cp. 2 S 10^{4}).—*With a razor*] correctly, but unnecessarily—for Assyria is sufficiently indicated by the phrase (*in the parts*) *beyond the River*, i.e. the Euphrates (cp. Jos 24^{2} and often)—an annotator added, *with the king of Assyria.* The razor is said to be *hired*, because Yahweh pays for services rendered: cp. Ezk $29^{19f.}$. Others see in the expression an allusion to Assyria *hired* by Ahaz's tribute (2 K $16^{7f.}$).—*The hair of the feet*] euphemistic: cp. "water of the feet," 36^{12}; cp. also 6^{2}.—**21, 22.** These verses no doubt contained a further picture of the ruin and depopulation of the country; but as they now stand in 𝔐 they seem to speak, in the main, of abundance—there is to be an abundant yield of milk, and every one is to find good food (*curds and honey*) to eat. It is true that here as in v.^{15} (see n. there) most modern interpreters have endeavoured, contrary to the regular force of the phrase, to make eating *curds and honey* mean privation; Del., for example, writes, "Whoever has escaped . . . eats curds and honey: this, and nothing but this, without change *ad nauseam.*" Others make the expression typical of nomadic fare, and so indirectly of (relative) privation. But the earlier interpreters, like 𝔗, which paraphrases "on curds and honey shall all *the righteous* live," and the mediæval Jewish commentators, Rashi, Ḳi., Ibn Ezra, were certainly right in retaining here the well established meaning of the expression. Yet though the allusions in the v. to abundance must not be explained away, there are also suggestions of privation: for a man to succeed in *keeping alive a young cow and two female* (שתי), *i.e.* milch, *sheep*, or *goats* (צאן), is not a sign of wealth, and the phrase *all that are left in the midst of the land* suggests that

the people are not only poor but few. Justice can be done both to the suggestions of privation and to those of abundance if it be assumed that 𝔐 has been (accidentally) amplified and that 𝔊 is the better reading; read: *and it shall come to pass in that day, (if) a man shall preserve alive a young cow and two (milch) sheep, then it shall come to pass that owing to the abundance of the yield of milk, every one that is left in the midst of the land shall eat curds and honey*; this is an effective picture of depopulation: two or three cattle will yield more than enough for the handful of survivors, and enable them to enjoy the best of fare. The difficulties of the vv. are insufficiently met by simply eliminating from 𝔐 *because of the abundance of milk, he shall eat curds*, as "an eschatological fragment describing the happy lot of those who live on into the New Era" (Box). Nor do these words in themselves ring true to the custom of the country where the milk is likely to be consumed by preference in the form of curds (חמאה), whether it be abundant or not.—**23–25.** The whole country will go out of cultivation, even the land where the richest vines were trained will, like the rest, yield only thorns and briars, or (v.[25]) at best serve for grazing: cp. $5^{5f.}$ $32^{12f.}$.—*A thousand vines at a thousand of silver* shekels, *i.e.* vines worth a shekel (about 2s. 6d.) a piece—a high price (cp. Ca. 8^{11}), greatly in excess of the normal value of a vine in modern Syria, which, acccording to Del., is a piasta, *i.e.* about twopence.—*Shall be for*] shall belong to (לִ יהיה, as 17^{2}) *thorns and briars*.—**24.** Through fear of wild animals, which will house there, or to gain food from the chase, men will not go into this thicket covered country without bows and arrows.—**25.** *And all the hills which used to be hoed with the hoe, thou shalt not come thither out of fear of thorns and briars*; this is partly a repetition of v.[24], and the change to the 2nd sing. is without apparent reason. Probably the text has suffered more or less: see phil. n.

17. יהוה] 𝔊 ὁ *θεός*.—עליך . . . יביא] בוא על, הביא על, rarely used of bringing good fortune (Jos 23^{15}, cp. Gn 27^{12}), is commonly used of misfortune (*e.g.* 47^{9}, Dt 29^{26}, 1 K 9^{9}).—אשר] *such as*: cp. *e.g.* Ex 10^{6} 34^{10}.—למים] the double prep. as Jg 19^{30}, 2 S 7^{6}: see BDB 583*b*.—סור . . . מעל] *to withdraw from union with*; for the force of the compound prep. cp. Jer 32^{40} (same phrase), 2 K 17^{21}, Is 56^{3}; BDB 759*a*.—**18.** הבתות] cp. 5^{6} n.; apparently נחלי הבתות means *wadys of the cut off places*, i.e. *ravines of the precipices* (BDB), *inaccessible ravines*. The Versions seem to have guessed at the meaning.—נעצוצים] in Is 55^{13} נעצוץ is clearly a plant or bush of some kind:

𝔊 there renders by στοιβή; and this, according to Pliny, 21. 15, § 54, was a plant with a prickly stalk. 𝔙 here *frutetis*. In favour of the meaning a *prickly* shrub or *thorn* bush in particular it is customary to refer to the New Hebrew נעץ; but though this certainly means *to thrust* or *wedge in*, it much less certainly means *to prick* (cp. Levy, *s.v.*). The Arabic dictionaries (Freytag), however, cite نعض as the name of a prickly shrub frequently found in the Hejaz.—נהללים] Not, of course, from √הלל, as 𝔗 takes it (בתי תושבהחא, cp. "commendable trees," RV marg.), but from נהל (Barth, *NB*, § 142), the primary meaning of which appears to have been *to lead to a watering place*; like مَنْهَل, therefore, נהלל may have meant *watering place*, or perhaps more generally *pastures*. AV *bushes* goes back on an etymologically unsupported guess of Jewish scholars (Saad., Abul-Walid).—**20.** בְּחער השכירה] MT assumes that חער is cstr.; but though in Ps 52⁴ חער is masc., it is shown by חספה below to be fem. here. Point, therefore, בַּחער השכירה; cp. 𝔊 τῷ ξυρῷ τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ (or μεμεθυσμένῳ=שכירה), 𝔙 *novacula conducta*.—בעברי נהר] the pl. עברי might mean *the parts beyond* (Ges. 124*b*), and נהר (without the art.) Euphrates: cp. Jer 2¹⁸. But read בעבר הנהר (𝔊 πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ).—**22.** יאכל המאה כי] 𝔊 om. If the omission from 𝔊 is not accidental, but represents the original text (see above), the addition of the words in 𝔐 may be due to the incorporation of a Hebrew variant in which יאכל preceded instead of following חמאה ודבש.—**23.** יהיה (2)] like יערון of what used to recur (Driver, § 30).—באלף כסף] *Beth pretii*: G–K. 119*p*. For the omission of שקל (supplied by 𝔊), see G–K. 134*n*.—**24.** יבא] for the indef. subj., see G–K. 144*d*; the expression of the indef. subj. by the 2nd sing. (תבא v.²⁵) is rarer; G–K. 144*h*.—**25.** לא־תבוא שמה יראת שמיר ושית] may well be intrusive (cp. Box), and is perhaps a variant (slightly corrupt) of ושית . . . יבא שמה in v.²⁴. תבוא is probably wrong, and *perhaps* 𝔊 (ἐκεῖ φόβος ἔσται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου καὶ ἀκάνθης εἰς βόσκημα) may point to further corruption. For the acc. of cause יראת שמר, which is common in Arabic (Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 44d=² ii. p. 132), see G–K. 118*l*; Kön. iii. 332*t*; for יראה, *terror, dread*, cp. Dt 2²⁵, Ps 55⁶. It is altogether improbable that יראת is subj. of תבוא (AV). Nor is Kennedy's suggestion, *If* (לְוּא) *thou wert to go thither, then thou shouldest see* (וְרָאִתָ for יראת), convincing; but he has good reason to suspect the text and existing interpretations of it (*Exp. Times*, viii. 477 f.).

VIII. 1–4. Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz.—A further extract from Isaiah's autobiography (Introd. §§ 34, 38). Some time before the fall of Damascus (732 B.C.), Isaiah, at the command of Yahweh, records in two different ways and at different times his conviction of the approaching fate of both Damascus and Samaria: (1) he writes down, or engraves, in the presence of witnesses, the legend, "Belonging to Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz (spoil is speedy—plunder hasteneth)"; (2) nearly a year later he names his new-born son Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz, in the expectation that Assyria

will have despoiled both Damascus and Samaria before the child is more than about a year old.

The point of view is the same as in 7^{1-16}; only the security of Judah against Ephraim and Syria is there explicitly, is here implicitly, asserted. In 7^{1-16} Isaiah addresses the king, here he makes his outlook on affairs known to the people at large.

It is probable that Isaiah crystallised his teaching into the phrase Maher-shalal-ḥash-haz *before* Ahaz, by appealing to Assyria, gave the people of Judah reason, beyond or apart from the prophet's word, to hope that Samaria and Damascus would be spoiled. The inscription may have been engraved in 735 B.C., the child born and named in 734.

In 7^{10-16} 8^{1-4} Isaiah predicts three features, or stages, in the immediate future: (1) the relief of Judah, 7^{14}; (2) the desolation of Ephraim and Syria, 7^{16}; (3) the spoiling of Samaria and Damascus, 8^{4}; according to a frequent but improbable interpretation (see on 7^{14-16}) he also predicted ($7^{15.\ 17ff.}$) (4) the desolation of Judah.

The first stage he expected within nine or ten months at most of his interview with Ahaz (7^{14}); the second within two or three years after the first (7^{16}). The fourth, if really referred to in $7^{15.\ 17ff.}$, would fall after (2). *Possibly* Isaiah placed (3) between (1) and (2); for the stage in child life defined in 8^{4} is somewhat earlier than that defined in 7^{16}; on the other hand, Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz may not have been born till some months after Isaiah expected the birth of Immanuel; and, moreover, Isaiah may never have sharply defined the chronological relation of (2) and (3).

On the main issue Isaiah's prophecies were justified. Judah was quickly relieved, much of Ephraim and Syria desolated, and Damascus captured and spoiled, within three years of the interview with Ahaz. The destruction of Samaria was deferred another ten or eleven years—rather longer than Isaiah anticipated.

1. *A large tablet*] In 3^{23}† גליון is some ornament or article of toilet, and possibly a hand mirror of polished metal, which reflects and so *reveals* (גלה) the beholder. So some understand גליון to be here a polished tablet of wood (Ezk 37^{16}), or stone (Ex 34^{1}), or metal (Job 19^{24}?) for receiving writing. But the Mishnah use of the word for the margin, *i.e.* the still *blank* part of a page, suggests that גליון may have been widely applicable to any *blank* surface intended for writing, whether tablets, parchment, or papyrus; 𝔊 *τόμον* (*χαρτοῦ*) *καινοῦ*, Aq. *κεφαλίδα*, Symm. *τεῦχος*; 𝔗 לוח. Whatever it was, the object being large would be conspicuous and attract attention.— *Write upon it in common characters* (?)] The exact force of הרט אנוש is

uncertain, but the general sense seems to be, write so that every one who sees this conspicuous tablet may be able to read it; cp. Hab 2^2. חרט (Ex 32^4 † ?) is, apparently, a synonym for עט (Jer 17^1, Job 19^{24}), and means *a stylus*; אנוש is a poetical synonym for איש, so that on the analogy of אמת איש, *an ordinary cubit* (Dt 3^{11}), חרט אנוש should mean *an ordinary stylus*. 𝔗 (cp. Di.) paraphrases *write clearly*; but it would presumably be as easy to write illegibly with an ordinary as with an extraordinary stylus. Perhaps חרט also meant *written character*; cp. "style," from "stylus," "to write round *hand*"; then the command is to use the ordinary alphabet with which every one was familiar. Benzinger (*Arch.*^{2} 176 ff.) thinks that the implied contrast is between the human, *i.e.* the Phoenician, and the divine (Ex 31^{18} 32^{16}), *i.e.* the cuneiform, characters, both of which he infers were concurrently in use as late as the 7th century; two cuneiform contract tablets discovered at Gezer were drawn up in 649 and 647 B.C. respectively, and in one of these one of the parties is a Jew. Sta. (*ZATW*, 1906, pp. 135 f.) also argues that the implied antithesis is human and divine, but that what is referred to is the substance of the inscription, not the character in which it is written.—*Belonging to Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz*] the legend is in form like that inscribed by Ezekiel on two sticks (Ezk 37^{16}), or those which occur on old Hebrew or Canaanite seals; cp. *e.g.* "Belonging to Shamaʿ the servant of Jeroboam" (לשמע עבד ירבעם), the legend on a seal of about the 9th cent. B.C. discovered at Megiddo, and reproduced in Steuernagel, *Tell el Mutesellim*, 117: also in Driver, *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*, p. 91; for other examples, see Cooke, *North-Sem. Inscriptions*, 360 f.; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 140 ff.—The name means, swift is the spoil to come, speedy is the prey, and portends the imminent destruction of Samaria and Damascus (v.^{4}).—**2**. The inscription is to be witnessed by credible witnesses. In 𝔊, v.^{2} continues the command of v.^{1} *and cause trustworthy witnesses to attest* the writing *for me* (Yahweh). This is probably right. 𝔐 may be rendered, *and I caused*, etc.; or *and I will cause* (MT, EV); in the former case the first person refers to Isaiah, in the latter to Yahweh. Of the two witnesses, *Uriah the priest* was certainly a person of importance (2 K $16^{10\text{-}16}$); Zechariah was probably of similar standing. Neither was necessarily a close friend of the prophet; their testimony would be more effective

if they were not.—It is generally inferred (1) that Isaiah put up his inscription in some public place for all to read, and (2) that he had it witnessed, so that when events proved his forecast correct, the prophet might be believed to have spoken the word of Yahweh; (1) is a reasonable inference from the size of the tablet and from בחרט אנוש, if the interpretation given above is correct; (2) is the only reasonable inference from v.[2]. Yet it is not entirely clear why an inscription publicly exposed long before it was verified by events required witnesses; they would be more necessary for a document sealed and put away for a time (cp. v.[16]).—**3.** *Then I drew near*] Not *Now I had drawn near*: the tense cannot be pluperfect (Driver, *Tenses*, § 76 Obs.). It would be better to assume a misplacement (cp. 38[21]) of vv.[3f.] than a plupf. sense for ואקרב. If vv.[3f.] stood before vv.[1f.], the tablet of v.[1] would have a clear destination; it would be for Isaiah's son. As the text stands, the tablet is inscribed with a name that attaches to no one.—*The prophetess*] נביאה here means the wife of a prophet, as מלכה commonly means the wife of a king. Isaiah, unlike Amos (7[14]), did not repudiate the title prophet.

1. מהר] is a verbal adj. *quick to come* (cp. Zeph 1[14], unless מהר should be read ממהר), and חש a part. It would, however, be equally possible to point מְהַר and take both verbs as prophetic perfects.—**2.** ואעידה] MT וְאָעִידָה, but point preferably, if 𝔊 be retained, וְאָעִידָה, *and I took*; Sta. *ZATW*, 1906, p. 136. 𝔊 *καὶ μάρτυράς μοι ποίησον*, *i.e.* והעידה, of which it is just possible that 𝔊 is merely an Aramaic scribe's orthography. Cp. (Ibn Ezra) יש אמרים כי האל"ף תחת ה"א.—ישא] G–K. 144*d*: cp. יבא, 7[24] (n.).

5–10. The Extreme Peril and Complete Security of Judah.—

The prevailing rhythm, though, in the present text, at all events, it is not maintained unbroken, is 4 : 4 in vv.[6-8]; 3 : 3 in vv.[8-10].

Judah's Peril.

6 Because this people have rejected
  The gently flowing waters of Shiloah, ∧ ∧
7 Therefore behold the Lord is causing to rise ∧
  The mighty and many waters of the River, ∧ ∧
  And it shall rise over all its channels,
  And go over all its banks,
8 And it shall sweep on into Judah, an over-flowing flood,
  . . . reaching even to the neck.

Judah's Safety.

. . . . . .

8c And his outstretched wings will cover
The entire width of the land—
For God is with us.

9 Take knowledge ye peoples and be dismayed,
Give ear all ye distant parts of the earth, ∧
10 Plan plans, and they shall come to nought,
Scheme schemes, and they shall not be carried out:
For God is with us.

Textual corruption, the intrusion of glosses,—omitted in the preceding translation,—and, probably, the juxtaposition of passages of different origin, have obscured the meaning of these verses.

Vv.6-8b predict, under the figure of a vast flood, due to the rise of the Euphrates, which is to inundate the land of Judah to a dangerous depth, *the devastation of Judah by Assyria*; vv.8c-10 *the complete security of Judah* owing to the presence of God, which frustrates the hostile plans of *the nations of the world.* There is no transition from the one theme to the other, but there is *probably* a change of rhythm,—facts which point to vv.6-8b and 8c-10 being of different origin.

Vv.6-8b are rather later than the interview with Ahaz (7$^{1-16}$), if the conclusion is right that Isaiah's object at that time was to enforce the security of Judah from the Syro-Ephraimitish attack.

Vv.8c-10 are probably post-exilic (see below), and contain a fragment of a poem which consisted of short stanzas closing with the refrain, "For God is with us." On account of the refrain the poem was given a place near 7^{14}.

5. Cp. 7^{10}.—**6–8b.** Because Judah has rejected Yahweh, therefore Yahweh will subject Judah to a devastating Assyrian invasion.—*This people*] 6^{9} n. Here the phrase clearly means the Jews, see v.8a. The entire people, and not only the king's court (7^{13}) are here condemned.—*The gently flowing waters of Shiloah*] the waters of Shiloah are the waters flowing from the one spring in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, the modern ʿAin sitti Maryam, which rises in a cave on the eastern declivity of the eastern hill of Jerusalem, that is the ancient Mount Ṣion, about

353 yards south of the south-east angle of the Temple area: on the opposite side of the ravine lies the modern village of Silwan (= Shiloah), and lower down on the same side, at a distance in a direct line of 1090 feet, the Birket, or ʿAin, Silwan, probably identical with the ברכת השלח of Neh 3^{15}. The words, *the gently flowing waters of Shiloah*, suggest waters whose flow could be watched; they are not the waters of the tunnel in which the Siloam inscription was found, even if that were as ancient as the time of Ahaz (cp. 7^{3} n.), but they are either the water conveyed by the open conduit, which existed before the tunnel, or more probably the waters flowing down the valley (cp. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 90). From the nature of their source, these waters must have flowed gently, and, like the artificially controlled water of to-day, they doubtless served to irrigate the gardens of the valley. These waters, then, were closely associated with Ṣion, the site of Yahweh's temple and the royal palace; and they were the "living" waters of Jerusalem, as contrasted with the waters stored in cisterns (cp. 7^{3} n.). Isaiah is obviously speaking in metaphor; the most probable explanation of the metaphor seems to be that the living waters of Shiloah rising under Ṣion stand for Yahweh, who in Jeremiah (2^{13}) is compared to a "fountain of living waters." The waters of Shiloah, "however beneficent, are to outward appearance insignificant" (Che.); so the power of Yahweh, which had been the source of Judah's welfare (*e.g.* $5^{1ff.}$), and to Isaiah seemed an all-sufficient ground for quiet confidence (7^{4} 30^{15}), was in the eyes of the people insignificant, not to be trusted, but forsaken for other sources of strength (cp. $30^{2.\ 12.\ 16}$ 31^{1-3}). For the "gentleness" of Yahweh's activity, cp. Job 15^{11}. The explanations of "the waters of Shiloah" as the house of David,* or as the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion,† or as an allusion to some lost poem or some now unknown popular idea,‡ may be dismissed. The last words of v.^{6}, omitted from the above translation, are awkward and difficult; if they have any meaning (see phil. n.), the meaning is *and a rejoicing* (or, *and because they rejoice*) *with Reṣon and the son of Remaliah*; which is inconsistent with the context, for the Jews, so far from rejoicing with Reṣon and the son of Remaliah, stood in dread of them ($7^{3ff.}$). An emended text (see phil. n.) may be rendered,

* Ibn Ezra.

† F. C. Burkitt, in *JThS* xii. 294.

‡ Gressmann, p. 68.

And have melted with fear because of Reṣon, etc. But (1) the emendation is not free from serious objection; (2) the immediate transition which takes place, if the words be omitted, from the figure of Shiloah with its gentle flow to the Euphrates in desolating flood, is very effective; and (3) the words, like those generally recognised to be a gloss in v.[7], form an isolated stichos. Probably, therefore, *Reṣon and the son of Remaliah* are an early annotator's erroneous explanation of "the waters of Shiloah," and the first word of the v. (משוש) a corrupt variant of מאם above, or an isolated fragment, or *possibly*, as Bredenkamp, Giesebrecht, and Burkitt have suggested, though on rhythmical grounds this is not very probable, משוש is a synonym (*oozing*, *trickling*?) of לאט: note the two synonyms in v.[7b].—**7.** Yahweh will punish His disloyal people by causing a fateful rise of the Euphrates, *i.e.* by an Assyrian invasion: so the destruction of Philistia by the Chaldaeans is predicted under the figure of a fateful rise of the waters from the north (Jer 47^2). The figure here is blurred even in 𝔊 and still more in EV, which makes the king of Assyria overflow his banks and reach even to the neck! An early annotator explained *the River* (7^{20} n.) as *the king of Assyria and all his glory*, and also perhaps added עליהם, *against them*, which explain rather unnecessarily the destination of the flood.—**8.** *And it shall sweep on*] for חלף, cp. 21^1.—*Into Judah*] this is the destination of the desolating flow of waters: nothing is said of the flood affecting Ephraim on the way, for Ephraim is not in the poet's thoughts.—*An overflowing flood*] more literally, *having flooded and overflowed*, unless, omitting the waw, we restore the phrase used in Nah 1^8.—*Reaching even to the neck*] of dangerous depth. Cp. "an overflowing torrent reaching (יחצה, synonymous with יגיע here) up to the neck," 30^{28}. The swelling stream described in Ezk 47^{3-5} rose gradually from being ankle-deep to being knee-deep and deep as the loins, after which it became too deep to be passed through, and required to be swum if the passage of it was to be safely made.

6. יען כי] 3^{16} n.—ומשוש את רצין] Di. explains MT thus: מְשׂוֹשׂ is the constr. case of משוש (32^{13}) before the prep. את, and dependent on יען—*on account of the rejoicing with Reṣôn*. Ges. similarly, except that he takes את as the *nota acc.* and cites 35^1 (corrupt) as justifying שוש with the acc. But את מְשׂוֹשׂ is very doubtful, and but partially paralleled by 5^{11} or 9^2. G-K. 130*a* cites no case of the cstr. before the prep. את and only one before את, the sign of the acc.—Jer 33^{32} (text very doubtful; cp. v.[21]). Kön. (iii. p. 115 n. 3) suggests

that ומשוש may be inf. abs. (ושוש) with מ prefixed to gain alliteration with מאם; but it is doubtful wisdom to seek forced explanations of a text which is exegetically condemned (see above). The emendation of the text adopted by Du., Marti, and others goes back to a suggestion of Hitzig's, that משוש is a miswritten form of the like sounding מסום, *to melt away* (in fear; not used by Is., but see 13^{7}); then, inasmuch as מסס is not followed by the acc., it becomes necessary to emend further by reading מפני for את; that את was substituted by a scribe for מפני after the hypothetical מסום (inf. abs.) had become משוש is improbable, inasmuch as שוש מפני could not have seemed so strange as to *demand* alteration. Du. further omits כי at the beginning of the v. in order that יען may govern מסום. 𝔊 apparently paraphrased the present text of 𝔐, ἀλλὰ βούλεσθαι ἔχειν Ῥασσὼν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ῥομελίου βασιλέα ἐφ' ὑμῶν.—7. ולכן] Waw before לכן is quite unusual; 𝔊 om.: it is probably dittographic.—עליהם] omit (see above), and so restore a line of four accents.—והלך על כל גדתיו] cp. מלא על כל גדותיו (of Jordan), Jos 3^{15}.—שטף] pf. in a description of the fut. to give variety to the scene or confer emphasis on individual isolated traits in it (Dr. § 14 γ): ועבר is co-ordinated with שטף (Dr. §§ 131, 132). But the writer may have intended וְעָבַר שָׁטַף (G–K. 113*h*), if he did not actually write עבר שטף.

8–10. **The safety of Judah.**—The last words of v.[8] are obscure. If they are, as till Du. commentators always took them to be, the direct continuation of v.[8a. b] the pronouns in *his* (or *its*) *outstretched wings* must refer to the River, or, possibly, to that of which the River is a figure, viz. Assyria or the king of Assyria. *The wings* have been explained as "masses of water branching off like wings from the main current" (Che. *PI* i. 53), or as the cavalry of the Assyrian army (Ges.); then cp. the Lat. *alae*, the Arabic جناح الخيل, *wings of the cavalry*, and *possibly* the Hebrew אנפים; cp. 𝔗 "the people of his army." Others see in the words the introduction of an entirely fresh figure. In this case, if [8c. d] goes with [6-8b] the figure must be that of a hostile bird of prey hovering over Judah (cp. Hos 8^{1}, Ezk 17^{1-10}, Jer 48^{40}). But "the outstretched wings" far more naturally imply protection; cp. Ru 2^{12}, Ps 17^{8} 36^{8} 57^{2} 61^{5} 63^{8} 91^{4}, Mt 23^{37} = Lk 13^{34}; if that is implied here also, the point of the figure is that the entire land of Judah will dwell in safety under the protecting wings of the Almighty, undisturbed by any futile raging of the nations, vv.[9f.].—*The land. For God is with us*] this way of reading the Hebrew consonants * is favoured by the recurrence of the last clause, which may well have been a refrain (cp. Ps 46), in v.[10]. The consonants may also be divided as in 𝔐, and rendered either (1) *thy land. God is with us*; so 𝔊 and Abarbanel

* Du., Che., Marti.

(cited by Vitr. p. 186); or (2) *thy land, O Immanuel*; so 𝔗𝔖𝔙, Rashi, EV, and most interpreters. The last-mentioned interpretation has to contend with the difficulty, never satisfactorily met, of explaining an appeal to Immanuel, and the description of Judah as his land; even if Immanuel was some single definite child, whose birth Isaiah expected (see on 7^{14}), he was not yet born if this passage is continuous with 8^{1-4}; and, if the passage be later, and Immanuel the name of an actually existing person, it is strange that no more is heard of him. To base a far-reaching construction of Messianic belief on so ambiguous a passage is a mistake.—**9 f.** God's presence (in Ṣion) ensures the futility of all schemes of the nations directed against the people of God. The outlook resembles that of Pss 2 and 46, Ezk 38 f., Is 54^{14-17} and perhaps 10^{12} (see note there), and the passage is probably no earlier than these: in that case it owes its position here to one of the post-exilic editors of the prophecies of Isaiah, and was intended to alleviate the minatory tone of the preceding verses.

The argument against Isaiah's authorship of vv.$^{9.\ 10}$ is well stated by Marti: "If the 'peoples' of v.^{9} could be Ephraim and Syria, the verses might refer to the protection of Judah in the Syro-Ephraimitish war. But the peoples absolutely are addressed, and the Syrians and Ephraimites do not dwell at the end of the earth. If it is urged that Isaiah immediately extends his horizon from these neighbours to all peoples and all times, this is irreconcilable with Isaiah's attitude to Assyria, whose plans against Judah he did not expect to fail (vv.$^{7.\ 8a}$); finally, to limit the plans of the nations which were to fail to the 'bad' plans and so to make an exception of Assyria, who came commissioned by Yahweh, lays an emphasis on רעו which it cannot bear, even if that word were textually more certain than it is."

9. *Take knowledge*] a suitable parallel to *give ear* in the next line: so 𝔊 (= Heb. דעו). Cp. Ps $46^{11\ (10)}$. Less probable is the reading of 𝔐 רעו, rendered *associate yourselves* in AV, or *make an uproar*, RV: see phil. n.—*Be dismayed*] this is the regular meaning conveyed by the root חתת in Heb.; see, *e.g.*, 20^{5} $31^{4.\ 9}$ 37^{27} 51^{7}, and note the frequent parallelism with ירא, *to fear* (*e.g.* Dt 1^{21}). Cp. Assyr. *ḫattu*, *terror*. Some render *be shattered*, see phil. n. on 7^{8}; in this case, if 𝔐 be followed in the previous clause, the two imperatives constitute a virtual conditional sentence (G–K. 110*f*)—*though ye make an uproar* (?), *ye shall be shattered.—All ye far parts of the earth*] ‖ to *peoples* used absolutely, as is מרחקים in Zec 10^{9}.—𝔐, which is paraphrased by 𝔊, adds the words *Gird yourselves* (cp. Job 38^{3}) *and be*

dismayed (or *shattered*) (repeated twice); but see phil. n.—10. Cp. 7^{5-7}.

8. ארצך עמנואל] in $\mathfrak{M}^1$ this could have been read equally well ארץ כ עמנואל; כי is written *plene* in the Siloam inscription and on the Moabite Stone; but the Phoenician inscriptions afford many examples of the form כ; *e.g.* ותארך ימו ושנתו כ מלך צרק הא, Byblus Inscr. l. 9; Cooke, *N-Sem. Inscr.* p. 18; Lidzbarski, *Nord. Sem. Ep.* p. 295.

9. רעו] The form cannot be satisfactorily explained. Explanations that have been offered are that it is the impr. of (1) רעע, and means *be wicked*; or (2) of רעע, the Aramaic equivalent of רצץ, and means *break*, or more doubtfully still, *be broken*; or (3) of רוע, whence comes תרועה, *war-cry*, and means *make an uproar*; but it is the Hiph. of this vb. that is used elsewhere; or (4) of רעה (whence רֵעַ), and means *associate yourselves* (RV 2nd marg.); but this would require a reflexive conjugation.—והאוינו] the ו is probably dittographic: $\mathfrak{G}$ *ἐπακούσατε*.—(*bis*) התאזרו וחתו] perhaps these rather curious clauses of two accents, which do not agree with the prevailing 3 : 3 rhythm, are due to a miswriting of חתו והאוינו.

11–15. The way of the prophet and his disciples and the way of the people.—In an autobiographical note, Isaiah records that Yahweh made a communication to him warning him not to share the standpoint of his fellow-countrymen. The lines that follow are not addressed to Isaiah only, for the 2nd pers. *plural* is used throughout; nor to the people at large (note v.^{12a}), but to Isaiah and his disciples (cp. v.^{16}); these are not to fear what the people at large fear, for danger does not lie where the people fear it, but in Yahweh, whom they have ceased to fear (cp. 31^{1-3}): He will destroy "many" of the two houses of Israel and of Jerusalem, but, so it is implied, will save those who fear Him.

It is commonly assumed that this section refers to the same period as 7^1–8^{10}, *i.e.* the period of the Syro-Ephraimitish war—"parallel to vv.$^{5-8}$, but of slightly earlier date" (Che. *Introd.* p. 40). Beyond the mere position of the passage the positive grounds for this are two: (1) the כי with which the section opens; precarious, for the word is absent from $\mathfrak{GS}$; (2) the allusion to the alliance of Peḳaḥ and Reṣôn supposed to occur in v.^{12a}. This rests on a text that is doubtful and, if correct, ambiguous. In any case the passage is earlier than the fall of Samaria in 722 (v.^{14}).

V.^{11} is prose; in vv.$^{12-15}$ the rhythm is irregular and uncertain. Vv.$^{12b.}$ ^{13} and (more doubtfully) ^{14} are lines of 4 accents; ^{15} is ambiguous: v.^{12} falls into no scheme, whether treated as one line (Du.) or two (Cond.).

^{11} For thus Yahweh said unto me when the Hand grasped (me) that he might warn me not to go in the way of this people, saying,

12 Ye shall not call . . . all that this people calls . . .
And their fear ye shall not fear nor dread;
13 Yahweh of Hosts—him shall ye . . .
And *he* shall be your fear, and *he* your dread.
14 And he shall become a . . . and a stone to strike against,
And a rock of stumbling to both Houses of Israel;
A trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.
15 And many of them shall stumble and fall, and be broken
And snared and captured.

11. *When the hand grasped (me)*] lit. *with strength*, or *pressure, of the hand* of God; with בחזקת היד, cp. ויד יהוה עלי חזקה, Ezk 3^{14}. The sense of prophetic inspiration was traced not only to the invasion of the personality by the spirit of God, but also to the hand of God, which, grasping and sometimes throwing down (cp. ? Nu 24^4 נפל) the recipient, induced the prophetic trance or ecstasy (2 K 3^{15}). Ezek. has several allusions to the hand of Yahweh as accompanying inspiration, see Ezk 1^3 3^{22} 37^1 (היתה על), 8^1 (ותפל על); cp. also Jer 15^{17}, "because of thy hand I have sat alone: for thou hast filled me with indignation." That the communication which follows must be of an extraordinary and special nature (Du.), is a precarious inference.—*That he might warn me not to go*] וַיְסָרֵנִי may also be read וַיְסֵרֵנִי (cp. Dt 7^4), *and withdrew me from going*. Isaiah, like Jeremiah ($15^{17\text{-}21}$), may have had inward conflict in order to refrain from following the easier path of acquiescence.

12, 13. The two verses are negative and positive complements of one another. Not the way of the people (v.^{12}), but of Yahweh (v.^{13}), are Isaiah and his disciples to follow. Not the baseless objects of the people's fear, but Yahweh, who alone has power to destroy (vv.$^{14f.}$), are they to fear: cp. the antithesis in Luke $12^{4f.}$. V.^{12b} and v.^{13b} correspond to one another in the use of terms; but at present vv.^{12a} and ^{13a} do not: the words left untranslated above are ^{12a} (twice) קשר, *a conspiracy*, but in ^{13a} תקדישו, *ye shall sanctify*. It is not surprising, therefore, that it has been proposed that קֹדֶשׁ, *holy*, should be read in v.^{12a},* or תקשירו *shall ye count a conspirator* in v.^{13a}.† Still there are

* Secker, Lowth, Lag., Sta. (*ZATW*, 1906, p. 137).
† Du., Hackm., Buhl (in Ges-B.).

difficulties in both suggestions and also in 𝔐. Even 12^b and 13^b are ambiguous. So far as usage goes, *their fear* (מוראו), viz. the object of the people's fear, in v.^{12a} may be human beings, their enemies Reṣon and Peḳaḥ, of whom, if vv.$^{11\text{-}15}$ are a direct continuation of 7^1–8^{10}, it is natural to think; cp. the use of מורא in Gn 9^2, Dt 11^{25}. In this case the warning here addressed to Isaiah and his disciples is substantially identical with the warning addressed by Isaiah himself to Ahaz in 7^4. On the other hand, *their fear*, if the passage stood by itself, would in view of v.^{13a} most certainly suggest supernatural objects of fear: Fear not the gods of this people (cp. v.^{19}): cp. the constant use of ירא of fearing, *i.e.* worshipping, God, and the use of the synonymous noun פחד in the expression "fear of Isaac" (‖ "God of Abraham") in Gn 31^{42}. If the text of v.^{12a} be sound, it would decide in favour of the former of these interpretations. Keeping the text we may render v.^{12a}, *Call not everything a conspiracy which this people calls a conspiracy*, in defence of which Che. (*Introd.* 40) argues that קשר (noun and verb) is "used of those leagues which have a destructive object—leagues of subjects against a king (1 S $22^{8.\ 13}$, 2 S $15^{12.\ 31}$, 2 K 11^{14}, Am 7^{10}), of men banded together for immoral or heathenish ends (Jer 11^9, Ezk 22^{25}), or of the confederated enemies of a single nation (Neh 4^2). This last application of the term is suitable here. On the first news of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion there was a cry, קשר, *i.e.* the enemies of Judah are confederated against it. But Isaiah is warned by a strong impulse from above that this is an abuse of terms. Syria and Israel are but "two stumps of smoking firebrands": how can such feeble powers be said to have formed a קשר? (*Binding* implies strength: cp. קְשָׁרִים, Gn 30^{42}). The warning is expressed in general terms, לכל אשר, because the same circumstances may arise again. To Isaiah a קשר only becomes worthy of its name when Yahweh is the chief member of the league, as when he "sends" Assyria "against the people of his wrath" (10^6). But the true fear of Yahweh, which shows itself equally in obedience to His *torâ* (see $1^{10\text{-}17}$) and in perfect reliance on His word of promise (7^9), binds him to the side of his people." Che., though agreeing substantially in interpretation with Du., prefers not to follow him in substituting for חקדישו, *ye shall sanctify*, the unique Hiphil חקשירו—*Yahweh of Hosts, him shall ye make your conspirator.* "Those who sanctify him," he adds, "by

fearing Yahweh in the right way . . . make Yahweh their ally." The very elaboration of this interpretation makes it doubtful; it also fails effectually to parry Di.'s criticisms. The combination of Syria and Ephraim was a *fact*; it was no part of Isaiah's work to quibble over the use of terms, whether to call this combination a conspiracy or something else; he differed from the people not as to the fact, nor as to the name by which it should be called, but as to the interpretation of it: to them it was dangerous, in Isaiah's judgment it was not. They feared that the "destructive object" of the league would be attained: Isaiah, without denying that the league had a destructive object, was convinced that it would fail. Di. himself interprets the term *conspiracy* of the understandings which the people imagined to exist between Isaiah and the enemy (cp. the suspicions that fell upon Jeremiah), but which did not exist in fact: he further suggests that these popular suspicions had made Isaiah's disciples begin to doubt whether Isaiah's principles were sound. This interpretation also is unconvincing and fails more than the other to account for the antithetical line, v.^{13a}. The *narrower* context of vv.$^{12-15}$ strongly favours the emendation קדש in v.^{12a} suggested by תקדישו (v.^{13a}): *Ye shall not call everything holy that this people call holy . . . Yahweh of Hosts, him shall ye hallow* (cp. 29$^{22f.}$? late); but if vv.$^{11-15}$ be the continuation of 7^{1}–8^{10}, the wider context is against it. Either vv.$^{11-15}$ were not originally the direct continuation of what precedes, or they call for a more satisfactory interpretation than they have yet received.—**14.** *And he shall become a sanctuary*] if the text is correct, which is very doubtful, this means He will become a holy object, which no man touches or injures unpunished—cp. 5^{16} (Di.). To interpret * He shall be an asylum (cp. Ezk 11^{16}, also Ex 21^{14}, 1 K 1^{50}) for those who hallow Him, but to others a cause of ruin, is to create an antithesis which does not exist in the text. Not improbably למקדש is a corruption of למוקש, which was itself erroneously substituted from the following distich for the term which stood in the original text.—*The two Houses of Israel*] the Northern and Southern kingdoms. Marti suspects that the phrase is a generalising substitution for "men of Judah."—*A trap and a lure*] the figure is resumed in v.^{15b}. The פח (mod. Ar. *fakh; PEF Qu. St.*, 1905, p. 38) is a *trap* kept open till the bird, alighting on a trigger,

* MT accents, Ⅎ, RV.

causes the trap to close and itself to be caught. Whether מוקש was the name for such a (baited) trigger (cp. Am 3^5 𝔐; but see 𝔊), or for a *snare*, or *noose* (Kennedy, *EBi.* 1561), or (if √יקש = נקש, *to strike*) for a *clap-board* (cp. *ib.*), which strikes the enticed bird down, is not clear. But in certain passages מוקש seems to have the meaning, whether original or derived, of *lure* (cp. *e.g.* 1 S 18^{21}, Ps 106^{36}); so, too, both here and in Jer 50^{24} (𝔐) the vb. יקש expresses what precedes the act of capture (לכד), presumably the act of alluring or enticing, though in Pr 6^2, it is true, יקש seems to be more exactly synonymous with לכד, and in Ec 9^{12} with אחז. —*Be broken*] of broken limbs, as Ex $22^{9.\ 13}$, La 11^{16}.

11. כי] 𝔊𝔖 om.—בחוקת] some MSS כחוקת.—ויסרני] Not pf. Piel of יסר, for the waw conv. with the impf. would be the correct cstr. to express *and he instructed me* (RV). It may be either the impf. Kal with simple waw (Dr. § 59 ff.) of יסר, *that he might admonish me*, which is a little unnatural, or impf. Hiph. with waw conv. of סור. 𝔊 ἀπειθοῦσιν probably connected the form with סרר.—**12.** קשר] 𝔊, both times, *σκληρόν, i.e.* קשה. If קרש was the original reading, the transposition of the last two letters which produces 𝔐 קשר had taken place earlier than 𝔊.—**13.** צבאות] 𝔊 om.—מוראכם] 𝔊 2nd *sing.* suf.—מעריצכם] Hiph. part. ; but with a different sense from the Hiphil in v.[12] and 29^{23} : hence Grä., Du. suggest מערצכם, a noun parallel to מוראכם.—**14.** שני] $𝔊^B$ om.—ושבי] some MSS and the VV ושבי—note י following.—**15.** בם] *among them* : cp. Ex. 14^{28}, Lv 26^{36}. Others give ב its instrumental sense—*by means of them*, i.e. the rocks just mentioned.

16–18. The Epilogue to Isaiah's Memoir.—[16] (*I will*) *tie up the testimony* (*and*) *seal the teaching in* (?) *my disciples.* [17] *And I will wait for Yahweh who hideth his face from the House of Jacob, and I will look for him.* [18] *Behold, I and the children whom Yahweh hath given to me are for signs and portents in Israel from Yahweh of Hosts who dwelleth in Mount Ṣion.*

In spite of some ambiguity in v.[16], these words read like the conclusion of the autobiographical memoir which recorded Isaiah's teaching during the Syro-Ephraimitish war by word and symbol and the significant names of his children, Shear-Jashub and Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz. They also give the impression that Isaiah realised that a stage in his ministry was closed ; that for an indefinite time to come he might speak to his people no more as he had been speaking ; a time of waiting for Yahweh—of waiting in perfect confidence—lay before him ; and during this time his teaching would be with (? incorporated in) his

disciples, and perpetually eloquent in himself and the names of his children. The words received of Yahweh at the time of his call have come true: the people have not listened, and Yahweh is alienated from them. True, too, has proved the conviction that led him to name his child "A Remnant shall return": he has not indeed led Judah to repentance; but he has made disciples. If the doubtful and ambiguous v.[16] will bear the weight of the conclusion, those are not wrong who see here an important epoch in the history of religion—the emergence of a spiritual, as distinct from a national, religious society; Isaiah, unlike Amos and Hosea, is not a voice crying unheeded; his distinction lies less in a *doctrine* of the remnant than in the practical step of creating the remnant in which he believed.

16. (*I will*) *tie up . . . seal*] the verbal forms are ambiguous (see phil. n.): they may be assertive, in which case Ḳi. correctly expresses the nuance—nothing remains for me but to tie up, etc.; or they may be imperative, *tie up*. V.[17] favours the former view. If the words were a command, Yahweh would be the speaker; *my disciples* (𝔐; 𝔊𝔗𝔖 otherwise) would then mean "those taught by my prophet," *i.e.* Isaiah's disciples; and this meaning would even more directly attach to the words on the other view. To the sealing of documents there are several allusions in the OT: see 29^{11}, Jer $32^{10f.}$, 1 K 21^{8}, Dn 12^{4}. The Jewish Aramaic papyri of Assouan (5th cent. B.C.) were found tied with string and sealed: see illustrations on the title page of Cowley and Sayce's edition.—*The testimony . . . the instruction*] the two terms cover the contents of a single document which is both tied up and sealed. *The testimony* (תעודה, v.[20], Ru 4^{7}† in a different sense) more particularly refers to such sides of Isaiah's public utterances as his assertions that Ephraim and Syria would do Judah no harm, but would be speedily destroyed: cp. the *attesting* of the name Maher-shalal-ḥash-baz in $8^{1f.}$: the *teaching* (תורה, 1^{10} n.) is more particularly his insistence on the need for quiet confidence and faith in Yahweh.—*In my disciples*] the preposition (בְּ), read differently by 𝔊, is difficult, and has called forth many interpretations: (1) deposited *in the custody of*;* but this would probably have required אל יד or ביד, and in any case why should Isaiah deliver his teaching *to his disciples* in a sealed book which they

* Ḳi., Dr. (*Isaiah: his Life and Times*, p. 35), Che. (*SBOT*).

could not read (cp. 29^{11})? (2) *with*,* *i.e.* having my disciples present; cp. Di., "in the presence of and witnessed by"; but this also is pointless and strains the meaning of ב; (3) *by means of* (Ew.), which would rather require ביד. Least objection seems to beset an interpretation which goes back to Rashi, who equates ב with לב על, and has been developed by Del., Du., Marti. This interpretation gives ב its common force *in* (of place); the question (cp. Di.) is whether it sufficiently accounts for the nature of the figure, for it makes the tying and sealing of the law figurative; Isaiah on this view determines to place his teaching in the hearts of his disciples and to make of them "living oracles": cp. Jeremiah's "law written upon the heart" (Jer 31^{33}), and St. Paul's figure, "Ye are an epistle of Christ . . . written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God" (2 Co 3^{2}).—**17.** Isaiah will rest firm in his belief in Yahweh, though troubled for his people who have caused Yahweh to *hide his face*, *i.e.* withdraw His favour, from them, and have thereby exposed themselves to destruction.—**18.** Isaiah's children are *signs and portents* in virtue of their names; he himself as the prophet and representative of Yahweh. Whether Isaiah made his own name *Yahweh hath saved* (1^{1} n.) a text on which to base his doctrine that Yahweh was the only true ground of confidence, we do not know. In any case he is scarcely thinking merely of his name here.—*Yahweh of Hosts who dwelleth in Mt. Ṣion*] the last clause need not be omitted as the addition of a late scribe to whom it was a standing epithet of Yahweh; it is a natural expression of personal experience. Isaiah closes his memoir with words which recall the great experience recorded at the outset (ch. 6).

16. As the equivalent or substitute for the words which in 𝔐 lie between ונלכו at the end of v.[15] and ואכיתי at the beginning of v.[17], 𝔊 has *ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ. Τότε φανεροὶ ἔσονται οἱ σφραγιζόμενοι τὸν νόμον τοῦ μὴ μαθεῖν· καὶ ἐρεῖ.* That the translators read (and read wrongly) [י]חתום תורה בלמדי as חֲתֹם תּוֹרָה מלמד is clear: how they read the rest is very doubtful. Neither 𝔗 nor 𝔖 recognises any reference to disciples--החתום . . . צור] the *scriptio plena* of the 2nd word is not ancient; cp. 𝔊. The present orthography is probably due to interpreters who read the verbs as infinitives absolute צוֹר חָתוֹם, and inserted the ו to distinguish the originally long vowel of the inf. abs. from the merely tone-long vowel of inf. cstr. and imperative (G–K. 67*n*). Cp. the usual (though not invariable) orthography of the strong vb. in 𝔐—inf. cstr. קטל, but inf. abs. קטול (G–K. 45*a*). For צוֹר as the inf. abs. instead

* Dr. in BDB 89*b*.

of צָרוֹר, cp. קֹב, Nu 23^{25}; שֹׁל, Ru 2^{16}: for the syntax, G–K. 113*bb*; apart from 𝔊 and the authors of the *scriptio plena*, early interpreters took the forms as imperatives; so 𝔗 (deriving צור from נצר), 𝔖 (*plurals*), 𝔙. The sequence of וחכיתי, v.[17], is normal (Dr. § 113, p. 126) if the vbs. be inf. abs.: cp. especially Jer $7^{9f.}$—The exact process implied by צרר is *to tie up* rather than *to bind together*; so the צְרוֹר is the *pouch* (1 S 25^{29}) or *purse* (Gn 42^{35}) which is closed by having string tied round its mouth.

VIII. 19–23.—*Three Fragments.*

These are (*a*) a warning against necromancy and magic, vv.[19f.]; (*b*) a picture of some person, or people, starved and encompassed by darkness, vv.[21f.] and probably the last words of v.[20]; (*c*) a promise of a better day for Galilee, v.[23].

Of these fragments, (*a*) and (*c*) are prose; (*b*) consists of distichs of balanced (3 : 3 or 2 : 2) and parallel lines.

This difference of style at once suggests, as Du. has clearly perceived, that vv.[18-23] are not all of a piece. And this is still more strongly suggested by the inability of interpreters, who assume their unity, to establish a probable as distinct from an ingenious connection between the verses themselves, or between the verses and what precedes or follows them. Note provisionally that vv.[16-18] do not supply any natural explanation of the subject in *they say*, v.[19], or the pronoun *you*; in v.[21] *through it* refers to nothing in vv.[19f.], nor does the singular pronoun throughout the last clause of v.[20] and vv.[21f.] find any satisfactory explanation in vv.[19f.]

The verses are in several respects ambiguous, and probably contain more than one corruption. Under the circumstances it cannot be expected that the Isaianic authorship or the date of any or all of them can be either maintained or denied with certainty. It is inconclusive to say, for example, that vv.[19f.] are too didactic for Isaiah.

19 f. A warning against necromancy and magic.—Such a warning would have been timely at most periods of Hebrew history; see Dt 18^{9-15}, 1 S 28, Lv 19^{31}, 2 K 21^{6}, Is 65^{4}. —*When they say*] the subj. is indef. (G–K. 144*f*); it is not resumptive of a plural in vv.[16-18], since, for various reasons, the several plurals in those verses are obviously unsuitable.—*Unto you*] it is improbable that this belongs to 8^{12-16}: if it did it would naturally have stood *before* vv.[16-18]. The הִנֵּה, *behold*, of v.[18] does

not suggest *you* (Di.). The persons addressed may be the disciples of the person who is speaking, and this may be Isaiah. How far the invitation to necromancy extends and where the rejection of the invitation begins is uncertain (see phil. n.). The chief views that have been taken have been these: (1) *When they say unto you*, "*Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp and that murmur*," (Ye shall say unto them,) "*Should not a people consult its god? on behalf of the living* (should they consult) *the dead?*" This may represent substantially the meaning of the original text, but as the text now runs it is open to serious objections: (*a*) the first assumed ellipsis is very harsh and but very partially paralleled by Ps $8^{4f.}$; (*b*) the second ellipsis is questionable in that it carries forward the influence of the interrogative part of the particle (הלא) without the negative—*should they not consult the dead* would be the natural way of supplying the ellipsis. (2) The other view, which admits of many variations, regards the speech as extending to the end of v.[19] and the reply to it as beginning with v.[20],—*When they say unto you*, "*Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp and that mutter. Should not a people consult its gods? on behalf of the living* (*should they not consult*) *the dead?*" [20] *Nay, but to the law and to the testimony—unless they speak according to this word* (viz. "to the law and the testimony"). In brief, Do not consult ghosts, but the scriptures, or, according to another interpretation, the prophetic teaching. On the whole, the argumentative "should not a people," etc., seems improbable in the invitation; and yet these sentences probably were argumentative in their original form.—*The ghosts and the familiar spirits*] the terms (וֹת)אב and (ם)ידעני together as frequently, Lv 19^{31} $20^{6.\ 27}$, 1 S $28^{3.\ 9}$, 2 K 21^{6} (= 2 Ch 33^{6}) 23^{24}, Is 19^{3}. The distinction between them seems to be that a person who divined by the אבות claimed to have power to summon any ghost (1 S 28^{11}), whereas the person who divined by a ידעני consulted his own particular or familiar spirit (Ac 16^{16}), which was at his beck or call; see Dr. on Dt 18^{11}. *The dead* at the end of the v. covers both sets of spirits, and on the 2nd interpretation noted above so also does אלהיו, *its gods*; cp. the use of אלהים, *god*, for the *manes* of Samuel in 1 S 28^{13}.—*That chirp and that murmur*] for the squeaking and gibbering of the spirits, cp. 29^{4} n.; *to chirp* (צפצף), used of the thin notes of birds, see 10^{14}; and *murmur* (הגה) of doves, see 38^{14} 59^{11}.—**20.** According to one way

of regarding this v., it completes the sentence begun in v.[19]: see on v.[19]. According to another, it is complete in itself: when things have grown desperate and a man is without hope, he will, but too late, penitently exclaim, *To the Law and the Testimony*, *i.e.* the Scriptures (Du.). Men will at last seek for the word of Yahweh and not find it (cp. Ezk 7^{26}, Am $8^{11f.}$: and see Che. *Introd.* p. 42). Most improbable of all is the view that v.[20] is a protasis of which v.[21] is the apodosis—improbable in itself, and condemned too by the fact that v.[20] is prose and v.[21] poetry. It is impossible to interpret the v. satisfactorily: probably the last clause is not the original continuation of the first part.—*To the Law and to the Testimony*] the same terms in inverse order occur in v.[16] of Isaiah's teaching. If vv.[19-23] are not the continuation of vv.[1-16], the terms may not have the same meaning as in v.[16]. If v.[20] is late, *Torah*, *Law*, may mean written law, the Scriptures, and תעודה, *Testimony*, like עדות in Ps 19^{8}, may be a synonym of *Torah* in this sense.—*If they speak not*] possible also is *surely they shall speak*: see phil. n. But in either case this clause is very awkward if joined with the next: examples of the improbable sentences thus produced are: *if they speak not thus*, *he* (note change of number) *shall have no dawning*, or *surely they shall speak thus who* (lit. *he who*) *has no dawning*. It is more probable that the last three or four words (from אשר or אין) belong to the poem of which another and larger fragment is contained in v.[21f.].—*For whom there is no dawn*] whose state is desperate, because no morning will ever break on his present night of distress; cp. $21^{11f.}$ (n.) 58^{8}, Ps 30^{6}.

הלוא־עם אל אלהיו ידרש] commentators assign no reason for the emphatic position of the subj. עם. Not improbably ידרש goes with the following words, and הלוא עם אל אלהיו is a corrupt fragment; the corruption in this case is the cause of the ambiguity of the v. (see above). It is one reason against Ruben's elaborate reconstruction of vv.[19-23] that he allows this difficulty to remain.—בער החיים וגו׳] 𝔊 prefixes *τί ἐκζητοῦσιν*, supplying, like modern translators, something where something, though not obviously this, is needed in the present probably corrupt text: see last n.—**20.** 𝔊 is paraphrastic, but read שחר for שחר.—אם לא יאמרו כדבר הזה אשר אין לו שחר] the best proof that these words were not originally connected is the mere statement of the devices which have been resorted to in order to construe them. (1) לו has been explained as a sing. distributing the pl. in יאמרו, in support of which 2^{20} 5^{23} (themselves probably corrupt) have been cited (Kön. 348*u*). Du. reads יאמר. Grammatically the most straightforward course is to make דבר the antecedent of לו (𝔊, Ruben); but exegetically this is improbable. (2) The relation of the

two parts of the sentence has been variously, but always unsatisfactorily, explained. (*a*) *If they speak not thus*, (*surely*) *he shall have no dawning*: cp. RV. But (BDB 84*a*) there is a complete absence of evidence that אשר was ever used (like ו) as the simple introducer of the apodosis (Ges., cp. Kön. 415*n*), or, like כי, as an affirmative. (*b*) *Surely they will speak thus, when he has no dawning*; this translation might pass if *when* were temporal, but usage only admits of its being conditional (cp. *e.g.* Dt 11^{27}, Jos 4^{21}), *on condition that*; and this sense is incompatible with the tenor of the passage, for if it is a unity, the writer regards calamity as a certainty. (*c*) *Surely they will speak thus who* (really *he who*) *have no dawning*; but רבר and not the subj. of יאמרו, both on account of its neighbourhood to אשר and agreement in number with לו, is the natural antecedent to אשר. It is, no doubt, tempting in view of Jer 8^{17} to take שחר in the sense of *witchcraft, counter-spell* (cp. 47^{11} n.), and render, (*d*) *This word against which there is no counter-spell.* But Ruben, who has revived the suggestion, is compelled to resort to violent textual correction to make the meaning harmonise with the context: he reads יאמנו for יאמרו ברבר, and places בעד החיים אל המתים after ידעונים. Those who infer that the real cause of these difficulties lies in the fact that אשר אין לו שחר and אם־לא יאמר וגו׳ belonged originally to different contexts, generally consider that אשר אין לו שחר formed a fragment of the poem to which vv.$^{21f.}$ belonged: Cond. thinks they form the direct continuation of 5^{30}.

21, 22. The poetic fragment which appears to begin in the middle of a distich; the last words of v.^{20}, if they belonged to the poem, are scarcely the first lines of the distich of which v.^{21a} is the second, for the lines would not be parallel, nor would the last clause of v.^{20} contain the antecedent of בָּהּ, *through it*. The fragment appears to picture a man—whether Jew or Ephraimite or even foreigner, cannot, of course, be determined—passing through a country, probably his own (? in search of food, cp. 1 K $18^{5f.}$, Am 4^{8} $8^{11f.}$), distressed and famishing; angry at his plight, he curses his king and his God, from whom he can gain no help; whether he looks up or down there is no ray of light to be seen: he is surrounded by impenetrable gloom.

In the following translation, *to heaven* (v.^{21d}) and *beneath* (v.^{22a}) are taken from Ⓖ. The distich is then 3 : 3, which appears to have been the rhythm of the poem.

[21] And he shall pass through it hard pressed and hungry;
And being hungry he will become enraged,
And curse his king and his God.
And he will turn (his eyes) 'to heaven' above,
[22] And he will look to the earth 'beneath';
And behold distress and darkness,
Thick impenetrable (?) gloom.

21. *And curse his king*] Finding no help from king and God, from whom he might have expected it (cp. 2 K $6^{26ff.}$), and smarting under his grievances, the man grows reckless and commits the mortal (1 K 21^{10}, Lv $24^{11ff.}$, cp. Ex $22^{27\,(28)}$) offence of cursing king and God. Cp. Rev 16^{11}, "And they blasphemed the God of heaven because of their pains and their sores."—Elsewhere the obj. of קלל is in the acc., and in 1 S 17^{43}, 2 K 2^{24} ב, which introduces both מלכו and אלהיו here, is used of the person in whose name the curse is pronounced. We might therefore render *curse by his king and by his god*; but this would leave the object cursed unnamed; and, seeing that the prep. is repeated, it would give us an altogether unusual case of cursing in the name of a king.—*His God*] possible also is the rendering *his gods* (v.^{19} n.): then cp. 2^{20}. But cp. 1 K $21^{10.13}$.—*Thick impenetrable* (?) *gloom*] this translation merely represents what was, as suggested by the previous line, the general sense of this one. The text of 𝔐 is most questionable, and 𝔊 is probably paraphrastic. The attempt to gain a transition from the gloom of v.$^{21f.}$ to the bright hopes of v.^{23} and 9^{1-6} by rendering *and thick darkness shall be driven away:* ^{23} *for there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish* (RVmarg.), involves a number of improbabilities, disregards the parallelism and rhythm of the poem, and assumes a transition from the poetic fragment to the prose of v.^{23}.

23 (9^{1}). Apart from the opening sentence (see last n.), this v. is a prose note explaining that the darkened land of the poetical fragment ($8^{21f.}$), to wit, the northern and north-eastern territory of Israel (cp. Zec 10^{10}, Mic 7^{14}) will be compensated for its former distress by a corresponding glory ($9^{1-6\,(2-7)}$). If either $8^{21f.}$ or 9^{1-6} is not the work of Isaiah, neither is this note; if both are, this note *may* have been added by him when he combined two poems of different periods. In this case he looks back on the humiliation of *Naphtali*, which took place in 734 B.C. as long past; it belongs to the *former time*.—*The land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali*] northern and north-eastern Palestine; cp. Ps $68^{28\,(27)}$. Naphtali is explicitly mentioned in 2 K 15^{29}. The terms in the antithetical clause are all direct objects—*he hath made glorious the way of the sea, the land beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations.* These terms are more extensive than those in the previous clause, for they include the country East of

Jordan (= Gilead, 2 K 15^{29}). Cp. *EBi.* 1629.—*The way of the sea*] according to Jer., Rashi, *al.*, *the sea* meant is the Lake of Galilee (cp. Dt 33^{25}). More frequently הים means the Mediterranean; and so here *the way of* (*i.e.* leading to: cp. Gn 3^{24}) *the sea* probably is, like the 'Via Maris' of the Crusaders, the caravan route which ran from Damascus to the Mediterranean sea at Acre.—*The land beyond Jordan*] עבר הירדן, as frequently of the country E. of Jordan (BDB 719).—*The Galil of the nations*] cp. Jos 12^{23}, "the nations of the Galil," if as against 𝔐 ("of Gilgal") this reading of 𝔊^{B} be correct; also Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων, 1 Mac 5^{15}; elsewhere in OT the 'Galil,' הגליל (Jos 20^{7} 21^{32}, 1 K 9^{11} 1 Ch 6^{61}†) or הגלילה (2 K 15^{29}), is undefined. The term means *circuit,* but is always used specifically of a district in Northern Palestine; cp. the different specific reference of הככר, "The Round" (Gn 19^{17}). But the district covered by the term was not always, nor need it be here, as extensive as the later Galilee: Ges. suggested that at one time it defined a relatively small district round Kedesh (Jos 20^{7} 21^{32} = 1 Ch 6^{61}, To 1^{2}, 1 Mac 11^{63}): in 1 K 15^{29} it appears less extensive than Naphtali, which it subsequently included: see, further, *EBi.*, *s.v.* Galilee. The definition given here and in 1 Mac 5^{15} (cp. Jos 12^{23} 𝔊^{B}) reflects the mixed population which was at all periods more or less characteristic of this northern territory.

21. ועבר בה נקשה ורעב] 𝔊 *καὶ ἥξει ἐφ' ὑμᾶς σκληρὰ λιμός* = ועבר בכם קשה רעב, which is obviously corrupt. 𝔙 is quite possible, since the absence of an antecedent to בה may be due to these words being the beginning of a fragment.—למעלה] 𝔊 *εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνω.*—**22.** ואל ארץ] 𝔊 *καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν κάτω.*—מנרח ואפלה צוקה מעוך] signs of corruption here are: (1) these four words overbalance, or if מ' ואפלה be separated (Du., Cond.) then מעוך צקה is too short for, the parallel line והנה צרה וחשכה; (2) however construed, מנרח ואפלה destroys the parallelism with the first line; (3) for מנרח, 𝔊 read מֵרְאוֹת; (4) צוקה is detached from צרה with which it is coupled in 30^{6}, Pr 1^{27}, cp. יום צרה ומצוקה, Zeph 1^{15}; (5) the difficulty of construing מנרח אפלה. The conclusions that appear probable are: (1) one word between מנרח . . . והנה is superfluous: (2) מנרח is a corruption of some qualification of אפלה, cp. Am 5^{20} אפל ולא נגה לו. *Possibly* מעוך צוקה is a misplaced corruption of מצוקה (Zeph 1^{15}), and just possibly 𝔊's מראת is correct—a poetic breviloquence to express what Ex $10^{22f.}$ expresses more fully in prose, ויהי חשך אפלה . . . לא ראו איש את אחיו. Then we may restore

והנה צרה ומצוקה
חשכה ואפלה מראת.

חשכה] Mic 3^6 (𝔊, not MT), Gn 15^{12} (JE?), Ps 18^{12} (not 2 S 22^{12}) 82^5 139^{12}; pl. Is 50^{10}+.—מעוף] the existence of a root עוף, *to be dark*, is well secured; but this form is doubtful, for (1) there also exist from the same root as nouns meaning *darkness* עיפה and תעופה; (2) *masc.* nouns of the form *maḳtûl* from ע״ו roots are exceedingly rare (St. 275*a*), while, if against MT we treat מעוף as a form like מקום, it would more probably mean *place of darkness*, especially in view of the existence of עיפה, תעופה. The term is perhaps due to an early corruption (see above).—ואפלה מנדחה] The rendering *and into darkness he is driven, or banished* (cp. Jer 23^{12}), is the only one that continues or completes the thought of the distich; but אֲפֵלָה for אל אפלה is exceedingly harsh (this might be partially met by pointing אֲפֵלָה with *he* locative), the suppression of the new and different subj. is awkward, and the clause is somewhat of a hysteron-proteron, for the man is depicted as already encompassed by darkness. The alternative rendering, *and darkness is driven away, banished*, may be justified grammatically, for אפלה (*fem.*) might be the obj., not the subj., of the *masc.* pass. part. (17^1 n., Ps 87^3); but it is very improbable: נדח is not a suitable word for the dispersal of darkness; a fresh synonym for darkness, if the thought of the preceding words is continued, would be suitable, but quite the reverse if the sentence is a strong antithesis. As part of the same distich, too, the clause, had it this meaning, would be intolerable. That these two obscure and ambiguous words are "the turning point to which v.^{23}–9^6 attaches itself" (Di.) is anything but "natural."—**23.** כי לא מועף לאשר מוצק לה] the attempt is made by those who treat 8^{19}–9^6 as a unity and as free from corruption, to make this the reason for the last clause of v.^{22} (second translation) thus—*for* (*there shall*) *not* (*be*) *gloom* (*to the land*) *to which there* (*was*) *distress*; but again the change of words (from אפלה to מועף, from מועף to מוצק) is most improbable, and the change of tense which is all-important is in no way indicated in the text. At least more probable than this is Du.'s suggestion that the sentence is a gloss on מעוף in v.^{22}, explaining that that word is used metaphorically: *for is not* מועף *used* (metaphorically) *of a person who is said to be in distress*?—כעת] *at the former time*, ב of *point* of time: BDB 453*b*.—כעת הראשון] the fem. ת being regarded as radical was treated by some writers from the time of Ezek. ($7^{7.\ 12}$) onwards as masc.: cp. Kön. iii. 251*f*.—הכביד . . . הקל] are antithetical—literally, *to make light* and *to make heavy*, and then in accordance with common metaphorical usage *to render inglorious* and *to render glorious*: cp. the antithesis of the Niphals of the two vbs. in 2 S 6^{22}. The subj. in each case is perhaps best treated as undefined (G–K. 144*d*); others consider it to be Yahweh unnamed, "after the well-known later custom" (Du.). Jewish commentators (*e.g.* Rashi) make Tiglath-pileser subj. of הקל and Sennacherib of הכביד, with, of course, a very different and an illegitimate interpretation of the whole sentence. הכביד is proph. pf.—ארצה] ארץ + old acc. ending; it is by accident rather than design that the noun actually is in the acc. here: G–K. 90.— In view of the absence of the ה in the next sentence it is hardly likely that ארצה is acc. of direction—*he brought shame towards the land . . . he brought honour towards the way* (Du., Marti).—והאחרון] *acc. temporis* (G–K. 118*i*), *and in the latter* (time).

IX. 1–6 (2–7).—*The glorious Future of Yahweh's now enslaved People.*

The poem consists of distichs, except perhaps in the last four lines. The lines of the distichs balance one another, except perhaps in vv.$^{4a.\ b.\ 5c.\ d}$; the last line also is longer than the three which precede. These irregularities may *possibly* be due to corruption, but independent signs of this are slight. Although the lines within the several distichs balance one another, the length of line in different distichs varies from clearly 2 in vv.$^{2a.\ b.\ 4c.\ d}$ to clearly 3 in v.^{1}, and 4 in $^{2c.\ d}$. In v.^{5} some (Du., cp. Lowth) make ^{5c} rhythmically equivalent to $^{5a.\ b}$ and divide $^{5d.\ e.\ f.\ g.\ h}$ at Wonderful Counsellor into two rhythmically equal halves, the whole being rhythmically equivalent to $^{5a.\ b}$. Certainly $^{e.\ f.\ g.\ h}$ might easily be read as a single distich 4 : 4 instead of two distichs 2 : 2; but in any case it is probable that the significance of the name was heightened by being thrown into an independent distich.

Parallelism of lines is prominent: in v.^{1}, the parallelism extends over the entire distichs, though a subordinate parallelism of antithesis marks the lines within each distich.

^{1} The people that were walking in darkness
Have seen a great light;
They that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death,
Light hath shone upon them.

^{2} Thou hast multiplied 'the rejoicing,'
Thou hast made great the joy;
They have joyed before thee as men joy at harvest,
As they rejoice when they divide the spoil.

^{3} For the yoke of his burden,
And the 'bars' about his shoulder,
The stick of his driver
Hast thou shattered as in the day of Midian.

^{4} For every shoe worn in tumult (of battle) (?),
And (every) garment 'stained' (?) with blood,
Shall be for burning,
For fuel of the fire.

^{5} For a child has been born to us,
A son has been given to us;
And dominion is upon his shoulder;
And his name has been called—

Wonderful Counsellor,
Mighty God,
A Father for ever,
Prince of Peace.

6 Great is the dominion,
And endless is the peace,
Upon the throne of David,
And throughout his dominion;

To establish it and to support it
In justice and righteousness—
From henceforth and for ever,
The jealousy of Yahweh of Hosts will do this.

Light now shines on the people that have been (long) in darkness (v.[1]), and they rejoice before Yahweh with great joy (v.[2]). For (1) Yahweh has delivered the people from the yoke of a foreign oppressor (v.[3]); (2) He has also made an end of war (v.[4a]); moreover, (3) a child has been born, who, as a native ruler in contrast to the (foreign) oppressor of v.[3], will exercise dominion, and is marked out as exceptional by the name which he receives, v.[5]. He will rule justly and righteously from the throne of David over a vast dominion undisturbed to its furthest bound by any breach of peace; this righteous government by the will and act of Yahweh is to be endless (v.[6]).

Except in vv.[4. 6] the tenses used throughout the poem are perfects and imperfects with waw conversive, *i.e.* tenses naturally used in historical narrative. But the situation described in vv.[1-3. 5] in no way corresponds to any known circumstances, and the name in v.[5] has no appearance of being one borne by an actual person. It has therefore been widely and correctly held that the poem is, at least in part, prophetic.

It is, of course, *possible* that the perfects are in part prophetic, in part historical; if this were actually so, the question would arise, how much is prophetic, how much historical? Has the great deliverance from foreign oppression actually taken place? Has some birth awakened the poet's hopes, but the actual present not yet fulfilled them by bringing the child born to the throne of David? Many have held that the birth is historic, and

that the poet refers in particular to the birth of Hezekiah; but this view is now generally and rightly abandoned.

It is more probable that the poem is prophetic throughout in all its direct statements—the light has not yet actually shone, the people have not yet actually rejoiced, the child has not yet actually been born; all these things are past, not in reality, but only in the hopeful vision of the poet. The circumstances under which the poem was written can only, but may probably, be detected in the implicit statements; from these we may infer two things: (1) the people were at the time in "darkness," *i.e.* distress; and (2) under a foreign yoke. On one interpretation of v.[5], if not also from v.[3], it would also follow that (3) the throne of David was at the time vacant; another interpretation would still admit, but no longer require, such a situation (see note on v.[5]).

If all we can infer are the two circumstances first mentioned, the historical situation presupposed is obviously one that occurred even in Isaiah's lifetime, for Judah felt the pressure of Assyria and paid tribute; but it also frequently recurred later, when the yoke of Babylon, Persia, the Ptolemies or the Seleucids rested on the Jews.

The determination of the date and authorship of the poem must therefore turn on other considerations; but these, too, are unfortunately less decisive than could be desired.

1. *Language.*—Cp. Cheyne, *Introd.* p. 44; Hackmann, p. 148. This is indecisive. On the one hand, the only occurrences of סֹבֶל (as distinct from סֶבֶל) are in v.[3] 10^{27} 14^{25}, passages commonly, though not unanimously, attributed to Isaiah; on the other, עֵר, *perpetuity*, and צלמות, both frequent later, occur in no passage *certainly* as early as the 8th cent. (see phil. notes). It is the idea rather than the word קנאה that is significant. For the rest, the language is such that it might equally well, so far as we know, have been employed in the 8th century or much later, though סאון, if loaned from Aramaic rather than Assyrian (cp. v.[4] n.), would more easily be explained by a date later than the 8th century.

2. It is urged that no echo of the passage is found in Jer., Ezek., Is 40–66. This is correct, but inconclusive. It is, of course, at once explained if the passage was written later than these writers; but unless we place it as late as the 2nd cent. B.C. (Kennett), why does it also find no echo in still later writers, Zech., Hag., Mal., the Psalms? or should we possibly find echoes of it in Ps 72? The connection with Is 11 does indeed seem probable, and if that connection is due to unity of authorship, the exilic or post-exilic date to which that passage is probably to be referred is the date also of this.

3. *Ideas.*—The conception of Yahweh's "zeal" (v.[6]) is probably enough that which is characteristic of Ezekiel and of subsequent writers, yet קנאה may

be so interpreted as not to be absolutely incompatible with Isaiah's thought (see n. on v.[6]). Several writers (see especially Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahwe-prophetie*, pp. 3 and 6 ff.) treat the reference to the Messianic king as in itself conclusive proof of post-exilic origin; this is unsafe. At the same time two facts remain: (1) the Messianic king does figure in later writers; (2) we lack positive proof that the prophets of the 8th cent. were acquainted with the idea, or, *if acquainted with it, also made use of it*. Marti rather overstates the case when he says that the Messiah here is "throughout a political figure (Grösse) which has no direct significance for Religion"—at least the remark would equally apply to the judges and counsellors to whom Isaiah looks forward in 1^{26}. If Isaiah did look forward to a king in the future and had wished to describe him, he must have described him much as he is here described—righteous, just, mighty in defence of the weak (see notes on vv.[5. 6]). The ideal certainly has its national limitations: the king will be a Jew and yet have a wide, a universal dominion, but no stress is laid on the servitude of the nations to Israel. Certainly, too, the ideal falls below that of the "servant of Yahweh"; but at the same time this ideal of the kingdom established in righteousness and of the peace-loving, justice-securing king is anything but ignoble.

The best complete vindication of Isaianic authorship would be to establish a clear connection with some period of the prophet's activity; but, unfortunately, those who agree in rejecting the view that the passage is post-Isaianic, differ as to the period of Isaiah's activity to which it belongs. It must suffice to refer to two or three theories of date.

Kit. argues that the passage fits into the range of ideas found in chs. 6–8 and other passages of the period to which these chapters belong. Isaiah then expected the conquest of the country and the city, and the overthrow of the monarchy ($2^{12ff.}$ $3^{1ff.}$ $5^{5ff.}$); but also that a remnant would survive (7^{3} 6^{13}); from the remnant would arise a deliverer, Immanuel, representative of the new generation, who would grow up in affliction. Judah must drink the cup of affliction at the hand of Assyria ($7^{17ff.}$ $8^{5f.\ 5ff.\ 20ff.}$). Then the hope represented in Immanuel is realised, $8^{16ff.}$. It increases, $8^{9f.}$, and reaches its climax, $9^{1ff.}$—Assyria must fall. The climax was not clearly perceived at first, but may have been so after 722, when the section 8–9^{6} may have been written down. The sequence of thought and, perhaps, the original sequence of the sections is—$8^{12.\ 15\ (20).\ 21f.}$, Disaster; $8^{16-18.\ 20}$, Hope; $8^{9f.}$ $9^{1ff.}$, Fulfilment. This elaborate construction rests on details, such as the identification of Immanuel and the prince of 9^{4}, which, according to the view taken in this commentary, are insecure, or definitely unsound. It certainly mitigates to some extent the difficulties attached to the view that 9^{1-6} was the direct sequence of ch. 7, and written at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish war. Would Isaiah have described the people as walking in darkness, because they were threatened, in his own phrase, by two fag-ends of smoked out fire-brands?

Du. holds that the "driver" of v.[3] must be Assyria, and the "soldier" of v.[4] Sennacherib's army.

The Isaianic authorship seems to have been first questioned by Stade, *Gesch.* i. 596, ii. 209 f., *ZATW* vi. 161; then by H. Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, 130–136, 143 ff.; Cheyne, *Introd.* pp. 44 f.;

Marti, *Comm.*; Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie*, pp. 57–60; R. H. Kennett, *JThS* vii. (1906), 321–342. Sta., Che., Hack. suggest a post-exilic date not closely defined. Kennett, who treats the passage as *historical*, refers it to about 140 B.C., when "the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel" (1 Mac 13^{41}), and Simon held a rejoicing "because a great enemy was destroyed out of Israel" (1 Mac 13^{51}). In addition to the general objection to assuming a Maccabaean origin for any parts of the Book of Isaiah (see Introd. §§ 26 f.), this theory rests on several very questionable assumptions: (1) that 8^{23} (9^{1}) is part of the poem; (2) that the name given to the prince implies a warrior; (3) that the boots of v.[4] must be boots of Greek soldiery; (4) that the child of v.[5] is not a *child, as such*, but the offspring given to the nation, to wit, Simon. Marti with far more probability places the prophecy between 540 and 440 B.C., roughly about 500, not far remote in time from Haggai and Zechariah, both of whom expected a Messiah of the Davidic house.

On the whole, if the passage was not written by Isaiah, it may be best regarded as a lyrical counterpart of chs. 40–55, though the work of an author with different ideals, written towards the close of the Exile, when the people had long been walking in the darkness of captivity, long dwelling in the land of the shadow of death—Babylon. Like Ezekiel, the writer was convinced that the jealousy of Yahweh must bring about the restoration and exaltation of his people: like Haggai and Zechariah, he looked for a Davidic Messiah; unlike Ezekiel, he gives to his prince a supreme place in the restored community; though, like the Deutero-Isaiah, he expects the restoration itself to be the direct act of Yahweh without the mediation of the Messiah: this is a possible, even a probable, but at the same time not a certain theory of the origin of the poem. If it should be correct, we have three great ideals represented in the literature of the Exile — Ezekiel's, of the Holy Community devoted to ritual and sanctified by the presence of God in its midst; the Deutero-Isaiah's, of the Prophetic People preaching true religion to the nations; and this writer's, of the Righteous Kingdom with its king righteously ruling from Jerusalem over an unlimited empire.

1 (2). *The people*] the entire people of Israel, descendants of those who had constituted the kingdom of David (v.[6]); the subject is not the same as in 8^{23} (9^{1}), nor as in $8^{21f.}$ (note the consistent use of sing. there and pl. here); it is rather the new subject of an entirely independent poem.—*Darkness . . . light*] for these figures of calamities of various kinds and prosperity or deliver-

ance from calamity respectively, cp. *e.g.* $58^{8.\,10}$ 59^{9} 60^{20}, La 3^{2}, Job $15^{22f.}$. Darkness signifies, in particular, captivity. Cp., either for this last point or for the phrases used in this v., 42^{7} (ישבי בחשך), 49^{9} (אסורים || אשר בחשך), Mic $7^{8f.}$ (כי אשב בחשך ישבי חשך וצלמות אסירי), Ps $107^{10.\,14}$ (יהוה אור לי . . . יוציאני לאור עני וברזל . . . יוציאם מחשך וצלמות ומוסרותיהם ינתק).—*The land of the shadow of death*] or, *of gloom* (see phil. n.); the phrase ארץ צלמות occurs here only; but cp. "the land of darkness and the shadow of death" (Job 10^{21}, cp. 38^{17}), *i.e.* Sheol: this meaning can scarcely be intended here; what is meant is either the land of Israel temporarily obscured by calamity, or Babylon, the land of captivity. 𝔗 avoids both these applications by paraphrase—"The people of the house of Israel who were walking in Egypt as in darkness came forth to see a great light; they that dwelt in the shadow of death, light hath shone upon them." **2** (3). *Thou hast multiplied the rejoicing*, etc.] the translation rests on a very slight conjectural emendation; see phil. n. 𝔐 reads *thou hast multiplied the nation: thou hast not increased the joy*, which is obviously unsuitable; the Ḳᵉrê (RV) is probably an early conjectural emendation which restores sense at the expense of style and without restoring the parallelism (see phil. n.). The two figures which enforce the greatness of the joy both recur; see Ps 4^{8} 126^{6} (joy in harvest), Ps 119^{162} (joy over spoil). It no more follows that the poet expected the new era to open after a victorious battle, than that he expected it to begin at the end of harvest.—**3** (4). The great joy is on account of the end of Israel's servitude. The people referred to in the pl. in vv.$^{1f.}$ are here collectively represented by singular suffixes; the change is occasioned by the introduction of a figure (cp. $1^{5f.}$ after 1^{4}). Israel is compared to an animal with a burdensome yoke resting on its neck and compelled to work by its driver, who uses his stick upon it. In the terms of the figure, Yahweh (not the Messiah) brings Israel's servitude to an end by breaking in pieces both the yoke and the driver's stick: burden and blows are alike done away. The figure of the yoke is a favourite one with Hebrew writers, and is used of the oppressive government of native rulers (1 K $12^{4.\,9ff.}$), of the hard treatment by foreigners (Assyrians, 14^{25} 10^{27}, Jer $27^{8.\,11f.}$; cp. Dt 28^{48}) of Israel in its own land, or in a land not theirs (Lv 26^{13}).—*The yoke of his burden*] the yoke that is his burden, his burden-

some yoke: cp. 10^{27} 14^{25} where *yoke* and *burden* stand in synonymous parallelism. The *yoke* (עֹל) is specifically the heavy cross-beam that rested on the neck of the animal; through holes in this passed wooden pegs or *bars* (מֹטֶה), which, being tied below, enclosed the animal's neck; see the illustration in *PEF Qu. St.*, 1891, p. 113, reproduced in *EBi.* 78. MT and probably 𝔊 (though cp. Nah 1^{13}) means *the rod* (מַטֵּה) *of his shoulder*, or *neck*, i.e. the rod with which his neck was beaten; but (1) this would anticipate the driver of the next distich, and (2) the neck protected by the yoke was not the special recipient of blows.—*The stick of his driver*] it is unnecessary to follow RV and introduce a new figure by rendering *of his taskmaster*: for *driver*, cp. Job 39^{7}. Nor, in view of the reference to *the stick* (שֵׁבֶט) for beating (cp. *e.g.* Ex 21^{20}, Pr 10^{13}), is the rendering *oppressor* (14^{4} n.) suitable.—*As in the day of Midian*] an allusion to the ending of another foreign oppression (Jg 6–8). With the phrase *day of Midian*, cp. "day of Jezreel," Hos 2^{2} (1^{11}); "day of Egypt," Ezk 30^{9}; "day of Jerusalem," Ps 137^{7}. Why does the poet refer in particular to the deliverance from Midian? Is it because the story told then, as it is read now (Jg 7^{2}), illustrated the prophetic doctrine that deliverance is wrought not by the size and equipment of human armies, but by Yahweh? In any case the poet does not say that the "light" will shine, the change of fortunes come, after a great battle.—4 (5). *For*] this v. does not give the reason for v.^{3}, but a further reason for the joy of v.^{2}; men will rejoice because the age of universal and unbroken peace (2^{4}) has begun. War is already abolished, and everything that pertains to it, typically illustrated by the soldier's dress, will be destroyed by fire. Cp. especially Ezk 39^{9}, also Is 2^{4}, Hos $2^{20\,(18)}$, Zec 9^{10}, Ps $46^{10\,(9)}$ $76^{4\,(3)}$. It is curious that the writer selects the soldier's dress rather than the implements of war for destruction; Che. (*SBOT* p. 89) reconstructs the text on the basis of the references just given, so that shields, bows, arrows, and quivers may be consumed by the flames instead.—*Every shoe worn in tumult* (*of battle*)] the last part of this translation in particular is uncertain; סְאוֹן† is not *battle* (AV), nor *armour* (RV), but foot-gear. It has been claimed that the word means in particular the heavy military boot; and Ges. referred to Josephus' description (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 1. 8) of the "shoes all full of thick and sharp nails" of the Roman soldiers

in illustration of its character; but neither the Assyr. *šênu* nor the Aram. סינא, ܣܢܐ, from either of which Heb. may have borrowed the word, has any such specific sense; סינא is used, *e.g.*, in 𝔗 Ex 3^5, Dt 25^9, Jos 5^{15}, ܣܢܐ (for which the Peshiṭta prefers ܣܐܢܐ) in the Harklensian version of Mt 3^{11}, Lk 10^4 15^{22}. Abimilki of Tyre in his letters to the king of Egypt describes himself as "the dust under the shoe (*šênu*) of my lord the king (Tell el-Amarna Tablets, 152^4, and elsewhere). Yet though the word סאן is not specifically a heavy military boot, the writer would probably have had such in mind if the following words really mean "of him that is heavily booted" (Kennett), or "of him that makes an earthquake as he treads" (cp. BDB under both words); but both these renderings are very questionable, the denominative vb. (סאן) should, as in Assyr. and Aram., mean no more than *to draw on, to wear a shoe.* If the text is right, which is doubtful, *worn in the tumult of battle* is the safest rendering of 𝔊, which should be pointed סָאֵן not סאן (MT). This gives the best parallelism, adopts the most probable meaning of the denominative, and for the rendering of רעש by *tumult* (*of battle*) has the close, though not exact, parallel of Jer 10^{22}; cp. also Is 29^6. Elsewhere the noun רעש means *a trembling* or *quaking*, an actual earthquake, or, by hyperbole, the shaking of the earth attributed to war-chariots (Jer 47^3, Nah 3^2). The poet then has no special type of boot in mind; it is the fact that shoe (סאן) and garment (שמלה), of whatever nature, have been worn in battle, that condemns them to the flames. In the golden age of peace, war and all that pertains to war will be taboo, and must, as things unclean, be destroyed. Consequently that part of Kennett's ingenious argument* for the late date of the poem, which rests on the conclusion that סאן must refer to the heavy nailed boots which were characteristic of the Syro-Greek soldiery, falls to the ground. It remains noticeable, however, that in Is 5^{27} *Isaiah* calls the foot-gear of the Assyrians נעל, *sandals.—Stained with blood*] reading by conjecture מְגֹאָלָה; מגוללה, 𝔊, *rolled*, or *weltering*, *in blood*, seems to

* *Journal of Theol. Studies*, vii. 327–331 f., 338: criticised by C. F. Burney, *ib.* xi. 438–441, to whom Kennett replies, *ib.* xii. 114 f. My own note above stands as it was written before the appearance of Dr. Burney's note.

say too much; Amasa is fitly described as "weltering" (מתגלל) in his blood (2 S 20^{12}), but the garments to be consigned to the flames are scarcely limited to those which had "weltered" in blood; enough that they had met the usual fate of soldiers' garments, and had become blood-stained (cp. Is 63^{3}).—5 (6). The third cause of the people's joy is the birth of a prince of their own race (*to us*), who receives (at once) the dominion and power over them that had been exercised in the days of darkness (v.[1]) by an alien ruler (v.[3]), and who is (v.[6]) to extend his dominion widely but peacefully. This child is Hezekiah according to mediaeval Jewish interpreters (Rashi, Ḳi., Ibn Ezra), Simon the Maccabee according to Kennett, the Messiah according to most (cp. 𝔗). The ideal standpoint of the poet seems to be (shortly) after the birth of the prince, after he has been recognised as prince of Israel, but before the wide extension of his kingdom has begun.—*Child . . . son*] placed first in their respective sentences for emphasis; ילד is applicable to an infant as yet unweaned (Gn 21^{8}) as well as to older children.—*To us*] the poet who has hitherto spoken of his people in the 3rd pers. here associates himself with them.—*And the dominion is upon his shoulder*] is this fact mentioned between the birth and the naming because the name was given after the prince had grown up and earned it by his exploits (Du.)? or is the meaning that the name is given as usual a few days after birth, and that the child is "born in the purple" (Grotius), because, though the house of David survived (v.[6]), it had at the time no reigning prince (Marti)? or is the position of the clause without significance? משרה, *dominion*, appears to mean here the royal dignity, in v.[6] † the royal authority; the entire phrase here refers to entering on a reign rather than to the burden of governing; it may possibly have *originated* in a practice of wearing a royal robe *on the shoulder*: cp. 22^{22}.—*His name has been called*] cp. 1^{26} n.—The eight words of the name fall into four clauses, each containing two words closely connected: less probable views are that the first four (Jer.), or the first two (EV, Ges.), words should be taken singly; some Jewish interpreters distribute the names among God and the child, *e.g.* "God who is marvellous in counsel, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, gave him the name Prince of Peace (Rashi, Ḳi.: cp. 𝔗); but Ibn Ezra rightly insisted that the whole eight words belonged to the child's

name. Luzzatto treated the names as a sentence, predicating (like Immanuel, 7^{14} n.) something of God, and therefore implying nothing as to the child. Some of the names singly, and even more in combination, are as applied to men unparalleled in the OT, and on this account are regarded by Gressmann (p. 280 ff.) as mythological and traditional: cp. also Rosenmüller's *Scholia*. — *Wonderful Counsellor*] Like God Himself (28^{29} 25^{1}), the Messiah will give counsel that will be exceptional, exceeding what has hitherto been known or heard.—*Mighty God*] cp. 10^{21}; "the great (and) the mighty God," Dt 10^{17}, Neh 9^{32}, Jer 32^{18}. The ambiguous אלי גבורים of Ezk 32^{21}, the application of אל גוים to Nebuchadnezzar in Ezk 31^{11}, and the fact, if it be such, that in the remaining three clauses of the name here the words are cstr. and gen., scarcely justify a departure from the obvious rendering *mighty God* in favour of *god of a hero*, and still less a whittling down of the meaning of אל to *hero*, so that the clause means no more than *mighty hero*. The child is to be more than mighty (תקיף, Ibn Ezra), more than a mighty man (איש גבור, 1 S 14^{52}), more than a mighty king (מלך גבור, Dn 11^{3}): he is to be a mighty אל, god. This attribution of divinity, implying that the Messiah is to be a kind of demi-god, is without clear analogy in the OT, for Ps $45^{7\,(6)}$ is ambiguous. Not only אל but גבור has been differently interpreted: גבור is often used of warriors, and many understand it to refer here to the military success of the Messiah. But if the writer had wished to summon up the thought of one who gained renown in war before he became prince of peace, he might better have chosen an unambiguous term, such, for example, as גבור מלחמה, *mighty in battle* (Ps 24^{8}). At all events גבור is also used of might manifested in other ways than those of war (cp. *e.g.* Gn 10^{9}). As the lion is mightiest of beasts because he quails before no other (Pr 30^{30}), so Yahweh is mighty as one who cannot be browbeaten or bribed into abandoning the defence and care of the helpless and the poor (Dt 10^{17}). In Jer 32^{18} the idea of Yahweh's might, conveyed in the epithets "great, mighty," "terrible," is particularised in what follows as greatness in counsel (עצה) and action, in the signs wrought in Egypt, and in finding nothing beyond his power (ממך יפלא). *Mighty* is to be taken here with this wider reference. Yahweh Himself will bring war to an end and so bring in the Messianic age of peace: the Messiah endued with the

Spirit of God, "a spirit of counsel and might" (רוח עצה וגבורה), will like the mighty God Himself fearlessly defend the rights of the weak and poor, and, after judicial process, have the violent and guilty disturbers of civic peace slain (11^{2-4}).—*Father for ever*] the benevolent guardian of His people so long as He and they endure. For the cstr. and force of עד here, cp., on one view of the construction there, גברת עד, *a lady for ever*, 47^{7}, and the phrase with the synonymous עבד עולם, *a slave for ever*, Dt 15^{17}, 1 S 27^{12}, Job 40^{28}. For עד predicated of the (Messianic?) king, see, *e.g.*, Ps 21^{5-7}; in view of these and other references it is unnecessary to take the phrase as equivalent to *Eternal father* (cp. אלהי עולם, 40^{28}). For *father* used figuratively of a protector or benefactor, see Job 29^{16}, Is 22^{21}. Two alternative interpretations, *Eternal One*, and *Father*, i.e. acquirer or distributor, *of booty*, are both open to the serious objection that they presuppose an Arabic use of אב, *father*, which has no parallel in Hebrew, not even as has sometimes been assumed in proper names like Abihud, Abihail; see *HPN* p. 77 ff.—**6** (7). The zeal of Yahweh will secure the endurance of the wide and peaceful dominion of the new Davidic dynasty, will secure also that it is both established and maintained in justice and righteousness. —*To support it in justice and righteousness*] cp. 16^{5}, and Pr 20^{28} "his throne shall be supported in mercy (𝔊 righteousness)."—*The jealousy of Yahweh of Hosts will do this*] the same phrase in 37^{32}. The term קנאה, used of passionate emotion in man (*e.g.* Ca 8^{6}), here refers to Yahweh's emotion: so, with other terms of emotion, in 63^{15}. This jealousy, or ardour, or passion, of Yahweh, which will not suffer Him to be deprived of His due, especially of the proper regard for His power and honour, is frequently referred to by Ezekiel and later writers; it led to the punishment by captivity of His people who had been disloyal to Him, but it subsequently necessitated the restoration of Israel, lest the nations should think Yahweh weak; cp. Ezk 39^{25-29} also 5^{13} 16^{38} 23^{25} $36^{5ff.}$, Is 42^{13} 59^{17}, Zec $1^{14f.}$ $8^{2f.}$, Jl $2^{18f.}$, Nah 1^{2}. The phrase and the idea expressed by it would be entirely in place if this prophecy is exilic or post-exilic; and it would be difficult to think it earlier, if the main thought is that the jealousy of Yahweh will restore the Jewish monarchy. But if the main thought is that Yahweh will establish and maintain a *righteous* government, it may be merely a more passionate expression of Isaiah's ideal

in 1^{26}. The attribution of קנאה, jealousy, to Yahweh would still remain unique so far as Isaiah's extant writings are concerned. Cp. Küchler, *Der Gedanke des Eifers Jahwes im AT*, in *ZATW*, 1908, pp. 42–52.

IX. 1. ראו] 𝔊 treats this as impv. with העם vocative, renders נגה by impf. and reads עליכם—scarcely real variants. On the text of the quotation in Mt 4^{16}, see Swete, *OT in Greek*, 396 f.—ישבי בארץ] 5^{11} n.—The clause is a *casus pendens*, the cstr. being doubtless chosen for purposes both of rhythm and emphasis: Dr. § 197. 1.—צלמות] Am 5^{8} being probably later than the 8th cent., the earliest occurrences of צלמות elsewhere are Jer 2^{6} 13^{16}: it occurs besides four times in Psalms (23^{4} 44^{20} $107^{10.\ 14}$) and ten times in Job. The traditional view (𝔖𝔗𝔊) that צלמות is = צֵל + מָוֶת, rather generally abandoned for a time in favour of Ew.'s suggestion that it is = צֵל + ת, צַלְמוּת, has perhaps rightly been revived by Nö. (*ZATW*, 1897, pp. 183 ff.); the root ظلم, Assyr. *ṣalâmu*, is not otherwise represented in Hebrew.—נגה] Kal as Job 18^{5} 22^{28}; Hiph. 13^{10}, 2 S 22^{29} = Ps 18^{29}†; but the noun occurs early, *e.g.* Am 5^{20}: cp. Assyr. *nagû*, *to shine*. Possibly the writer intended the noun here, אור in that case being 3rd pf.: note the order and cp. Pr 4^{18}; but 𝔊 = MT.—**2.** הרבית הגוי לא הגדלת השמחה] so Kᵉtib: Qᵉrê reads לו for לא, cp. the same variants in Ps 100^{3}, Job 13^{15}; 𝔖 ܠܗ, 𝔗 להן agree with the Qᵉrê, 𝔙, Symm. with the Kᵉtib. 𝔊 is paraphrastic and ambiguous. In favour of the emendation הגיל (*e.g.* 16^{10}) or הגילה (65^{18} probably also 35^{2}†), note that lines a. b thus show the parallelism הגילה, השמחה as c. d show יגילו, שמחו. The conjecture, now commonly accepted, is due to W. Selwyn, *Horae Hebraicae*, Camb. 1848. For a defence of the Qᵉrê, see Del.; but he fails to justify the emphatic position given by it to לו; in the passages he cites (45^{24}, Lv 7^{7-9}, 1 S 2^{3}, Job 29^{21}, Ps 7^{14} 139^{17}) לו is either really emphatic (so pre-eminently in Lv 7^{7-9}), or textually questionable.—**3.** סָבָּלוֹ] for סָבְלוֹ; G-K. 93*q*. For the noun, see 10^{27} 14^{25}†; the root was in use at all periods.—ההתת] 7^{8} n.—**4.** מאין] ἀπ. λεγ.: see above. If Isaianic, the word is probably loaned from Assyr.; for ם = Assyr. š in such loan words, cp. סרגון = *Šarrukin*; סגן = *šaknu*. For the vowel change מאין = *šênu*, Haupt in *SBOT* compares תורה = *têrtu*, צאן = *ṣênu*.—For מאין מאן ברעש, 𝔊 has *στολὴν ἐπισυνηγμένην δόλῳ*, probably following much the same text as 𝔙, but perhaps reading רשע for רעש. The length of the line and the difficulty of finding a translation in all respects beyond criticism create some suspicion of 𝔙, but we are in no position to emend.—והיתה] the waw introducing the direct pred. is uncommon, but not unparalleled (Dr. § 123*a*); so also is the agreement with the immediately preceding part (שכלה) of the compound subj. (G-K. 146*e*; Kön. 349*t*), cp. Jer 7^{20}. The combination of the unusual together with the shortness of this and the next line (yet cp. $2^{a.\ b}$), and the fact that מאכלת אש *in idea* echoes rather than balances והיתה לשרפה, may reasonably raise the question whether the text is sound at this point.—שרפה] perhaps, in view of the parallel, *that which is burnt*; see *Numbers*, p. 208. This meaning is also possible in Gn 11^{3} (𝔗).—מאכלת] the word is no indication of date; it is true it occurs again

only in v.[18], where the text is doubtful, and in the form מִפְלֶאת in 1 K 5[25]; but the root is one of the commonest at all periods, the noun form is paralleled by מחגרת, מחנכת, מחלקת, משׂכרת, all occurring in early literature, and the corresponding forms occur in both Syr. and Arabic—ܦܠܐ, ﻓﻠﻮ.—5. המשרה] v.[6]†. 𝔊 renders ἀρχή, 𝔖 ܫܘܠܛܢ, 𝔙 in v.[5] *principatus*, in v.[6] *imperium*, 𝔗 אוריתא, *lawe*, which is obviously wrong, and due to connecting the word with יסר (cp. Symm., Theod. ἡ παιδεία). MT מִשְׂרָה presupposes a meaning *to rule* for the root שרה, شرى, of which there is no evidence. Point rather מְשֻׁרָה or מְשֹׂרָה, from שׂר, *a prince*, denom. שׂרר, *to rule* (*e.g.* Jg 9[22]). The punctuation of MT can be traced as early as Jerome (MESRA) and perhaps Aquila, who renders τὸ μέτρον, being deceived by the similar sound of the Latin *mensura* (Lagarde, *Sem.* i. 15).

ויקרא שמו] either (1) Kal וַיִּקְרָא (MT) with indef. subj. (Kön. iii. 324*c*), as certainly in Gn 25[26], and possibly in some of the apparent cases of naming by the father (see Hastings, *DB* iii. 480[b]). This would be the common idiom for naming a child at birth (see, *e.g.*, 7[14] 8[3]). Since the important matter here is the name, and the person who gives it unessential, the indefinite idiom cannot be considered improbable; less probable views of the cstr. with the same punctuation is that God unnamed, or named in part of the names that follow (𝔗), is the subj.; or (2) Niphal וַיִּקָּרֵא: this idiom is used of names given in later life; see Dt 25[10], Dn 10[1], cp. Gn 35[10].—פלא יועץ] commonly explained on the analogy of פרא אדם, *a wild ass of a man*, כסיל אדם, *fool of a man* (cp. G–K. 128*l*; Kön. iii. 337*c*) as meaning literally *a wonder of a counsellor*, or rather taking יועץ like אדם as collect., *a wonder among counsellors*, *most wonderful of counsellors*. Possible also is it that פלא is the acc. prefixed (cp. 22[2]), *giver of wonderful counsel*. On the differing traditions as to the punctuation פֶּלֶא, פֶּלֶא (the second being intended to mark the *status constructus*), see Kön. ii. p. 66.—אבי עד] עד, *booty*, is an early word, Gn 49[27]; but it is not intended here (see above), and consequently the proposed substitution of שלל for שלום below (Neubauer, Margolis, cited by Cheyne in *SBOT*) falls to the ground. עד, *perpetuity*, is predominantly, if not exclusively, late; no indisputable instance can be found earlier than the Exile: frequent in the Psalms, it occurs also in such passages of doubtful age as Am 1[11], Mic 4[5], Pr 12[19], Ex 15[18].—6. לְמַרְבֶּה] the final ם in the middle of the word (K[e]tib), which is corrected in the Ḳ[e]rê, points to an early corruption or ambiguity of the text. In the translation above Grätz's suggestion (*Gesch.* ii. 1, p. 223) has been adopted, viz. that לם is a dittograph of ם[ש], a relatively late dittograph, for it presupposes the use of the final letters. 𝔊 at the end of [5] and beginning of [6] has ἄξω γὰρ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ὑγείαν αὐτῷ· μεγάλη ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ: the overlined words seem to represent a conflate text למרבה רבה, the first of these two words being wrongly read by 𝔊 ל' מרפא (Cheyne in *SBOT*). The parallelism and independence of the short two-accented lines is best preserved by reading רבה. The word מרבה, presupposed by the other reading, occurs again in 33[23]†. See, further, on the text, Cheyne in *SBOT*; Lagarde, *Semitica*, i. 17. If the reading למרבה be retained, Gressmann's (p. 279) suggestion to read המישר (cp. 11[4], Mal 2[6],

Ps 45^{7} 67^{5}) for המשרה is worth considering.—צבאות] possibly an addition, see 2 K 19^{31} K^{e}tib (without) = Is 37^{32} (with).

IX. 7 (8)–X. 4, V. 26–29.—*The Doom of Ephraim.*

The five strophes of the following poem, even in the present text, are of very nearly equal length: in the original poem each strophe probably contained exactly 14 lines. The third strophe still contains this number, and so do the second and the fourth; but the genuineness of two, or four, lines of the second, and the whole of the fourth, has been suspected. The first strophe now contains 13 lines, but there are strong grounds for suspecting that a line has fallen out after v.$^{8\,(9)b}$. The fifth strophe contains 15 lines, but one of these (5^{27b}) rests under suspicion as being a monostich.

The regular succession of distichs is broken in the present text by four monostichs; but one of these is (in v.^{8}) probably due to the loss of its parallel, and two others, $9^{18c.\ 19c}$ $(19c.\ 20c)$, are probably two parts of a distich which have been accidentally separated from one another (see Comm.): in the following translation they are restored to fellowship. The remaining monostich is 5^{27b}; it is probably intrusive, for the fifth strophe is at present a line too long.

We may conclude that the poem originally contained four or five equal strophes, and each strophe seven distichs.

The lines of the distichs are for the most part parallel in sense and balanced. Of the 35 distichs, 19 are clearly 3 : 3; so, too, probably are $9^{16a.\ b}$ (omit ארני), $10^{2a.\ b}$ (read עניים for עניי עמי), $5^{28c.\ d}$ (reading גלגליו for וגלגליו), perhaps also $10^{4a.\ b}$ (לְבַלְתִּי־כְרֹעַ) and $5^{26c.\ 27a}$ (קל־יבוא). There is at least one distich 4 : 4, viz. 9^{9}; other probable, or possible, examples are $9^{18a.\ b}$ (𝔊 4 : 4, 𝔙 5 : 4), $9^{13a.\ b}$ (omit יהוה), $9^{11a.\ b}$ (omit makkeph in בכל פה). The gloss in 9^{14} is also 4 : 4. The opening distich (9^{7}) is exceptionally 4 : 2, and 9^{10} also may originally have been 4 : 2. On the other hand, $5^{28c.\ d}$ was probably 3 : 3, and has been turned in transcription into 4 : 2. On 9^{20} and 5^{29}, see notes.

Note.—The prophetic past tenses of the original are retained in the translation; but the whole poem is a forecast of the future, not a survey of the actual past: see below.

I.

9^{7} The Lord hath sent a word against Jacob,
And it shall fall upon Israel.
8 And all the people shall recognise (it),
Ephraim and the inhabitants of Samaria.
[For they said . . .]
Proudly and greatly daring,
9 "Bricks have fallen, but with hewn stone we will rebuild;
Sycomores have been cut down, but with cedars will
we replace them."

10 And (so) Yahweh exalted (?) 'his' adversaries against him,
And will spur on his enemies—
11 Syria on the East and the Philistines on the West,
And they devoured Israel with full mouth.
In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

2.

12 Yet the people returned not to him that smote them,
Nor inquired of Yahweh of Hosts;
13 So he Yahweh cut off from Israel head and tail,
Palm-branch and reed in a single day.
14 The elder and the person held in respect, that is "the head,"
And the prophet who delivers false oracles, that is "the tail."
15 And those who should have led this people aright led them astray,
And those who should have been led aright were swallowed up.
16 Therefore the Lord will not rejoice over his young men,
Nor show compassion to his orphans and widows,
Because he is wholly profane and given to evil,
And every mouth is speaking impiety.
In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

3.

17 For unrighteousness burnt like a fire:
It (first) consumed thorns and briars,
And (then) it kindled the thickets of the forest,
And they twisted about in a (rising) column of smoke.
18 Through the overflowing anger of Yahweh the land . . .
And the people became like 'devourers' of men;
19 They carved (slices) on the right hand and were hungry,
And they ate on the left hand and were not satisfied.
18c None will show any pity to his brother,
19c But each shall devour his 'neighbour's' flesh—
20 Manasseh (devouring) Ephraim and Ephraim, Manasseh,
Together (will) they (be) against Judah.
In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

4.

10[1] Ah! they that decree mischievous decrees,
And that, busily writing, write nought but trouble,

[2] That they may turn aside the needy from judgment,
And make plunder of the right of the poor, ^
That widows may become their spoil,
And that they may make a prey of orphans.
[3] What then will ye do in the day of visitation,
And at (the time of) the storm that cometh from afar?
And to whom will ye flee for help,
And whither will ye abandon your glory,
[4] 'To avoid' crouching under (?) the prisoners,
And falling under the slain?
In spite of all this his anger turned not back,
But his hand is stretched out still.

5.

5[26] Then will he raise a signal for a 'nation' afar off,
And whistle for it from the end of the earth:
And, lo! speedily, quickly will it come,
[27] With none of it(s number) growing faint or stumbling;
It slumbers not nor sleeps
The waistcloth about its loins has not been untied,
The thong of its sandals has not snapped;
[28] Its arrows are sharpened,
And all its bows bent (ready);
Its horses' hoofs are like flint,
Its wheels are accounted like the whirlwind;
[29] Its roaring is like that of a lioness,
And it will roar (?) like young lions:
And it will growl and seize the prey
And carry it off, with none to rescue.

The grounds for believing that 5^{26-29} originally formed the close of the poem in 9^{7}–10^{4} are these: (1) the refrain that marks the close of the several strophes and, in consequence, immediately precedes the commencement of each strophe but the first in 9^{7}–10^{4}, also immediately precedes 5^{26-29}; (2) the burden of this refrain is that yet more of the divine chastisement is to descend on Ephraim: admirably adapted, therefore, as it is for the close of each of the earlier strophes, it is not adapted to close the entire poem: consequently 10^{4} is not the close of the poem, and the final strophe of the original poem lacked the refrain; so in Am 4^{6-12}, a poem which not improbably influenced

Isaiah in the composition of his own, a four times repeated refrain (ולא שבתם עדי נאם יהוה) was unsuitable to close the poem. (3) At the close of a strophe almost, or (if we omit 5^{27b} as intrusive) exactly, equal in length to the (second), third (and fourth) strophes, and to what, as it would seem, was the original length of the first strophe in 9^{7}–10^{4}, occurs a suitable climax to the whole poem—the utter destruction of the threatened people of whom none escapes; (4) not only the climax, but also the general tenor of the 14 lines of 5^{26-29}, form a suitable sequence in thought to 9^{7}–10^{4}; (5) the structure (a succession of distichs) and the rhythm (mainly 3 : 3) of 5^{26-29} is the same as that of 9^{7}–10^{4}; (6) the conclusion of 9^{7}–10^{4} is not in $10^{5ff.}$, for this deals with a totally different subject; nor (7) is the introduction to 5^{25-29} to be found in 5^{1-24} (see notes thereon).

That 5^{25-30}, in whole or in part, formed a part of the same poem as 9^{7}–10^{4} has been very generally recognised. Ew. reconstructed thus: $5^{25}+9^{7}$ to $10^{4}+5^{26-30}$, seeing in 9^{7} a new start in a great speech which included 2^{2}–5^{30} and 9^{7}–10^{4}. Giesebrecht introduced an important modification of this view by insisting that 9^{7} is the beginning of an altogether independent poem. According to him, 9^{7-20} closed with 5^{26-30} : 10^{1-3} is a misplaced fragment to which the refrain was added after it had become attached to 9^{7-20}; 5^{25a} is a gloss. Di., Du., Hackmann, Che. (*Introd.*), Marti closely follow Giesebrecht, except that Du., Che., Marti find the close of the poem in 5^{29} (not 5^{30}) and Du., Che. do not delete 10^{1-4}; Di. and Du. consider 5^{25} the fragment of one or more lost strophes (on Judah, Di.), and Hackmann treats 10^{4} as an original part of the poem. The contents (see below), the marked change of rhythm in 5^{30}, the length of the strophe, all point to 5^{29}, not 5^{30}, being the real close of the poem. The arguments against 10^{1-4} are strong (see below), but not absolutely conclusive. In addition to the commentaries, see especially Giesebrecht, *Beiträge* (1890), 3–24; Hackmann, 54 ff.; Cheyne, *Introd.* 24 f., 46 f.

Two different views have been widely held with regard to the purpose and general character of the poem. According to one, the entire poem is prophetic, predicting a succession of calamities that are to fall on Israel;* according to the other, it is for the most part an historical survey of past calamities (9^{9-20}), closing (5^{26-29}) with the prediction of a yet more complete calamity which is still to come.†

* Ges., Driver (*Isaiah*, 37 f., *LOT*), Du., Marti, Whitehouse, Gressmann (p. 171).

† Ew., Giesebrecht, Di., Kue., Che. (*Introd.*), Kön. (369*g*, 368*h*), Sta. (*ZATW*, 1895, p. 138 f.), Skinner, F. Wilke (*Jesaja und Assur*, p. 25).

It is generally agreed that the tenses in $9^{7.8}$ and 5^{26-29} have a future force, and also that the perfects in the words spoken by the Ephraimites in 9^{9} refer to the past. But Sta. treats vv.$^{7f.}$ also as historic, and therefore points דָּבַר (𝔊) in v.^{7a}, reads וַיִּפֹּל נפל in v.^{7b}, and points וַיִּרְעוּ in v.^{8a}. It is, however, the force of the tenses in 9^{10-20} that is most disputed. If the section is a survey of the past, perfects and imperfect consecutive tenses are normal and require no explanation, but perfect consecutives and simple imperfects must be explained; whereas, if the section is predictive, it is the perfects and imperfect consecutives alone that require explanation. The consonantal text distinguishes the impf. consec. from the impf. with simple waw in one case only (ויהי, v.^{18}); for the rest we must be guided by the sense in determining whether the waw before an impf. or a pf. is simple or consecutive.

The tenses used in 9^{10-20} are 5 perfects (שב ^{12}, ורשו ^{12}, בערה ^{17}, נעתם ^{18}, שבעו ^{19}) in addition to שב in the thrice repeated refrain, 9 impf. with waw (וישנב ^{10}, ויאכלו ^{11}, ויכרת ^{13}, ויהיו ^{15}, ותצת ^{17}, ויתאבכו ^{17}, ויהי ^{18}, וינזר ^{19}, ויאכל ^{19}), 5 imperfects (יסכסך ^{10}, ישמח ^{16}, ירחם ^{16}, יחמלו ^{18}, יאכלו ^{19}), and 1 pf. with waw (ורעב ^{19}).

If 9^{10-20} be narrative, the most difficult imperfects to explain are those in ^{10} and ^{16}. Of יסכסך, Di. says that it expresses duration in the past; but *mere* continuance, in the sense of duration *without progress*, is never expressed by the impf. (Dr. § 31). Giesebrecht treats it (apparently) as a "picturesque" impf. or, hazardously (cp. Dr. §§ 83–85, 170–173), as a case of the impf. consec. separated from its waw; Sta. substitutes the pf. סָכְכָה for the impf. of סכך. On v.^{16}, Di. says, "The Impff. . . . express the principle according to which God always acts in such cases and so has also (v.^{13}) acted with them"; but this is surely a counsel of despair: the על־כן and the suffixes both render it improbable: had the writer wished to express what Di. suggests, he would rather have written something as follows: ויהוה על בחורי רשעים לא ישמח וגו׳. Giesebrecht apparently would attribute the use of the impff. here to the fact that they describe circumstances lasting up to the present.

If 9^{10-20} be prophetic, the difficulty of the perfects and imperfect consecutives does not lie in any particular instance; for it is a well-known prophetic usage to employ either tense or both tenses in describing the future (Dr. §§ 14, 81 f.); it lies rather in the multiplication of the instances in a short passage; and even this multiplication of narrative tenses can be paralleled; see 9^{1-6} where we find ten narrative tenses, and two only (והיתה, v.^{4}; תעשה, v.^{6}) that immediately suggest the future; cf., further, 10^{28-32}. But between 9^{1-6} and 9^{9-20} Giesebrecht draws a real distinction: in 9^{1-6} future events are described which will all fall at pretty much the same time, but 9^{10-20}, brings before us a *chain* of events as they follow one on another. If predictive, 9^{10-20} is in some respects a unique example of the sustained use of the prophetic past in describing an unfolding future. But apart from 9^{10-20}, 9^{1-6} (generally though not unanimously admitted to be prophetic) would be a unique example of the sustained use of the prophetic past; it would scarcely be safe therefore to deny the prophetic character of 9^{10-20} on the ground that it is unique. Moreover, if 9^{7-11a} with the introductory lines clearly pointing forward would naturally suggest the future to a reader, the refrain would mark a stage after which the reader may naturally expect another future event.

In a further distinction which Giesebrecht seeks to draw, he is even less

successful: he says that in 9^{1-6} "the ideal" standpoint is clearly indicated in the first verse. Allowing that this is so (and it would scarcely hold of 10^{28}), it is not to the point; for the same is true of 9^{7-20}. It is indeed precisely because in the solemn opening of the poem the poet carries us forward into the future, that it is difficult to believe that the greater part of it is a mere survey of the past. The first verb of the poem may be pf. of past fact or prophetic pf.: it makes but little difference whether the poet represents the divine decision as already taken or immediately to be taken; the essential point is that the *action* of the self-fulfilling word of God, according to יָעַץ at least, has not yet begun: the "word" has yet to fall (ינפל) into Israel, and then disaster will happen and become apparent ($9^{7b.\ 8a}$). After such an opening we naturally expect to see not a panorama of the past, but of the future (cp. the perfects in 14^{6-9} after the opening in 14^{4a}); and the first scene in the future as it unfolds itself before the prophet's eyes is given in $9^{10.\ 11}$ after he has briefly indicated its cause in the self-confident temper of the people who have not profited by calamities already past ($8^{b.\ 9}$). It is surely artificial in the extreme to make the words, "And Yahweh hath exalted his enemies over him" (v.^{10}), explicative of "Bricks have fallen down" (in v.^{9}: so Kön.). The impf. consec. is impressive and effective if it is the equivalent of a proph. pf. (Dr. § 82); for in this case it represents the coming calamity "not merely with the certainty of the prophetic pf., but as flowing naturally *out of*, being an immediate consequence of" Israel's self-confident speech ($8^{f.}$), just as the *future* humiliation of man is prophetically conceived as the certain and immediate sequence to the *present* custom of idolatry in 2^{8-9} (וישתחו . . . וישח). On this ground it is *not* advisable (with Du., Box) to turn the impf. consec. (וַיִּשְׁגֹּב) into the impf. with simple waw (וישגב). In the parallel clause the simple impf. alternates, as often (Dr. § 14), with the prophetic past.

If 10^{1-3} be an original part of the poem, which is doubtful, then, since the tacit threat of v.^{3} obviously and admittedly refers to the future, the refrain in one instance (10^{4}) certainly comes after a strophe which has the future in view.

7–11. Ephraim's pride to be humbled by the Philistines and Syrians. — The opening lines announce that Yahweh has determined the doom of the Northern kingdom; this will now work itself out in such a way that the people must recognise what is happening. The fifth line of the poem (now lost) appears to have given the reason for this decisive judgment; or to have suggested the difference between the judgment yet to come, the significance of which men will be compelled to see, and the past calamities which they have lightheartedly minimised (v.^{9}). In vv.$^{10.\ 11a.\ b}$ the first stage of the coming judgment is then described; it will consist of devastating attacks by external foes, the Syrians and the Philistines being definitely named.

7. The *word* of God once *sent forth* (Ps 107^{20} $147^{15.\ 18}$),

whether its purpose be the destruction or the well-being of men, cannot return to God till it has wrought His purpose (Is $55^{10f.}$; cp. לא אשיבנו, Am 1^{3} etc.). Even the solemnly uttered word of men, especially the blessing or the curse, was conceived as acquiring after utterance an existence of its own independent of the speaker: cp. Nu 22^{6} n. This destructive word dispatched by Yahweh will find its mark: it will *fall into Israel.* *Israel* and *Jacob* are synonymous, and here mean specifically the Northern kingdom; for a third synonym is (8) *all the people*; and this phrase in turn is unmistakably explained in the parallel line as *Ephraim*, the leading tribe, *and the inhabitants of Samaria*, the capital, of the Northern kingdom.—*All the people shall recognise* (*it*)] when the destructive word of Yahweh has reached its goal and begun to work, the people will learn by actual experience of its effects how overwhelming the coming calamity is to be: for *to know* or *to recognise*, cp. 5^{19}, Hos 9^{7}.—*For they said . . .*] the Hebrew text is mutilated at this point (see phil. n.); RV "that say in pride," etc., rests on a (tacitly) emended text.—*Greatly daring*] lit. *in greatness of heart*; but "the heart" was the seat of courage, cp. 2 S 17^{10}, Ps 76^{6}, Dn 11^{25}. A day of Yahweh is coming that will abase pride ($2^{11ff.}$), and prove the insecurity of all confidence which, instead of resting on Yahweh (7^{9}), rests on self (cp. Am 6^{13}), or any other human power (30^{1-5} 31^{1-3}).—**9.** These words, perhaps a popular proverb, reveal the self-reliant, God-forgetful temper that makes the coming doom inevitable: the people are confident that they can themselves much more than make good the losses that they have suffered. Common houses were made of *bricks* of sun-dried clay which easily fell to pieces (Job 4^{19}); the houses of the wealthy of *hewn stone* (Am 5^{11}). *Sycomores* were common, and stood to the highly-prized *cedars* as stone to silver (1 K 10^{27}). What are the losses of which the Ephraimites make so light? Not, if the poem is prophetic, those caused by the Assyrian invasion in 734–732, but rather those due to Tiglath-pileser's exaction of tribute in 738, and (or perhaps even only *) those that resulted from the anarchic period that followed the death of Jeroboam II., *c.* 746 B.C. The entire situation suggested in this v. closely resembles that described by Hosea ($7^{9f.}$): Hosea and Isaiah alike see the gravity of what the people treat so lightly; old age bringing with

* Di.

it the loss of the strength of youth has, as Hosea puts it, crept on the nation unawares. The connection between Hosea and Isaiah is even closer, amounting to the verbal dependence of one on the other, if Hos 7^{10} (ולא שבו אל יהוה אלהיכם ולא בקשהו בכל זאת) be original, and not, as some suppose, a gloss.—*His adversaries . . . his enemies*] the singular pronoun refers to Israel, the Northern kingdom, cp. vv.$^{16.\ 19}$. The general terms *adversaries*, *enemies*, are explained in v.^{11} to be *the Philistines* and *Syria*; so the special follow and explain the general terms in vv.$^{8a.\ b.\ 19c.\ 20a}$. *His adversaries* is a conjectural, but fairly certain, reading; 𝔐 has suffered from the invasion of a misleading gloss; it reads *the adversaries of Reṣin*, king of Syria (7^{1} n.), which has been understood to mean the Assyrians; but this would be inconsistent with v.^{11} Several Hebrew MSS read *princes of Reṣin*, but this is either a transcriptional error (שרי for צרי) or a conjecture; see, further, phil. n.—**II.** If prophetic, the meaning of this v. taken together with the preceding is clear: Israel is to become the prey of foes who will fall on it from all sides, East and West being specified, and Syria and the Philistines being named as typical of neighbouring peoples from whom, as having been frequently hostile in the past, hostility might be expected. In this case the prophecy was probably delivered before Ephraim and Syria became allies, *i.e.* before *c.* 736 B.C. If the verses are a survey of recent history, they refer to events of which we have no other knowledge; for the Philistines' attack on *Judah* in the time of Ahaz (2 Ch 28^{18}) is no evidence of an attack on *Ephraim*, which is the sole subject of this strophe at least (v.^{8}), and Am 1^{6} is ambiguous.—**IIc. d.** Cp. 5^{25}.

7. דבר] 𝔊 *θάνατον* (cp. Am 4^{10}) vocalising דֶּבֶר, which is adopted as correct by Sta. (*ZATW*, 1905, p. 140); MT דָּבָר is right (so 𝔗𝔖𝔙 and the later text of 𝔊 𝔄* Γ).—ונפל] pf. with waw conv. after a prophetic pf.: Dr. § 113 (1). Du., Marti think v.^{7b} over-short, and Marti suggests reading וְנָפַל נפל. But even this would not balance the lines: apparently here, as in 9^{15} and probably in 9^{10}, the full unit of six accents is divided into 4+2 instead of the prevailing 3+3.—**8.** העם כלו] more emphatic and rhythmically more suitable than כל־העם: cp. $14^{20.\ 31}$, and see Driver, *Samuel*, p. 187 (on 2 S 2^{9}). לאמר—בנאוה . . .] 𝔊 had the same text, but it is now generally admitted that the clause is corrupt. לאמר can only be a gerundial continuation of וידעו, *they shall know* (*it*) . . . *saying*, and this gives no satisfactory sense. The clause is, to judge from the well marked structure of the poem, the

remnant of six words: I suspect that three words, in part parallel to בנאוה ובנדל לבב, have dropped out before בנאוה, and that לאמר was added after this loss. Emendations have mostly proceeded from the supposition that two words have been lost before בנאוה: Bick. supplies אשר התהללו, Che. (*SBOT*) המקשים ערפם, Marti אשר רמו, Cond. and RV tacitly אשר אמרו.—10. וישגב] the idea of inaccessibility as well as that of height, seems frequently to be expressed by the root שגב; so the Piel may mean *to render* (*inaccessibly*) *high*, and hence *secure*; see Ps 20^2 59^2 91^{14} (‖ פלט) and cp. the force of Kal, Dt 2^{36}: see also Is 2^{11}. But this would obviously give no suitable sense here; for the clause would mean that the enemies would be placed beyond attack. It is usual (see BDB) therefore to assume a unique nuance for שגב in the present passage, viz. *to exalt* (in effective hostility); but even so the sentence is not altogether satisfactory. Versions earlier than 𝔙 (*elevavit*) do not recognise any such sense here; 𝔗 ותקיף and 𝔖 ܬܩܝܦ, both meaning *to make strong*. It is not clear that 𝔊's text had וישגב: ῥάσσειν, which stands for it here, represents רטש in 13^{16}, נטש in Jer 23^{33}, but never שגב. And yet שגב and its derivatives were understood by the Greek translator of Isaiah: for though he uses different words (ὀχυρός, 26^5 and probably 30^{13}, ἅγιος, 33^5, and ὑψωθήσεται in $2^{11.\ 17}$), all of them are true to the sense of inaccessibility or height. The reading וישגב thus rests under suspicion.—את צרי רצין עליו] The overlined letters obviously stood in 𝔊 as well as in 𝔐; for 𝔊 renders τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους ἐπὶ ὄρος Σειὼν ἐπ' αὐτόν of which the last four words are certainly=הר ציון עליו. Du. claims that 𝔊 read in full עֲרֵ הר ציון, and that this was an incorrect division of a stage in 𝔐, צרה רצין, due to the intrusion of רצין which had been a gloss on צרה (=צרו, G–K. 91*e*). It is not certain that 𝔊 read (ר)צין; but that רצין should be rejected as a gloss is fairly certain, and that we should read צריו (Bredenkamp, al.) not improbable; the presence of רצין disturbs the reference of the pronoun in the next line and makes its own line overlong and the whole difficult of interpretation. The omission of רצין gives for the whole v. the same rhythm as in v.^{7}, viz. 4+2.—יסכסך] and סכסכתי, 19^2†, are now generally regarded as forms with substitution of ס for שׂ of שׂכך, whence שָׂךְ, a *thorn*: cp. Ar. شَاكَ, *to pierce*; hence סכסך, *to spur on*. Rather less vividly 𝔗 יערר, and in 19^2 אנרי: 𝔊 in 19^2 ἐπεγερθήσονται.—ויאכלו] 𝔗 pf.; 𝔖𝔙 future; MT impf. with waw conv.; 𝔊 τοὺς κατεσθίοντας=האכלם.—כל פה] cp. 1^5 n.

12–16. A day of overwhelming disaster.—The first judgment leads to no greater regard for Yahweh (v.^{12}), complete depravity continues (v.$^{16c.\ d}$). Consequently Yahweh will bring about a single day of overwhelming disaster when high and low will perish (v.^{13}). The flower of Israel's youth, its widows and orphans, no longer enjoy Yahweh's care (v.^{16}). The vagueness of the description points to the strophe being prophetic, not historical. Even Di., who would interpret historically, doubts whether the "day" is a day of battle (cp. v.^{3}), or of revolution, as

when Peḳaḥ with fifty companions slew Peḳahiah (2 K 15^{25}). In any case the strophe does not refer to any known event, much less to any event known to have occurred between what is described in the preceding and following strophes.

12. *The people returned not*] Hos 7^{10}, Am 4^{6} etc.—*Him that smote them*] *i.e.* Yahweh : cp. Hos 6^{1}, and ct. the entirely different use of the phrase in 10^{20}.—**12b.** Cp. 31^{1}.—*Head and tail, palm-branch and reed*] the high and the low, or the leaders and the rank-and-file. Cp. 19^{15}, Dt $28^{13.\ 44}$. Ges. cites from the Arabic, "Some are the nose and the rest the tail."—**14.** An annotation,* interpreting "the head" and "the tail" of v.[13]. Note the characteristic הוּא, used alike by Jewish and Arabic annotators, the borrowed phraseology (cp. $3^{2f.}$), and the fact that the interpretation agrees neither with the context nor with 19^{15}.—**15.** A variation of $3^{12c.\ d}$. This v., too, may be a gloss; it neither makes a good sequence to v.[13], nor gives ground for the *therefore* of v.[16].—**16.** *He will not rejoice over*] the phrase (39^{2}) is perhaps too weak for the context, see phil. n.—*Young men*] Am 4^{10}.—*Because he is wholly profane*] the pron. refers to the personified nation.—*Impiety*] cp. 32^{6} n.

12. המכהו] Originally, perhaps, המכה (so one MS); but המכהו (with both art. and suffix), called in question by Lag., is defended by Nö. (*ZDMG*, 1878, p. 402); the suf. is acc.: G-K. 116*f*.—צבאות] 𝔊 omits.—**13.** יהוה] is unnecessary, and apparently disturbs the rhythm.—**15.** מבלעם] 3^{12} n.—**16.** ישמח] Lag. יפסח=יפשח, 31^{5}: cp. Ex $12^{3.\ 23.\ 27}$.—ארני] possibly an addition after the intrusion of vv.[14.\ (15)].

17–20. Civil War is the fresh element in this third picture of coming jndgment: Israelite relentlessly pursues Israelite, tribe is ranged against tribe.—**17.** More punishment must come, *for* unrighteousness will still pervade the State like a destructive fire which, kindling in inflammable briars of the steppes, spreads to and destroys the forest.—**18.** This land, whose people are wholly unrighteous (v.[17]), will suffer from *the overflow of Yahweh's anger* (עברת יהוה). So in 10^{6} the "profane nation" of Judah is "the people of, *i.e.* who provoke, my overflowing anger" (עם עברתי). The meaning of the vb. in v.[18a], left untranslated above, is altogether uncertain; see phil. n.—**18b.** *And the people became like*] the point of comparison is ambiguously expressed: 𝔐 may

* So Koppe, Ges., and with few exceptions (*e.g.* Del., Cond.) all writers since.

mean *food for fire*, as in v.[4], or *food for men*, or with the alteration of a single letter, *devourers of men*, cp. Ezk 36[13] (see phil. n.); if the last be correct, v.[18b] forms a suitable introduction to the description that follows of the cannibal-like hostility of the Israelites towards one another. On the other hand, 𝔐, however interpreted, forms no suitable introduction to vv.[19. 20]; in MT, RV, the line recurs to the figure of a fire, though that figure appears to be complete in v.[17]; and the people as a whole are represented as consumed by fire before they fall on one another.—**18c** is out of place in 𝔐: it should follow [19b]: see phil. n.—**19a. b.** The inappeasable hostility of the people is compared to a hunger which is constantly and largely fed but never satisfied.—**19c.** *His neighbour's flesh*] see phil. n. 𝔐 has *the flesh of his own arm*.—**20.** As participants in the Civil War, *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* are singled out for mention, partly because these tribes were the two chief constituents of the Northern kingdom, partly because, as sons of Joseph, they were the most closely related. In prophecy this would be perfectly natural and effective, and in a *poetical* retrospect of the past scarcely impossible, even though the actual feuds of recent years had not been limited to the two tribes that are named. Winckler, however, thinks that the references to the past are specific and precise; he argues that the characteristic of the period between the death of Jeroboam II. and the reorganisation of Israel by Assyria was strife between the people E. and W. of Jordan, *i.e.* Ephraim and Manasseh; he sees in Shallum *ben Jabesh* who overthrew Zechariah (2 K 15[10]) a citizen of Jabesh-Gilead in Manasseh (*KAT*[3] 263). However that may be, in vv.[16-20a] Isaiah certainly is describing, whether historically or (as is more probable) prophetically, a state of affairs *similar to* what he actually witnessed in the Northern kingdom. Within a single year Jeroboam II. died, and his successor Zechariah was overthrown by Shallum, and Shallum in his turn by Menahem b. Gadi (2 K 15[13f.]).—*Together . . . against Judah*] not altogether easy to explain either historically or prophetically if the words are a part of the original poem. It would be curious in a historical reference to the Syro-Ephraimitish war not even to mention Syria, the chief opponent of Judah. On the other hand, if it is prophecy, the point of this strophe, which is that the Northern kingdom will be punished by civil discord, is

blunted by being made to close with the announcement that the civil discord will give place to union, even though that union be utilised for an attack on Judah. Possibly Eichhorn was right, even though his reasons were wrong, in treating these words as a gloss. They may be the comment of a scribe who had in mind the Syro-Ephraimitish war, and the original text may have brought the strophe to an effective close on the note of civil discord within the Northern kingdom. The distich in the present text is rhythmically peculiar (4 + 3 : see above) ; at need it could be read differently (3 + 3 + 3) ; then *Manasseh, Ephraim, and Ephraim, Manasseh*, instead of being a single line, makes two parallel lines in the normal rhythm of the poem. If the next strophe is intrusive (see below), this description of civil war was immediately followed by the description of the Assyrian invasion which is to subdue all these tribes now set against one another. The sequence in this case, and the phraseology at the close of this strophe, may be paralleled by the prediction in the legend of Dibbarra of the wars which are to involve all creation :— And thus the warrior Dibbarra spoke : Sea-coast (against) sea-coast, Subartu against Subartu, Assyrian against Assyrian, . . . country against country, house against house, man against man. Brother is to show no mercy towards brother ; they shall kill one another. . . . After a time the Akkadian will come, overthrow all and conquer all of them ; cited by M. Jastrow, *Bab. Ass. Rel.* 532 : cp. *KB* vi. 67.

17. ויתאבכו] 𝔊 *συγκαταφάγεται* = ויתאכלו. 𝔓 is a ἅπ. λεγ., but cp. Assyr. *abâku* (see Haupt in *SBOT*). התאבך, if akin to התהפך, should mean *to twist about* ; cp. the similar nuances of התהפך in Gn 3^{24}, Job 37^{12}, Jg 7^{13}.—גאות עשן] modal acc. (cp. G–K. § 118*q*), or acc. of the product (G–K. 117*ii*). גאות of physical uplifting is rare ; but see Ps 89^{10}.—**18.** צבאות] 𝔊 om. : in 𝔓 rhythmically suspicious.—נעתם ארץ] Doubtful. Note (1) 𝔊 *συγκέκαυται ἡ γῆ ὅλη* ; (2) ארץ is indef., but the ‖ העם defined ; (3) ארץ is fem., נעתם masc. ; yet see G–K. 145*o* ; (4) נעתם is from a root otherwise unknown in Heb. or Aram. Arabic has (*a*) عتم, *to be late* ; (*b*) غتم, *to be clogged in speech* ; غتم, *suffocating heat* ; whence נעתם has been *supposed* to mean either (1) *to be dark*, or (2) *to be burnt up* ; but see W. R. Smith in *JPh.*, 1885, p. 61. We are reduced to guessing *either* the meaning of נעתם or the word of which נעתם is a corruption. 𝔊 *συγκέκαυται*, 𝔗 חרוכת (v.l. תרוכת), 𝔖 ܐܬܟܠ (= נוע, 24^{20}) ; 𝔙 *conturbata est*. Kroch., Kit., Che. propose נִצָּתָה, which would be a feeble repetition of the vb. in v.^{17c} ; Marti נחעה (*reels*) ; but whether this or נעה (𝔖) is the right word to introduce the next line is doubtful.—כמאכלת אש] MT אֵשׁ, as in v.^{4} ; but אֵשׁ

is possible; אישׁ is always written אשׁ in the Siloam Inscr. Then reading כְּאֹכְלֵי for כמאכלת, Du. obtains *like devourers of men.*—19. ויגור] subj.—העם in v.[18b], from which v.[19a] is now separated by the misplacement of v.[18c] (see above). גור means *to cut*, particularly *to cut in two*, or like جَزَّ, *to cut off.*—שבעו] read שבע; note 𝔊 and the three preceding vbs.—ורעו] read with Secker, al. רַעוּ: 𝔊^{A} has *βραχίονος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*—a doublet in which the first word is secondary; 𝔗 קריביה.

X. 1–4. The Doom of unjust Judges.—This strophe is curiously unlike those that precede: in each of those, judgment is categorically announced, and the cause for it directly stated; here the coming of "a day of visitation" is *assumed* in a question put to those whom it will overtake, and the ground of judgment is *implied* in the description of those to whom the opening interjection of calamity refers. The subject of the first three strophes is an entire people or country, which is throughout referred to in the third person: the subject of this strophe is a particular class —the judges that take bribes and wrong the poorer litigants; and these people are here addressed in the second person.

Largely on the ground of this change some scholars treat 10[1-4b], or 10[1-3] (Marti), as intrusive (see above, p. 180). Other reasons urged are that if 10[3] be original, 5[26-30] would describe a catastrophe after the catastrophe, that the opening הוי connects 10[1-4] with 5[8-24], that 10[1-3] forms no advance in the ascending series of punishments, that the care for the widow expressed in 10[2] represents rather a less severe attitude than that of 9[16]. A further argument urged by some is that this strophe refers to Judah, and is therefore out of place in a poem directed against Israel. Apart from the last (on which see below), some of these arguments taken singly and still more when taken together are weighty. On the other hand, it may be urged, though perhaps with scarcely equivalent force, that it would be curious for an intrusive section to be of the exact length of the other strophes. Even if intrusive, the section is probably Isaianic, and possibly it once formed part of the collection of "Ah's" in 5[8-24]: it is slightly longer than 5[22-24], somewhat shorter than 5[11-17]; but the question and the address in 10[3] differentiates this section no less from the "Ah's" of 5[8-24] than from the other strophes of the poem. See in addition to the Commentaries, Giesebrecht, 10 ff.; Hackmann, 54.

It has been supposed by many * that this strophe refers to *Judah.* That it *could* refer to Judah, if it stood by itself, is obvious; but that it *must* refer to Judah, because it could not refer to the Northern kingdom, holds only, if even then, provided the reading "the poor of my people" in v.[2] be retained. Other arguments prove no more than that the section, if it stood by itself, *might* refer to Judah: thus it is true that the interjection

* Ew., Che., Di.

הוי is common to the several sections of 5^{8-24} and to this; but while it is not *certain* that the whole of 5^{8-24} refers to Judah, it is certain that הוי also introduces Isaiah's denunciations of Ephraim in 28^{1-4}. Charges against the rulers of greed and unrighteousness do indeed "run like a red thread through Isaiah's speeches against Judah" ($3^{14f.}$ $5^{7f.\ 23}$ $1^{17.\ 26}$); but the same disorder prevailed in the Northern kingdom (cp. *e.g.* Am 5^{12}). Finally, Di. urges that 9^{20} forms the transition to Judah; but the allusion to Judah in 9^{20} is perhaps secondary (see above), and in any case, though 9^{20} may mention, it forms no transition to, Judah; it contains no indication that the poet having spoken of Ephraim hitherto, is now going to limit himself to Judah. On the other hand, if 10^{1-4} refers to Judah, it is not both the immediate sequel to 9^{20} and the immediate prelude to 5^{26-29}; it is either intrusive, or the transition has been lost. For, on the supposition that 10^{1-4} refers to Judah, and that with 9^{7-20} and 5^{26-29} it forms a complete poem, we should have this highly improbable result: in three strophes condemnation of the entire people of the Northern kingdom, in one strophe condemnation of a very limited class in the Southern kingdom, in a final strophe the same complete judgment for the two kingdoms, whose cup of iniquity (as described) is so unequally filled.

We must conclude, then, that this strophe, if it formed the fourth of a poem complete in five strophes, referred like the rest to Ephraim; but that if it is not an original part of the poem, it may have referred to either Judah or Ephraim (or both) if "my people" in 10^{2} be rejected, but in all probability to Judah only if "my people" be retained.

1, 2. One class of persons, not two (RV), are here denounced, and their evil activity is described by two parallel and synonymous expressions (see phil. n.). The persons referred to are not the makers of laws (Di.)—for new laws, whether good or bad, were not an annual production as in modern states—but the administrators of the laws, the judges or arbitrators; these, being bribed, assigned property in dispute, or determined penalties without regard to the rights of the question, but merely according to the price paid for their decision, so that the poor lost their cases, or the substance of *widows* and *orphans* was wasted in trying to pay a high enough price for what was theirs by right. Thus the *decrees*, or *decisions*, of these judges are *mischievous*, or

hurtful to, and entail suffering on, the weaker parties. The force of אָוֶן, *hurt*, or *mischief*, may be illustrated by Pr 12^{21} 22^{8}, Jer 4^{15}, cp. also Nu 23^{21} n.; and of the synonymous עָמָל, which is not *perverseness* (RV), by 59^{4}, Ps 7^{17}, and especially 94^{20}. When the judges are said to inscribe and write the decrees, it is not, of course, meant that they necessarily did the actual writing, but that they were the authors of the decisions and had them written down: this use of the vb. *to write*, not uncommon in other languages, occurs clearly in Jer 36^{28} (cp. v.^{32}), Est $8^{8\text{-}10}$, and doubtless often elsewhere, *e.g.* Dt 24^{1} 17^{18}; but cp. especially Job 13^{26} "Thou writest (or registrest) (a bitter decision) against me, and causest me to inherit the iniquities of my youth," where the Kal (תִּכְתֹּב) seems to be used with the same technical, legal sense as the Piel (מְכַתְּבִים) here.

A very large number of the written records of decisions of the Assyrian and Babylonian law-courts have been preserved; these deal with a great variety of disputes touching inheritance, deposits, partnerships, lands, houses, and other property (see Johns, *Bab. and Ass. Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, ch. vi.); the procedure in some cases is described, *e.g.* "two parties dispute as to the possession of a sum which is actually in the hands of a banker. The banker accordingly undertakes to produce the sum and its interest in court, and to pay it over to the successful party in the suit. The decision was written down and the notary of the court gave a copy to the plaintiff, if not also to the defendant, and kept one copy for the archives" (*ib.* p. 109). Similar Jewish documents of the 5th cent. B.C. have been found; for some of the Assouan papyri are agreements with regard to property drawn up after an appeal to the tribunal. In Jer $32^{6\text{-}13}$ we have a precise account of the writing of a deed of sale.

2. See under **1.**—*The poor*] 𝔊 + *of my people*. But the addition has probably resulted from dittography: it overloads the line, has nothing corresponding to it in the parallel line, and it suddenly introduces the first person, which appears nowhere else in the poem. If *my people* be original, or an *intentional* addition to the text, the pronoun refers either (1), least unnaturally, to the prophet: cp. 22^{4} and perhaps 3^{12} $32^{13.\ 18}$; or (2) to Yahweh, as in 3^{15} 10^{24} and perhaps 3^{12} (cp. $3^{4.\ 15}$). If (1) be right, the people must be Judah; if (2) either Judah, or Israel, or both, though perhaps more probably Judah.—**3.** *What will ye do* (cp. Hos 9^{5}), ye judges, who have provoked Yahweh by your unrighteous abuse of your office (cp. 1^{17} 5^{7}), when His day comes?—*The day of visitation*] *i.e.* of punishment; cp. Hos 9^{7}

the days of visitation, the sing. and pl. interchanging as in the phrases "that day," or "those days," applied to the great future day when Yahweh will appear.—*The storm*] tempestuous weather is one of the accompaniments of a theophany, or the means whereby Yahweh executes judgment; see $2^{11ff.}$ 30^{30}, Nah 1^{3}. Ps 50^{3}, Zec 9^{14}, Am 1^{14}, Job 9^{17} 38^{1} 40^{6}, 1 K 19^{11}. So here the day of visitation of Yahweh is thought of as a desolating storm already brewing in the distance, noisy with thunder and hail: men would fain flee from it (cp. Ex $9^{18ff.}$) to some place of refuge for themselves and their *glory*, i.e. valuable possessions (61^{6}, Gn 31^{1}, Ps $49^{13(14)}$); but Yahweh, the true refuge (*e.g.* 25^{4}, Ps 46^{2}), is Himself the cause of this storm, and consequently for the unjust judges here addressed there will be no refuge to flee to. —*That cometh from afar*] cp. 5^{26} 30^{27} "the conception of distance had a peculiar fascination for the early prophets. For the common Numina were gods 'near at hand': Yahweh alone sees and works in the distance; cp. especially Jer $23^{23f.}$, a passage which clearly shows how the conception of a distant god formed the bridge to the idea of the all-present God" (Du.); cp. also Ps 138^{6}.—4. The text of the first line must be wrong (see phil. n.): the translation above presupposes that 𝔐 has suffered through the loss of a single letter; possibly the corruption may be deeper; if not, there appears to be a rapid transition from the picture of the storm to that of a battle, in which many fall prisoners to Yahweh and the rest are slain. Lagarde, by a re-division of the words in 𝔐, obtained the meaning *Beltis is crouching, Osiris is broken in pieces* (cp. 46^{1}, Jer 50^{2}), and therefore cannot be your refuge. But there is no independent proof that the Hebrews worshipped Beltis (= Isis) at all, nor evidence of any *prevalence* of the worship of Osiris; yet it must be obvious that Isaiah could only have closed his strophe thus, if these two deities were among those most widely worshipped at that time by Israelites disloyal to Yahweh. At a later date, Plutarch (*Isis et Osiris*, 15, 16) refers to the worship of Osiris at Byblus; and some, though comparatively few, images of Osiris have been found at Gezer; see *Exp.*, May 1909, p. 440.

1. מכתבים . . . מכתבים] החקקים *without* the art. (𝔊 as well as 𝔐) is probably not *parallel* to החקקים with the art.; nor is עמל כתבו a rel. sent., but כתבו is the finite vb. carrying on what was begun with the part. החקקים (Dr. § 117; G-K. 116*x*), and it is strengthened by מכתבים, which, being in the acc., is

therefore undefined, as, *e.g.*, in Ps 56^2 92^{14} (G-K. 118*p*). The Piel (intensive) of כתב occurs here only.—חקקי] G-K. 93*bb*.—יתומים] את with an undefined noun—rare: G-K. 117*d*; BDB 85*a*.—יבוו] G-K. 114*r*.—**3.** ולשואה] ל resumes ליום of v.^{3a}, though even by itself it means *at the time of* (7^{15} n.).—שואה] *storm* (as Pr 1^{27}, Ezk 38^9, Zeph 1^{15}), is from √שוא, which is parallel to √שאה: derivatives from both roots seem to point to the meanings of noisiness and wasteness; prob. that of noisiness (whence the meaning *storm*) is the original; see especially שאון (from שאה) used of various noises, שאה (Is $17^{12f.}$), תשאות (Is 22^2).—מי] על prob. pregnant—*to* whom will ye flee and rely *on* them?—**4.** בלתי כרע תחת אסיר] impossible. Most attempted translations assume for בלתי a meaning, or usage, which cannot be justified. The actual Hebrew usage of בלתי is as follows: 1. it may be = בלת + 1st pers. sing. suffix, and mean *except me* (Hos 13^4, 1 S 2^2†); but this does not justify *without me*—RVmarg., and some earlier interpreters (cp. Ges.); or 2. it may be = בלת + a binding vowel. In this case it is used (*a*) as an adv. meaning *not* before adjectives (*e.g.* 14^6, 1 S 20^{26})—obviously inapplicable here: or (*b*) as an adv., but *always after a negative* expressed or implied, meaning *except* (*e.g.* Gn 21^{26}, Nu 32^{12}): cp. usage 1; or (*c*) as a conj., but always after a negative expressed or implied: cp. Gn 43^3, Nu 11^6, and with the addition of אם, Am $3^{3.\ 4}$. BDB bring the present passage under the last usage, explaining "(And where will ye leave your glory?) *save that* they bow down under the prisoners, and fall under the slain, *i.e.* (iron.) their only refuge will be among the corpses of a battle-field." *Grammatically* this might do, if the verbs in the exceptive sentence were in the same person as that in the principal; as a matter of fact the 2nd pl. (תעובו) of the principal sentence is followed in the exceptive sentence by one vb. in the 3rd sing. pf. (כרע) and one in the 3rd pl. impf. (יפלו). This really separates the present passage sharply from Nu 11^6, its nearest parallel. RV *They shall only bow down*, etc., might find some support in Phoenician usage, for the Tabnith Inscription (Cooke, *NSI*, p. 26) contains this sentence: בלת אנך שכב בארן זי . . . אי ארלן חרץ, *I have no gold, I am only lying in this coffin*; but the use of the binding vowel with such a meaning would be strange, and Hebrew has its own particle to express *only*, viz. אך. From this surely it will be seen that it is only by assuming an unparalleled usage of בלתי that it is possible to obtain even such highly improbable translations as *unless one stoops under a prisoner they must fall under the slain* (Di.). The corruption of the text is probably as old as 𝔊: the whole v. runs in B τοῦ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀπαγωγήν, with the addition in ℵA of καὶ ὑποκάτω ἀνῃρημένων πεσοῦνται; τοῦ μὴ points to בלתי; with ἐμπεσεῖν cp. the simple πεσεῖν as a rendering of כרע in 46^1 65^{12}, and with ἀπαγωγή the use of the vb. ἀπάγειν in Gn 39^{22} 40^3 42^{16}; the noun ἀπαγωγή occurs only in 1 Es 8^{21} and Sir 38^{19}. 𝔊 *may* have read לבלתי; but whether it did so or not the restoration of לבלתי and the substitution of תפלו for יפלו in the next line gives an excellent Hebrew construction לבלתי כרֹע . . . תפלו: cp. יבוו . . . להיות, v.^{3} n.; or as an alternative, epigraphically somewhat likelier, we might read מבלתי, assuming that מ was lost through haplography. But is *to crouch under the prisoners* (אסיר coll.) a probable idiom? Lagarde (*Academy*, 15 Dec. 1870 = *Symmicta*, i. 105) proposed בלתי כרעת חת אסיר, *Beltis is crouching*,

Osiris is shattered; cp. 46^{1}, Jer 50^{2}; כרעת being a part., the subj. בלתי would precede it according to rule (Dr. § 135 (4)); for אסר (of which אסיר would be merely a later *scriptio plena*), Osiris, cp., in Phoenician, *e.g.* עבראסר, אסרשמר (*CIS* i. 122 : Malta, 2nd cent. B.C.), and the same form in other Phoenician names.

X. 5–34.—*Three Poems, together with annotations and addenda.*

The poems, or poetical fragments, are (*a*) vv.[5-9. 13-14 (15)]; prevailing rhythm 3 : 3 (: 3): to this vv.[16-18] may also belong; (*b*) vv.[27c-32]; prevailing rhythm 2 : 2; (*c*) vv.[33f.]; rhythm probably 3 : 3. Prose notes and addenda are vv.[12. 19. 20-23. 24-26]: other addenda are the distich in v.[27] and vv.[10. 11] (prose?).

Isaiah's authorship of (*a*), at least of vv.[5-7. 13f.], is probable: there are no conclusive positive arguments either for or against his authorship of (*b*) and (*c*). The dates of the poems cannot be very closely determined: the prose addenda are late.

A close and detailed interpretation of the passage is the best proof that it lacks the unity of a speech or prophecy written on or for a single particular occasion. Two views that its heterogeneous elements have been welded into a *literary* unity may be referred to. (1) Di., who extends this literary unity down to 11^{16}, remarks, "The passage is, to be sure, a literary, but not a rhetorical unity. . . . The double description of the punishment of Assyria with the result therefrom ensuing for Israel ($10^{16-23. 24-34}$) does not leave the impression of having been spoken at the same time; 11^{11-16} though cleverly united by v.[10] with vv.[1-9] is yet too dissimilar to vv.[1-9] to have been announced in one and the same discourse with it, and 11^{1-9} again can scarcely have been originally attached to 10^{24-34}, since there is no indication there of the setting aside, or previous abdication, of the reigning king. The entire passage seems rather to be an artistic collection of the leading thoughts of Isaiah's speeches between 732 and 716 (at latest 711), possibly made for the purpose of serving as a conclusion to chs. 7 ff. (or 1 ff.)." This theory breaks down if the view taken below of vv.[20-27] (see also on v.[10f.]) be correct; on the other hand, it would still be possible to hold (2) Marti's theory, according to which 10^{5-34} is a skilful arrangement of fragments made by an editor so as to produce a small picture depicting the pangs of the Last Days, and the assembling of the world power of Antichrist before the Gates of Jerusalem, and of its destruction there.

X. 5–17.—*The fatal arrogance of Assyria.*

After the removal of כי (י)אמר (vv.[8. 13]), which is doubtless an editorial addition, the prevailing rhythm in vv.[5-9. 13f.] is the line of three accents arranged in distichs or tristichs. Lines of doubtful or different length are vv.[5b. 6c. d. 8. 14b]. In v.[5a] הוי may stand by itself (cp. 5^{8-24}: see p. 89); in v.[13d] עתידתיהם is two accents. The rhythm 3 : 3 also appears in v.[15], and by

emendation, partly after 𝔊, in vv.[17. 18a]; but in v.[16] it is 6 : 6. Vv.[10-12] are mostly or entirely prose, and are omitted from the translation.

[5] Ah!
Assyria the rod of my anger,
And . . . the staff of my indignation.
[6] Against a profane nation I send him,
And against the people with whom I am wroth I command him,
To take spoil and acquire plunder,
And to make them trampled upon like mire of the streets.

[7] But *he* thinketh not so,
Nor thus doth his heart devise;
But to destroy is in his heart,
And to cut off nations not a few:—

[8] "Are not my rulers one and all kings?
[9] Is not Calno like Carchemish?
Is not Hamath like Arpad?
Is not Samaria like Damascus?

[13] By the strength of my hand have I wrought,
And by my wisdom, for I have discernment.
I have removed the boundaries of peoples,
And I have plundered their stores (?),
And I have brought down 'in the dust' the enthroned.

[14] And my hand hath reached as to a nest
To the wealth of the peoples;
And as one gathereth eggs
I have gathered the whole earth:
And there was none that fluttered wing,
Or opened mouth or chirped."

[15] Should the axe vaunt itself against him that heweth therewith?
Or the saw magnify itself against him that draweth it to and fro?
(Nay, that would be) like the rod swinging him that raiseth it,
Like the staff raising (him that is) not wood.

16 Therefore Yahweh of Hosts will send leanness into his fat,
And under his glory hath he kindled a kindling as a kindling of fire;
18c And it shall be . . . 18b consuming soul and body.

17 And the light of Israel shall become a fire,
And his Holy One a 'burning' flame;
And it shall devour his thorns and briars ∧,
18 And the glory of his forest and his garden land.

Assyria, who was being used by Yahweh to punish His disobedient people (cp. 9^{7}–10^{4} + $5^{26\text{-}29}$), had arrogantly attributed all its success to its own power, not discerning that it was a mere instrument in Yahweh's hands: therefore it must be destroyed (cp. vv.$^{16f.}$).

The allusions in v.^{9} show that this poem was written after 717 B.C. Further than that nothing conclusive can be said. Some think that it was written in 711 B.C.; others in 701. Che. (*Introd.* pp. 50 f.) gives a survey of theories and arguments. If v.^{9} forms no part of the poem (Marti, *Comm.* p. 104 f.), the date becomes so much the more undefined; and König (*Einleitung*, p. 315), though he retains v.^{9}, attempts to assign 10^{5}–11^{10} to the years 724–722 B.C.

5 f. Assyria is the *rod* (Pr $23^{13f.}$) with which Yahweh whips His rebellious children (1^{2}) for their good; in order to satisfy His righteous anger with His people, He suffers Assyria to plunder Judah and trample it down.—*The staff of my indignation*] the two parts of the phrase (cp. the parallel phrase) are interrupted in 𝔊 by the words *it is in their hand*; these are probably the note of a reader who had remarked that in v.^{24} Assyria wields the rod. RV by straining the Hebrew obtains the bizarre figure of a staff holding indignation in its hand.—**6.** *A profane nation*] cp. 9^{16}.—*I send him*] the tense may be frequentative, *am I wont to send him.* Yahweh's will is that His people shall be plundered (cp. 8^{4} of Ephraim) and downtrodden (cp. 28^{18} 5^{5} 7^{25}); but **7.** Assyria thinks otherwise; it *is in his heart* (63^{4}, 1 S 14^{7}, 2 K 10^{30}), *i.e.* he intends, (*a*) to destroy and not only to plunder and trample down; (*b*) to exterminate many nations irrespective of their having provoked Yahweh's anger. Such is the thought suggested by the present connection; it may be summed up in this—Assyria is guided not by the will of Yahweh,

but by its own cruel lust; consequently it exceeds its commission. Assyria's other thoughts are also expressed in vv.$^{8ff. 13ff.}$, but there the emphasis falls rather on the pride and self-confidence of the nation or its king.—**9.** All cities are alike before it, is the boast of Assyria. The six capitals of states here mentioned represent the ominous extension of Assyria's conquest towards Jerusalem: Carchemesh, the most remote, begins the list; each following name is nearer Jerusalem than that which precedes, and the list ends with Samaria nearest both geographically and by the tie of kinship of its inhabitants. The order is clearly geographical; it is not chronological. *Carchemish*, mod. Jerābīs on the Euphrates, is about 360 miles in a direct line from Jerusalem, and further by the military and trade route. *Calno* is in all probability the Kullani of the Assyrian inscriptions (see phil. n.), which was in Northern Syria: the name perhaps survives in Kullanhou, about 6 miles from Tell Arfad (Arpad); see *KAT*^{3} 55, 186, and S. R. Driver's note on Am 6^2, where other less probable views are also mentioned. Kullani lay about 50 miles S.W. of Carchemish, *Arpad* lies 13 miles N.W. of Aleppo, *Ḥamath* on the Orontes is about 100 miles S. of Arpad and rather more than that distance N. of *Damascus*, Damascus being again about 100 miles N.E. of Samaria. Some of these places were frequently made tributary and even captured by Assyria; but it is difficult to believe that the mention of Damascus and Samaria refer to anything but the capture of the former in 734 by Tiglath-pileser, and of the latter in 722 by Sargon. Consequently we have here the conquests of Assyria (cp. v.^{5}; ct. v.^{12}), not of a single Assyrian king. The references are probably to the captures of Carchemish in 717 B.C., Kullani in 738, the event of that year in the Eponym list, Arpad in 740, Ḥamath in 720, Damascus in 734, Samaria in 722.

10f. Since the great cities mentioned in v.^{9} have fallen, Jerusalem need not expect to stand; cp. 36$^{18f.}$ 37$^{11-13}$, also Am 6^2. The argument is sufficiently suggested by the order in which the towns are mentioned in v.^{9}, and not improbably the original poem adopted the rhetorically effective device of leaving the ominous conclusion to be drawn (cp. 5^7 n.): for vv.$^{10f.}$, which indicate the conclusion explicitly, may be an addition: v.^{10} seems to be prose, and though v.^{11} *may* be a distich, yet the lines would be longer than those which prevail in the poem.—**10.** יָד

As my hand has reached to the kingdoms of the idol(s) (2^{8} n.) *and their graven images than* (or *from*) *Jerusalem and Samaria*, is mutilated (see phil. n.), but the general sense is clear.—**11.** *Shall I not, as I have done to Samaria and its idols, so do to Jerusalem and its images?*] In another context these might well be words of Yahweh. In the mouth of Assyria they are blasphemy against Yahweh, for they imply that He is but one of the not-gods. V.^{10} appears to contrast the cities which are said to have fallen (v.^{9}) with Jerusalem and Samaria as still standing, but in v.^{9} Samaria is one of those that had fallen; v.^{11} reverts to the standpoint of v.^{9} and expresses the conclusion, which v.^{9} suggests, that after Samaria comes the turn of Jerusalem.

12. Yahweh, having punished Jerusalem by means of Assyria (v.^{5}), will round off His work in Mt. Ṣion by punishing the king of Assyria for his arrogance: in vv.$^{13f.}$ this arrogance appears to consist in attributing success to his own power.—*And it shall come to pass when the Lord finishes off all his work in Mt. Ṣion*] for the expressive vb. בצע, cp. Zec 4^{9}, "the hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations of this house; his hands shall also give it the finishing touch." The punishment of Assyria in Jerusalem will be the finishing touch in the work that Yahweh has to do there. The v. is prose: of its origin two views may be taken: (1) it is a prose note added by Isaiah or an early editor at the time when the present chapter was pieced together (cp. Cond. p. 95); or (2) it is the note of a late editor or scribe. If (1) be correct, the v. may be the literary germ of the eschatological idea subsequently elaborated, that a great judgment on the nations that had attacked Israel would take place in or about Jerusalem: see Ezk chs. 38 f., Jl 4 (3)$^{12\text{-}17}$, Zec $12^{1\text{-}9}$, Dn 11^{45}. If (2) be correct, it is a summary statement of this idea, or a deduction from it, applied to the specific case of Assyria. Gressmann (pp. 177–179) cites as rare references to this idea in pre-exilic prophecy, Is $8^{9f.}$ $17^{4ff.\ 12ff.}$, Mic 4; but in the case of each of these passages either the proposed date or interpretation is questionable: see above on $8^{9ff.}$.—*He will punish*] so 𝔊; 𝔓 *I will punish.—Greatness of heart*] *i.e.* audacity, 9^{8} n.; the *fruit* of audacity is perhaps audacious speech (cp. BDB 826*b*).—*King of Assyria*] in the poem, Assyria is the subject: the singular referring to Assyria being taken individually instead of collectively, suggested the king to the annotator.—*The height of his*

eyes] *i.e.* his pride: the phrase occurs in Pr 21^4, the idea in Is 2^{11}.

13 f. Assyria attributes its conquests, so easily and completely obtained (v.[14]), to its own power and wisdom (v.[13]).—*Their stores I plundered*] the text is anything but certain, for why should the conqueror plunder only things laid up in store? In Dt 32^{35} the word rendered *stores* seems to mean "the destined future" (Driver, *ad loc.*): elsewhere it is used of persons ready or prepared to do something (Job 15^{24}, Est 3^{14} 8^{13}, Job 3^8).—*In the dust*] for the conjecture, see phil. n. 𝔘 *like a mighty one* (Job 34^{20} La 1^{15}), or, by a more questionable translation (Di.), *like a bull* (cp. Ps 22^{13} 50^{13}); 𝔊 *cities*.—*The enthroned*] for יֹשֵׁב, *to sit* (*enthroned*), see Ps 2^4 29^{10}, and perhaps Am $1^{5.8}$. If the wider sense *inhabitants* is meant, cp. "Bring down peoples," Ps $56^{8(7)}$.—**14.** In vivid figures the speaker enforces v.[13]; he has robbed, captured, and silenced the whole earth.

15. In attributing all its success to its own power (v.[13f.]), Assyria had vaunted itself against Yahweh (cp. Jg 7^2), or, being in the terms of v.[5] a rod and stick in the hand of Yahweh, had vaunted itself of guiding the hand that used it. Yet this was a vain boast: as a matter of fact, and as everyday life proves, implements such as the axe or the saw have no power of themselves, everything depends on the purpose and power of the man who uses them. So the boast of Assyria is vain: history is the revelation of Yahweh's purpose, not of Assyria's might. Such seems to be the thought, but it is awkwardly expressed, for which reason Du. considers it to be a late addition, and Cond. places it after v.[7].

16–19. The punishment of Assyria.—Something like the substance of these verses is certainly required at this point to carry out the threat suggested by the previous vv.; but a number of scholars have agreed with Du. that this section cannot in its present form be the work of Isaiah; the conclusion is correct, but it might be more widely stated, viz. that in their present form these verses do not represent the work of any writer, but that they have suffered from some transposition of lines and other corruption. For it seems incredible that even a bungling imitator of Isaiah would have made quite such a muddle of borrowed material as is found in the present text. Du. holds that v.[16a. b] is borrowed from 17^4, [16c. d] suggested by 9^4,

17a by 31⁹, 17b (fire and flame) by 30³⁰, that 17c. d = 9¹⁷+ (in one day) 9¹³, and that v.18f. (wood and garden land) comes from 32¹⁵, and "the child" in v.19 from 11⁶. If all this is really borrowed material, the passage is doubtless the work of a late supplementer. In that case the conclusion of the poem in vv.5. 9. 13. 15 has been lost: it is not to be sought with Che. in 14²⁴⁻²⁷. Even if the verses belong to the same poem, they may not be the immediate continuation of v.15 (14); the suffixes in v.16 suggest a more recent direct mention of Assyria. The coming destruction is expressed by means of two figures—the one of fatal disease attacking a healthy body, the other of a destructive fire, consuming everything before it save for a few trees that escape. At present the clauses referring to illness, v.18b. c, stand in the middle of the description of the forest fire: it is reasonable to suppose they are misplaced.

16. Assyria, like Israel in 1⁵, is compared to a human body; at present it is in lusty health, *fat* and flourishing. But into this body Yahweh dispatches *leanness* that it may waste the man away. The figure is paralleled by 17⁴, the phraseology by Ps 106¹⁵ (if the text there be correct). But in spite of this the idea is independently expressed, and with freshness and vigour which by no means suggest a mere imitator.—*His fat*] משמנים are the *fat parts* of the body, cp. 17⁴ (sing.), and, figuratively, Dn 11²⁴; less probably *his fat ones* (RV), *i.e.* the warriors, cp. Ps 78³¹. Fat to the Hebrews was a sign of health and strength; cp. Jg 3²⁹.—*Like the kindling of fire*] this clause, if the kindling is an actual fire, as is generally assumed, is a mere multiplication of sound and words which may be attributed to the incompetent imitator (Du.), or (? cp. 𝔊) to textual accretion (Kit., Mar.). But *the kindling* need not be a literal fire; it may refer to fever: cp. "like a burning fire shut up within my bones" (Jer 20⁹). Then Assyria is conceived as a man not only fat and strong, but gloriously apparelled; under the outward *glory*, i.e. the splendid raiment (cp. Ex 28². ⁴⁰, Ps 45¹⁴ (?), Mt 6²⁹), the body burns with fever which *consumes both soul and body* (v.18c); cp. "consumption and fever which consume the eyes and make the soul pine away" (Lv 26¹⁶). V.16 indicates that Assyria will rapidly decay; the figure of fire (v.17) suggests even more sudden destruction, particularly if *in that day* be original. Other explanations of *glory* are (1) that it refers to the imposing military might of Assyria

regarded as a mass of inflammable material; so Di., and very similarly Du., who compares 9^4; (2) that, as in 5^{13}, it means the nobility, the nobles of Assyria (Ges.), who are to be burnt up with the fire of war. In no case are both the significance of כבוד and the figure the same as in 17^4.—**17.** A fresh figure: Yahweh the *light of Israel* (cp. Ps 27^1), illuminating the way along which His people should walk (2^5), is also a destructive fire, destroying their enemies (Dt 9^3); the Assyrians (cp. 30^{27-33}), who if the v. occupies its original position must be referred to here, are by the requirements of the figure, the *thorns* and *thistles*, in which a fire kindles, *forest* and *garden-land*, or *orchard*, too, to which such a fire may spread.—*In a single day*] 𝔊 *in that day*. The clause is out of place between the two sets of vegetation which the flame consumes. With its omission $^{17a.\ 18a}$ becomes, like the preceding, a 3 : 3 distich.—*Consuming soul and flesh*] the clause, being inapplicable to trees (^{18a}), is out of place; see above. —*And it shall be . . .*] the words that follow are doubtful (phil. n.); neither *as when a standard-bearer fainteth*, nor *as when a sick man pineth away*, would be in place here; this clause, too, may be misplaced as well as corrupt.—**19.** The destruction is not quite complete; trees so few that they can easily be counted, or that a child can make a list of them, survive. Possibly the v. comes from a description of Yahweh's consuming fire destroying Israel (Dt 4^{24}), but sparing an exiguous remnant (17^6). The rhythm is not that of vv.$^{17.\ 18a}$.

5. הוא בירם] a gloss (Hitz., al.: see Che. *SBOT*); note (*a*) the 3rd *pl.* suffix in reference to אשור contrasts with the 3rd *sing.* in the poem; (*b*) the words divide מטה ועמי, the synonymous parallel to שבט אפי (v.^{5a}); (*c*) their presence creates bad sense and poor parallelism. Probably some word either before (cp. Che. *SBOT*, p. 195) or after מטה ועמי has dropped out; הוי in the first line is outside the rhythm of the distich: see note introductory to 5^{8-24} (p. 89). For מטה הוא some MSS have מטהו.—**6.** לשלל שלל ולבו בו] cp. Ezk 29^{19} $38^{12ff.}$. This and the next line read naturally as a 4 : 4 distich. Are the lines an original part of the poem? If they stand, v.$^{7c.\ d}$ seems to express the excess of Assyria's action over Yahweh's commission; yet is there much difference between trampling a people to mire and destroying it?—כי יאמר] an error, through dittography, for כי אמר (cp. v.^{13})?—**9.** כלנו] MT points כַּלְנוֹ, in Am 6^2, where the association with Ḥamath makes it fairly certain that the same place is intended, כַּלְנֵה: probably the name was כָּלְנִי; cp. 𝔊 Χαλαννη, Assyr. Ep. list *Kul-la-ni-i*. But 𝔊 wrongly identifies this Χαλαννη with the Χαλαννη of Gn 10^{10} and adds the note, inferred from Gn 10^{10} 11^{2-4}, *οὗ ὁ πύργος ᾠκοδομήθη*; the tower of Babel seems to have been a favourite thought with

𝔊, cp. 9^{10}. 𝔊 further substitutes Arabia for Arpad and Ḥamath, and in other respects renders vv.$^{8-13}$ very freely.—**10.** It is very doubtful whether this v. ought to be made a little more tolerable in its context by reading האלה for האליל and omitting ומשמרון (Che. in *SBOT*, following suggestions of Grätz, Hackm., Giesebrecht): Marti rightly argues that 𝔊's ὀλολύξατε (=הילילו) is nearer האליל than האלה: certainly 𝔊's *ταύτας*, in view of its position and the paraphrase in 𝔊, is no evidence that האלה stood after ופסיליהם.—לממלכות מירושלם] commonly explained to be a circumstantial clause and an ellipsis for ופסיליהם רבו מפסילי ירושלם, Kön. 308*c*; G–K. 133*e*: but in the alleged parallels the text (Mic 7^4, Pr 18^{19}), or the interpretation (Koh 4^{17} 9^{17}, Is 41^{24}, Ps 62^{10}) is doubtful, or the cast of the sentence is different; in Job 11^{17} a vb. is expressed, and in Ezk 15^2, Ca 5^9 מה.—**13.** ואוריד . . . ואסיר] 𝔊 consistently renders *all* the vbs. of vv.$^{13.\ 14}$ by futures, understanding that what Assyria intends, Yahweh does not allow him to do. This interpretation also underlies the *scriptio plena* אסיר, אוריד. MT is inconsistent—וָאָסִיר, וָאוֹרִיד, but וְתַמְתִּי, וָאוֹרֵד, וָאָסֵר: the pf. tenses show that the writer intended the *scriptio plena* and 𝔊 are wrong.—ועתידתיהם] The Ḳᵉrê ועתוד differentiates the word here from ועתֵד in Dt 32^{35}. On the Aramaic colouring of the word, see Driver, *Deut.* pp. 374f. It would be easy to restore ועתודיהם; cp. 𝔙 *principes*, and see 14^9.—שושתי]=שוסתי (cp. 42^{24}; see G–K. 6*k*); שוסיתי is read by some MSS.—ואוריד כאביר] Kᵉtîb כָּאַבִּיר, Ḳᵉrê כַּבִּיר (17^{12} 28^2), 𝔊 *καὶ σείσω πόλεις*. Du., combining 𝔘 and 𝔊, conjecturally restores ואורד ערים כַּעֲפָר (or באפר); if בעפר is rightly conjectured, ואורד בעפר was probably the source of both ואורד כאבר (𝔘[1]) and וארגז ערם (𝔊).—**14.** 𝔊 abbreviates lines a–d, paraphrases e–f; b is short in 𝔘.—**15.** כהניף] *with the like of a staff's shaking*: see BDB, *s.v.* כ, p. 454b; cp. Wright, *Arabic Gram.* ii. 63: or perhaps כ represents a whole sentence. For instruments to boast themselves against the agent ([15a. b]) is *like* claiming to be themselves actually agents.—מטה . . . שבט] without the art.: ct. הגרון, המשור: this difference is the stranger if שבט refers back to v.^{5}.—את־מרימיו] some MSS read ואת־מ. The pl. is an attempt by means of the *pluralis majestatis* to make the reference to Yahweh clear: some MSS more correctly read מְרִימוֹ.—[לא עץ cp. לא־איש, 31^8.—**16.** האדון] 3 MSS and 𝔊 omit.—ותחת] 𝔊 *καὶ εἰς*.—**17.** וקדושו] 𝔊 *καὶ ἁγιάσει αὐτὸν ἐν πυρὶ καιομένῳ*=וְקִדְּשׁוֹ בלהבה בערה; read [ללהבה ובערה וְקִדְּשׁוֹ ללהבה בערה, which is rhythmically equal, and parallel in sense, to יהיה לאש.—אור־ישׂ] 𝔊 ὁ *φεύγων ὡς ὁ φεύγων ἀπὸ φλογὸς καιομένης*; 𝔗 תביר ועריק; 𝔖 ܣܛܣܘܢ ܐܘ ܝܩܕ ܕܣܟ; 𝔙 *terrore profugus*. These guesses are significant. Later, נסס suggested to Rashi נס, *a worm*, and to Ḳi. נס, *a standard* (cp. AV, RVmarg.). The similar ending of the two words is suspicious. *Like a sick man's melting away, as when a sick man*, etc., are very questionable renderings; for נסס, *to be sick*, is without parallel in Heb., and Syr. ܢܣܣ, to be sick, may be derived from *νόσος*! see Che. in *SBOT*. The text is corrupt.

20–27. An Appendix to the preceding poem, explaining that Yahweh's anger against His people is all but spent; that immediately those of them who have escaped and

remain, will be set free from the bondage of "Assyria," which will in turn become the object of Yahweh's anger.

Two things are clear: (1) vv.[20-27] are *connected* with vv.[5ff.], for *his smiter*, v.[20], *the rod*, v.[24], and *the stick*, v.[26], are obvious references back to v.[5]: (2) these verses are prose, except that v.[27] closes with a distich.

Isaiah wrote prose as well as poetry, but there is no reason to believe that he allowed fine poems to dribble out in prose conclusions. Either (*a*) vv.[20-27] are due to some disciple of Isaiah, who recalled the substance, but no longer the form, of the conclusion of the poem preserved fragmentarily in vv.[5-19]; or, more probably, (*b*) the verses are the work of some late student of Scripture, who sought, mainly by compiling a cento of Scripture texts and phrases (see references in the notes that follow), to give the old poem greater suitability in an age which required positive comfort for itself as well as a promise that Assyria should be destroyed.

20. *And it shall come to pass in that day*] 7[18] and often.—*The remnant* (שאר) *of Israel*] so *the remnant of Jacob*, v.[21]. Cp. "The remnant (שארית) of Israel," Jer 31[7], Mic 2[12], Ezk 11[13]; "of Jacob," Mic 5[6f.]. Cp. also "the remnant (שאר) of his people," 11[11. 16] 28[5]; "of Syria," 17[3] n.—*And the escaped*] 4[2] n.—*Of the House of Jacob*] 2[5] n. 𝔊 here omits *the House of.*—*Shall no more lean for support upon him that smote it*] the remnant will no more trust in foreign powers as the nation had done in days of old, as when Ahaz in 734 B.C. relied on Assyria (ch. 7), which smote Judah in 701 B.C. Du.'s epigram, "Ahaz leant for support on Assyria (2 K 16), but was not smitten; Hezekiah was smitten, but did not lean for support on Assyria," is true, for it would be too odd to describe Assyria as smiting Ahaz when, though at a ruinous cost, they gave him the support for which he appealed (Kön. *Einleitung*, p. 305). The writer is oblivious of the chronology of Isaiah's age: whether Du.'s detailed explanation is correct is more doubtful (see Introd. § 26 f.): according to him, the writer is applying the old threat against the Assyria of Isaiah's day to the New Assyria (cp. Ezr 6[22], Ps 83[9] ?), the Seleucid Empire, which prevailed in his own; under Alkimus and, later, John Hyrcanus, the Jewish community, willingly or unwillingly, rested on the Seleucids and were smitten by them; freedom was expected by the pious as soon as Israel rested solely on

Yahweh.—*Him that smote it*] cp. and ct. 9^{12}.—*But shall lean for support upon*] 30^{12} 31^{1}, 2 Ch 13^{18} 14^{10} $16^{7f.}$: differently Mic 3^{11}.—*The Holy One of Israel*] 1^{4} n.—*In truth*] 16^{5} 38^{3} 48^{1} 61^{8}: cp. also Jg 9^{15}, 1 S 12^{24}.—**21.** *The remnant shall return*] 7^{3} n.—*Unto the Mighty God*] 9^{5} n. The v. is a proof of what has been asserted in v.[20], drawn not by Isaiah from his own prophecies, but by a late student from Scripture. Whether to this student the *Mighty God* meant the Messiah as in 9^{5}, or God Himself, is not quite clear.—**22.** Here the writer seems to reflect on two prophecies, one foretelling that the *people* of *Israel shall be as the sand of the sea* (Hos 2^{1} (1^{10}), cp. Gn 22^{17} 32^{13}), the other that only *a remnant of them will return.* In the 2nd cent. B.C., and even a century or two earlier, the Jews, including the millions living in Egypt and Mesopotamia, had become, what they were not in Isaiah's day, very numerous; but there were among them "many apostates, still more indifferentists: those loyal to the law, the Ḥasidim, the little band who fought for freedom, were only a little band" (Du.).—**22b, 23.** This double aspect of the future will certainly be realised, for Yahweh has irrevocably determined a judgment which, taking place in the midst of the earth, will be universal in its scope; it will give *overflowing* proof of Yahweh's righteousness (cp. 1^{27} 5^{16}) by working deliverance of the elect, and accomplishing "*the annihilation* already *decisively determined*" (28^{22}), of the wicked, whether Israelite or heathen (cp. $59^{15f.-21}$).

24–27. Ṣion has nothing to fear from Yahweh's anger—a point of view radically unlike that commonly taken by Isaiah, but resembling that of, *e.g.*, $40^{1f.}$.—*Therefore thus saith*] 30^{12}.—*The Lord Yahweh of Hosts*] 3^{1}.—*Fear not*] 7^{4} 35^{4} $41^{10.\ 13f.}$ $43^{1.\ 5}$ 44^{2}.—*My people*] 1^{3} 40^{1} and often.—*Who dwell in Ṣion*] cp. 30^{19}.—*Because of Assyria*] see v.[20] n.—*When he smites with the rod*] v.[5] 30^{31}.—*And lifts up his stick*] v.[5].—*After the manner of Egypt*] Am 4^{10}: here Assyria whips the Jews, as the Egyptians whipped Israel in Egypt (Ex 5^{14-16}); in v.[26] the stick is used against Assyria, as it was used against Egypt.—**25.** There is no need for Yahweh's people to fear (v.[24]), *for within a very little time* (29^{17}) Yahweh's *wrath* (זַעַם, v.[5], Dn 8^{19}) against them *will be spent* (Dn 11^{36}, cp. Is 26^{20}): the last blows which His righteous anger against their sin compelled Him to inflict on them with His rod, "Assyria" (v.[5]), are now falling; He is about to scourge Assyria

instead (v.[26]). The last clause of v.[25] is commonly supposed to mark the transition from v.[25a] to v.[26]: assuming a rather harsh and improbable ellipsis, 𝔐 may be rendered *and my anger* (shall turn) *to their destruction*; but the style is most awkward, and the use of על and of the 3rd pl. in reference to Assyria very suspicious. 𝔐, if the consonants were differently divided, might also mean, *and my anger against the world shall be at an end*: but this, too, would be awkward; for "the world" in that case must exclude Assyria and refer only to that part which is enslaved by Assyria (cp. 14^{17}). But if we omit תבל על, *against the world*, as a gloss, what remains is an excellent parallel to the previous clause; for the two vbs. כלה and תמם in parallelism, cp. 16^{4} and (reading תמו) La 3^{22}.—**26.** *And Yahweh of Hosts will brandish over him*] *i.e.* over Assyria: עורר, *brandish*, as 2 S 23^{18}.—*A scourge*] 28^{15}.—*As when Midian was smitten*] 9^{3} n., Ps $83^{10\,(9)}$.—*At the rock of ʿOreb*] Jg 7^{25}, cp. Ps $83^{12\,(11)}$.—*And his stick over the sea—he will raise it after the manner of Egypt*] Ex 14^{16}: see above, v.[24] n.—**27.** After the opening formula (cp. v.[20]), if יחרל be read for וחבל, an excellent distich (4 : 4), a variation of 14^{25} (cp. 9^{3} n.), is recovered—

His burden shall depart from upon thy shoulder,
And his yoke shall cease from (resting) upon thy neck.

The remaining words of the v. (על מפני שמן) have been slightly mutilated and wrongly detached from v.[28]. The attempts to interpret 𝔐 as it stands are the best proof that it is corrupt: the last sentence can, of course, be translated *and a yoke will be ruined because of oil*, or *fat* (5^{1} n.); these words, it is said, contain a comparison of Judah to an animal grown so fat that the yoke is broken by the counter pressure of its fat neck, the purpose of the comparison being to indicate that deliverance is to come from within as well as from without (Del.). For other explanations neither better nor worse, see Ges. and Di.

22. ישוב . . . יהיה אם] Dr. §§ 136, 143.—עמך] 𝔊 עם.—בו . . . שאר] cp. הנשאר ברם, Lv 5^{9}: see BDB 88*a* (bottom).—כליון] Dt 28^{65} † (in a different sense).—חרוץ] the Kal meaning, *to determine*, occurs again only in Job 14^{5}; but cp. the Niphal in v.[23]; and see Dn $9^{26f.}$ 11^{36}, which are, in other respects also, phraseologically connected with this passage.—שמץ צדקה] acc. after *verba copiae*: G–K. 117*z*.—**23.** יהוה צבאות] 𝔊 om.—**24.** ארני] 𝔊^{B} om.—יכבה] G–K. 58*g*, *i*.—**25.** מזער] 16^{14} 24^{6} 29^{17}†.—ועם] Che. proposes ועמי; cp. the parallel אפי: but perhaps אפי arose by dittography from אף יתם: see next n.—אפי על תבליתם]

a few MSS read תכליתם, which would be synonymous with תבליתם †; for תבלית from √בלה would mean *a wearing out, destruction.* על is used to express direction *towards*, "not common except in the sense *against*" (BDB 757*a*); but examples of the use of על such as Ca 7[11], 2 Ch 20[12], cited in BDB 757*b* (under **7c** (*c*)), are really very different from that commonly assumed here. The obvious meaning if it were suitable in the context would be *my anger at* (roused by) *their destruction.*" Luzzatto proposed אַפִּי עַל תִּבֶל יְהֹם; this is improbable (see above): on the other hand, וכלה ועם ואפי יתם gives all that seems to be wanted; תבל על was perhaps the note of some reader who took the verbs כלה and תמם in their other sense *to be fulfilled*, and explained the wrath as that which would affect the whole world in the last judgment.—**26.** שוט] possibly, through similarity of sound, for שבט (v.[24]). 𝔊 omits.—ומטהו על הים ונשאו] rather poor Hebrew. Winckler (*ATUntersuchungen*, 177) suggests עליהם ישא; but this introduces the suspicious *pl.* suffix: Marti, עליו ישא. Perhaps the corruption goes deeper. 𝔊 renders *καὶ ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν.*—**27.** וחבל] this is an early error for יחרל, which is parallel to יסור and completes the rhythm of the distich 4 : 4. The emendation is due to W. R. Smith (*Journal of Philology*, xiii. 62 f.).—על מפני שמן] yields no sense: see above and phil. n. on p. 209.

X. 27c–32.—*A Dramatic Idyll.*

The prevailing rhythm in vv.[27-31a] is 2 : 2; in vv.[31b-32] the rhythm becomes more uncertain, and the text at the same time shows signs of corruption (see phil. n.). The poem is probably defective: perhaps two lines at the beginning and four of the last strophe have been lost.

[27c] He hath gone up from Penê 'Rimmon,'
[28] He hath fallen on 'Ayyath;
He hath passed through Migron,
At Michmas he depositeth his baggage;
[29] 'He hath' passed over the ravine,
(In) Geba is 'his' night quarters.

Ramah hath trembled,
Gibeah of Saul hath fled.
[30] Give a shrill cry, ...!
. . . . ., daughter of Gallim!
Give heed, Laishah!
Answer her, Anathoth!
[31] Madmenah hath run away,
The inhabitants of Gebim have sought refuge.

[32] To-day . . . . .
He will swing his hand,
Towards the Mount of the daughter of Ṣion,
The hill of Jerusalem.

The poet assumes the standpoint of one who is in Jerusalem on the morrow after an invader, marching from the north, has entered Judaean territory and encamped within a few miles of the capital, ready to strike at it the next day.

First, the invader's march is described in a succession of short telling clauses, vv.[27-29]: from Penê Rimmon, some ten miles north of Jerusalem, he has advanced through ʿAi and Migron to Michmas; leaving his heavy baggage there, he has without delay descended into the deep Wady Suwênîṭ below Michmas, crossed its bottom and made the steep ascent to Gebaʿ, where at less than six miles from Jerusalem he has encamped for the night. This concludes the description of the march, for in vv.[29c-31] the subject of the verb is no longer the invader, and the towns mentioned do not lie on any single route from Gebaʿ to Jerusalem. The object of vv.[29c-31] is to indicate, partly by descriptive tenses, partly by imperatives addressed to the terrified towns, the terror of the country between Gebaʿ and Jerusalem as news reaches them the same evening of the near presence of the hostile army. The poem closes with the inevitable yet ominous inference. To-day the invader will fall on Jerusalem itself, v.[32].

Many have supposed that the poem ends not at v.[32], but at v.[34]; in that case Isaiah's purpose in the whole would be to describe the invading army, whether Syro-Ephraimitish or, more probably, Assyrian, advancing right up to Jerusalem, only to fall there before the unseen power of Yahweh. But this is improbable: for (1) the rhythm in vv.[33f.] is different; (2) the figurative language of vv.[33f.] has no natural connection with the simple and sustained literalism of vv.[27-32]; cp. Cheyne, *Introd.* p. 56.

If the poem concludes with v.[32], it threatens Jerusalem without any alleviating promise, and is therefore inconsistent with Isaiah's attitude at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish war (c. 7); but it may have been written by him later, in expectation of some assault by Assyria, though it is improbable that Assyria would ever have followed the line of march indicated.

Isaiah's authorship has been questioned (Du., Marti) on the grounds of (1) the numerous paronomasias: cp. Mic 1[10-15]; (2) the special emphasis on Jerusalem; (3) the objective character of the description which scarcely suggests a prophet living in the midst of the circumstances. Against (2), cp. 1[1] n., and note that vv.[29-31] show feeling for the country as well as the city. The number of plays on words, or paronomasias, has been exaggerated; the

supposed play on the name of Michmas, for example, rests on a very questionable etymology.

27c–29b. The Invader's March.—*He hath gone up*] 𝔐 *a yoke*: see phil. n., and above on v.[27b].—*Penê Rimmon*] Du.'s conjecture for *penê shemen* (𝔐). The name means *Face of Rimmon*; cp. Peniel, *Face of God*; the deity Rimmon is mentioned in 2 K 5[18]. The modern Rammôn lies about 3 miles N.N.E. of Michmas.—**28.** *ʿAyyath*] probably the same as ʿAi, which lay to the E. of and near Bethel (Gn 12[8], Jos 7[2]), and consequently a little to the N. of Michmas. It is identified by some with Dêr Dîwân, about 3 miles N. of Michmas.—*Migron*] obviously lay N. of Michmas, perhaps on the site of the modern Makrûn. W. R. Smith,* indeed, argued that the Migron mentioned in 1 S 14[2], which must have lain *South* of Michmas, was intended here; and that a detachment of the invaders fell upon it and secured it before the main body attempted the difficult passage of the Wady es-Suwênîṭ: but the rendering of עבר ב by *to fall upon* is not justified.—*At Michmas*] mod. Muḥmâs, 7½ miles N. of Jerusalem. It lies at an elevation of 1990 feet, distant about 2 miles, and separated by the deep Wady es-Suwênîṭ, from Gebaʿ (2220 feet), which stands on the top of the opposite slope. To avoid the difficulty of transport over this troublesome piece of country, the invader *deposits his* heavy *baggage* at Michmas.—**29.** *He*] so 𝔊; 𝔐 *they*, but note the 3rd sing. in other sentences in 𝔐.—*Has crossed the ravine*] lit. *has passed the passage* (מעברה), or *crossed the crossing*, viz. of the wady between Michmas and Gebaʿ; this crossing in 1 S 13[23] is called "the *passage*, or *crossing* (מעבר), of Michmas." The passage (מעבר) of Jabbok (Gn 32[23]) was a real ford; but the Wady es-Suwênîṭ is often dry: the present writer found it so on Feb. 25, 1904: cp. Dalman in *ZDPV* xxviii. 163 f. *Ravine* is not a strict equivalent of מעברה, but it is used here in order to summon up the picture which the phrase would recall to a Hebrew familiar with the district: 𝔊 παρελεύσεται φάραγγα retains the picture; but RV, *they are gone over the pass*, suggests an ascent, a passage of the top, and a descent, whereas what is actually described is a steep descent, a passage of the bottom, and a steep ascent.—(*In*) *Gebaʿ are his night-quarters*] see phil. n. 𝔐 might best be rendered *Gebaʿ be our night-quarters*, a dramatic cry of the army as it

* *JPh.*, 1884, p. 63: cp. Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 72; Stenning, in *DB* ii. 169.

climbs the southern slope of the valley to Geba', which lies within six miles of Jerusalem.

29c–31. The alarm of the country-side.—*Ramah*] is er-Râm, 35 minutes along the crest of the hill W.S.W. from Geba' (Baed. *Pal.* 248).—*Gibe'ah of Saul*] probably Tell el-Fûl, the site of which satisfies the requirements of Jg 19^{12-16}, 1 S $10^{2-7.\ 10-13}$: see *EBi.* and *DB*, *s.v. Gibeah.*—Tell el-Fûl lies about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.S.E. of er-Râm, about 3 miles S.S.W. of Geba', and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.W. of 'Anâta (Anathoth).—**30.** Three or four towns between Geba' and Jerusalem are dramatically invited to participate in the lamentation which the approach of the invaders occasions.—*Gallim* and *Laishah* (which is scarcely el-'Isawiyyeh, between 'Anâta and Jerusalem) are not identified: but cp. "Palṭi, the son of Laish, which was of Gallim," 1 S 25^{44}.—*Answer her, 'Anathoth*] or, less probably, *O poor one, 'Anathoth*; in either case there is a paronomasia—*'aniah 'anāthōth*, or *'aniyyah 'anāthōth*. 'Anathoth is the mod. 'Anâtâ, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem and on the road that runs from Geba' to Jerusalem through Ḥizmeh; another road from Geba' to Jerusalem ran through er-Râm (Ramah).—**31.** *Madmenah* and *Gebim* are both unknown cities.—*Have sought refuge*] for themselves and their belongings; cp. Ex 9^{19}, where the obj. of העיז is expressed, and Jer 4^{6} 6^{1}, where, as here, it is omitted: cp. also the use of Kal in 30^{2}, and the noun מעוז in 17^{9}.

32. Assault on Jerusalem is imminent.—The text is in several respects uncertain: see phil. n. *To-day* is the morning after the night spent by the invaders at Geba' (v.[29]); speaking dramatically, as one risen early on that day and in receipt of the news which has already thrown the places between Geba' and Jerusalem into alarm, the poet draws the conclusion: To-day the foe will take up its position before the walls of Jerusalem.—*In Nob*] the text is doubtful, and the site of Nob uncertain. Neh 11^{32} mentions this place next to 'Anathoth, and as occupied by Benjamites: 1 S $21^{2\ (1)}$ $22^{9.\ 19}$ † fails, even if the text be correct, to define the site more closely. Mainly on the ground of the present passage, it has been located at some point on the high ground to the N. of, and over-looking, Jerusalem. See, further, *Nob*, in *DB*.

27. מפני שכן] על יָלִין yields no sense: see p. 206. על = עלה; cp. בנה = בנ in Phoenician inscriptions, *e.g.* *CIS* i. 4^{3} = Cooke, *NSI* 6^{3}: cp. *ib.* 33^{3}. For מפני

שמן, W. R. Smith (*JPh.* xiii. 63 ff.) proposed מצפן שדר, *the waster* (*i.e.* Assyria) *from the North*; Du. מפני רמון, which is easier and preferable (see above). 𝔊 ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ὑμῶν.—**28.** בא על] of hostile approach: so Gn 34[27], 1 S 12[12], Jg 18[27] (*v.l.* עד).—עית=עיא, עיה (Neh 11[31], 1 Ch 7[28]) with retention of the old fem. ת. The position of עית between Michmas and Bethel points to identification also with העי. 𝔊 εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἀγγαι (of which καὶ ἥξει εἰς Ἀγγαι in v.[29] may be a variant) should represent העי הער, which might be a text conflate of two variants of עית.—למכמש יפקיד] many editions have למכמש, which is incorrect. It is very questionable whether מכמש means store-place; כמס in Dt 32[34] is probably an error for כנם. In Jer 36[20] 37[21] הפקיד, *to deposit*, is followed by בְּ; with ל the vb. may mean *to the town of Michmas he entrusts his baggage* (Ges.), though the person to whom a deposit is entrusted is elsewhere introduced by על יד (1 K 14[27]), or ביד (Ps 31[6]), or את (Jer 40[7]).—**29.** עברו] 𝔊 παρελεύσεται=עבר, or perhaps rather יעבר (note כליו preceding). The 3rd sing. pf. is right.—לנו מלון נבע לנו] if correct is either (1) *for us*: the pl. in such a dramatic cry would not be impossible in spite of the prevalent singulars; or (2) 3rd pl. pf. of לין, (*the night-quarters where*) *they have spent the night*; but this would give a pointless redundance, and a 3rd pl. instead of the 3rd sing., which is used of the invader throughout the poem. More probably מלנלנו=מלון לנו has arisen through dittography from קולנו.—**30.** צהלי קולך] double subj.: G–K. 144*m*. 𝔊 omits the words; but possibly even 𝔐 is incomplete, the present line of three accents being a mutilation of a distich 2 : 2.—בת־גלים] perhaps בת=בית, then for the equivalence of names with and without בית, see *HPN* 127 f.—**32.** עוד היום] *this very day* (RV) would be a suitable, if it were a less questionable, rendering: עוד is nowhere else used with the sense presupposed in it. Dr. in BDB 728*b* renders "*still* to-day (such is his haste) will he tarry in Nob." But what day is intended? If the day on which the invaders reach Geba', the clause seems inconsistent with Geba' being the night-quarters; but if the morrow is intended, the clause becomes rather feeble, for Jerusalem is but a couple of hours' march from Geba'. Other established meanings of עוד seem equally unsuitable here: for example, *still*, as he has been doing, *will he tarry; again will he tarry; in Nob, moreover* (as well as in other places), *will he tarry*. Probably עוד is a corruption: it is absent from 𝔊, and ער may have been a dittograph of העו=העיו at the end of v.[31].—בנב] perhaps corrupt: see above and Che. *EBi.* 3430. 𝔊 ἐν ὁδῷ.—לעמד] *he must tarry*: Dr. § 204. But perhaps יעמד should be restored, unless the corruption of the text goes deeper.—ינופף ידו] the Polel of נוף occurs here only; the Hiphil used more or less similarly occurs in 11[15] 19[16], Zec 2[13], Job 31[21], Sir 12[18].—הר] is commonly explained as the acc. of direction (cp. G–K. 118*f*); but the omission of על (cp. references in last n.) is suspicious.—הר בית ציון] the Kᵉtib gives an unparalleled phrase: Ḳᵉrê הר בת צ׳ as 16[1].—גבעת] 𝔊 οἱ βουνοί=גבעות. The phrase ג׳ ירושלים does not occur again.—The accumulation of unusual, and in some cases suspicious, phenomena render it probable that the text of v.[32] has suffered. It is unsafe, therefore, to assume a change of rhythm (cp. Di.); the last two clauses are 2 : 2, the dominant rhythm of the poem.

X. 33, 34.—*The Fall of the Forest.*

V.[33d] is of two accents; [33a. 34a] of four, but perhaps האדן (cp. v.[16]) in the one and בברזל (see phil. n.) in the other should be omitted. The original rhythm was then 3 : 3 with the variant 3 : 2 in v.[33c. d].

[33] Behold the Lord Yahweh of Hosts
Is lopping off the branches with a terrible crash;
And those that have grown high will be hewn down,
And the lofty will be brought low.
[34] And he will strike away the thickets of the forest with iron,
And Lebanon with 'its' majestic (cedars) shall fall.

Under the figure of a forest of lofty trees felled by the woodman, this brief fragment describes the approaching destruction of some people that have provoked Yahweh's majesty by their pride (cp. $2^{11ff.}$).

The fragment, though not the original conclusion of vv.[27-32] (see p. 207), may have been placed here by the compiler in order to suggest that any enemy approaching the sacred city would perish. The figure of a forest occurs in vv.[17. 18a]; but there destruction is by fire; for destruction by felling, cp. Dn $4^{11. (14)ff.}$, Zec 11^2, and especially the elaborate description of Assyria under the figure of a cedar in Ezk 31.

34. *Thickets of the forest*] 9^{17}.—*With 'its' majestic (cedars)*] cp. 2^{13}, Zec 11^2, and see phil. n.; 𝔐 is commonly understood to mean *by a Majestic one*, viz. Yahweh.

33. פארה] Kᵉrê פורה: with the Kᵉtib, cp. פארת, Ezk 17^6 $31^{5f. 8. 12f.}$.—במערצה] this derivative from ערץ ($2^{19. 21}$) occurs here only: Du. conjectures במעצר, *with an axe*.—34. ונקף] Piel, the subj. being Yahweh, or Niph., the pl. subj. following the pred. (G–K. 145*o*).—באדיר . . . בברזל] these should be parallel terms, but they are not: hence some substitute for אדיר the name of an implement such as קרדם or בשיל (Ges.). It is better to read אַדִּירָיו (cp. 𝔊 σὺν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς) and omit בברזל as a gloss (note the rhythm). So Che., Marti.

XI. 1–8.—*The Righteous Ruler of the Stock of Jesse, and the Return of the Golden Age.*

Apart from the first three words of v.[3], which are a dittograph, 𝔐 contains 23 lines. It is argued in the n. on v.[6c] that one of these (v.[6d]) is intrusive and one (v.[7c]) misplaced; the 22 lines that remain fall into eleven distichs. An alternative theory retains v.[7c] and inserts from 65^{25} a line which there accompanies v.[7c]: this would bring up the number of lines to 24.

The distichs (3 : 3, or 4 : 4) are mostly well-balanced and marked by great regularity of parallelism. Some apparent exceptions are probably due to textual corruption: see notes on vv.$^{4b.\ 8b}$; in v.^{2d} read ויראה (see n.) or makkeph יראת־יהוה, the two words forming a single idea. But vv.$^{1a.\ b}$ and ^{5} are two distichs 4 : 3.

Whether we reduce the number of lines to 22, or raise them to 24, or keep them at 23, the main divisions of sense do not give strophes of exactly equal lengths. The first strophe contains 6, the second 8, the third 8, 9, or 10 lines according to the view taken of vv.^{6c} and ^{7c}. If the poem once possessed complete strophic regularity, it most probably consisted of three strophes each containing four distichs. In that case it is probably the opening distich of the poem that has been lost. At present the poem opens with Waw Conv. and the pf. : yet so also does 2^{2}.

Du. obtains strophic regularity in another way : he finds four strophes, each of six lines, ending with vv.$^{2.\ 4.\ 6}$ and ^{8} respectively. But this division involves several improbabilities : (1) v.^{5} is torn away from the description of the king, of which it forms a part, to be coupled with the first half of the description of the beasts ; (2) the description of the beasts is divided into two strophes ; and (3) in order to eke out vv.$^{7f.}$ into six lines, v.^{8b} is very mistakenly (see phil. n.) divided into two, with the result that the suckling playing about the serpent's hole shares a distich with the lion eating straw, while his true mate, the weaned child, stands apart in a separate distich examining the basilisk's eye.

^{1} And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse,
And a scion from his roots shall bear fruit;
^{2} And there shall rest upon him the spirit of Yahweh,
The spirit of wisdom and discernment,
The spirit of counsel and might,
The spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Yahweh.

^{3} He will not judge by that which his eyes see,
Nor by that which his ears hear will he decide;
^{4} But he will judge the needy with righteousness,
And decide with equity for the poor of the earth,
And he will smite the ruthless with the rod of his mouth,
And with the breath of his lips will he slay the wicked.
^{5} And righteousness will be the 'girdle' about his waist,
And faithfulness the waist-cloth around his loins.

^{6} And the wolf shall dwell as a guest with the lamb,
And the leopard shall have the same lair with the kid;
^{7c} And the lion shall eat straw like the ox,
^{6c} And the calf and the young lion 'will graze' together;
With a little child acting as their driver.

7a And the cow and the bear shall be 'companions to one another,'
Together shall their young make their lair;
8 And the suckling shall play over the hole of the asp,
And over the dwelling (?) of the viper shall the weaned child 'trip about' (?).

The poem predicts the restoration of the Jewish monarchy in the person of a king sprung from the family of Jesse, the father of David, who will be equipped by Yahweh's spirit for all the duties of a righteous ruler, vv.$^{1f.}$. Thus equipped, he will in virtue of his wisdom discern what is right, and in virtue of his might achieve it, securing for the weak what is due to them, and smiting down the powerful who do wrong. All that he does will be done in righteousness and faithfulness, vv.$^{3-5}$. In his days the conditions of Paradise will return; the beasts will no longer be at enmity with one another and with men, but all will live together in peace and friendship, vv.$^{6-8}$.

The thought of the poet is concentrated on the future of the Jews, though he sees it in the light of conditions (vv.$^{6-8}$) which will presumably be universal and not limited to Palestine. The larger thought, too, of the world-wide government of the king breaks through in v.^{4}, if the words *of the earth* be original.

Of the conditions which immediately precede the reign of this king he says nothing directly, nor gives any indication how soon the future which he predicts may be expected. It is possible that an opening distich has been lost (see above, p. 212) which may have resembled $9^{1\,(2)}$ in its tenor.

The editor, whether Isaiah himself (Di. p. 104), or another (*e.g.* Marti), who is responsible for the present arrangement of Isaiah chs. 10^{5}–12, may indeed have intended that this reign was to begin when the world-power has been destroyed and the destruction of everything opposed to God within Israel and without ($10^{22f.}$) has been accomplished. But Di., no less than Du., argued that $11^{1ff.}$ is not the immediate continuation of 10^{5-34}; and in spite of Kit.'s attempt to prove the contrary, this remains clear (see above on 10^{5-34}). It is not even probable that $10^{33f.}$, which is certainly not the original continuation of 10^{27-32}, contains the opening distich, or distichs, of $11^{1ff.}$: 10^{34}, indeed, if we omit "with iron," is a distich similar in rhythm and parallelistic structure to 11^{1-8}, but by itself it forms a less probable beginning than 11^{1}. On the other hand, 10^{33} is less similar to 11^{1-8} and is still no good opening; moreover, the elaborate metaphors of $10^{33f.}$ contrast with the general literalness of 11^{1-8}: the figure in 11^{1} is simple, and 11^{6-8} is, of course,

intended literally, not metaphorically. Finally, the antithesis sought between $10^{33f.}$ and 11^{1}—the Assyrian cedar forest is smitten down, the tree of Jesse is rejuvenated—is anything but inevitable—("unverkennbar," Di.), and is certainly not suggested by the order of the words. Had the writer of 11^{1} been the author also of the antithesis attributed to him by those who make 11^{1} the immediate continuation of 10^{34}, it is probable that he would have written ומגזע ישי חמר יצא.

It follows that 11^{1-8} must be judged by itself and not in connection with 10^{5-34}.

If the most obvious is the correct interpretation of v.[1], the poem was written after 586 B.C. (see on v.[1]). A downward limit of date is fixed by the quotation in 65^{25}. Like 9^{1-6} the poem might well have been written towards the end of the Exile when men's minds were turning towards Restoration, and when some may have been setting high hopes on Zerubbabel, of the stock of Jesse, who immediately after the Return certainly focussed such hopes upon himself (Hag., Zech.).

Apart from the historical presuppositions of v.[1], which point more decisively than those of 9^{1-6} to an exilic or post-exilic date, the evidence is no more conclusive than in the case of 9^{1-6}. The language is certainly compatible with a post-exilic date, and the occurrence of the three words גזע, נצר, חמר in v.[1] is even better explained by it than by an earlier date. For the significance of the ideas, reference must be made to the commentary.

Among those who assign the poem to Isaiah, much difference of opinion prevails as to the period of his life to which it belongs. For the most part it is connected with 10^{5-34}, and simply on the ground of that supposed connection assigned to the same period: see, *e.g.*, Dr. *LOT*[6] 210f., where the date 701 B.C. is suggested, and allusion is made (with references) to other theories placing the prophecy early in Sargon's reign (W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[2], 296 ff.), or at the end of Sargon's reign. Earlier writers thought of the reign of Ahaz (Vitringa). Finally, Du. groups 11^{1-8} with 2^{2-4} 32^{1-5} as one of Isaiah's "swan-songs" written in extreme old age, in the reign of Manasseh, for the private use of his disciples and not for publication.

1, 2. The origin and endowments of the Future King.—1. The poem opens with a prediction of the restoration of the Davidic monarchy. This is expressed figuratively. Jesse, the father of David, is compared to a root from which there had grown a tree—the line of Jewish monarchs descended from David; this tree has been cut down; but the roots remain in the earth and a mere stump above ground, *i.e.* the throne of David has fallen, but the family of David survives; as from the stump of a tree that has been felled there may shoot forth new growth (Job 14^{7-9}, cp. Is 6^{13}), so while the family of David sur-

vives, hope remains that some member of it may re-establish the monarchy, and thus, in the terms of the figure, become the new shoot and green growth from the old roots. What the opening distich of the poem asserts is that this hope will be actually realised. The revival, and not the fall of the tree, is the subject of prediction. The fall of the tree belongs to the past; the stump is an existing fact familiar to the poet and his audience. Thus this v. presupposes a period when no Davidic king was reigning. The necessary inference is that the poem was written some time after 586 B.C. This inference can only be avoided by adopting less natural and obvious interpretations: thus (1) Di. considers that the implication of the figure is that each successive king from David downwards was a tree sprung from the root and stump of Jesse; by means of an improbable figure Isaiah would then be expressing the rather jejune idea that as there had already been a dozen kings or more descended from Jesse, one of whom was reigning at the present moment, so there would be another; (2) Du. sees in the passage a prediction that the Messiah will not spring from David, but as being himself a new David will spring from another branch of the house of Jesse, in the terms of the figure from another of the roots (*plural*)—an unparalleled and most improbable idea; moreover, this interpretation does not explain the assumption that the tree of David has already fallen. On this Du. says that the expression גזע, *stock*, indicates that before the Messianic age the Dynasty will suffer ill.—*A shoot*] חטר, Pr 14^{8} †. In Aramaic, early and late, and Assyrian the word meant *sceptre* (see phil. n.).—*The stump*] 40^{24}, Job 14^{8}†. The word גזע is derived from a root meaning *to cut*, (so جزع commonly); in view of this, of the parallel here, and of the parallel and the context in Job, the word probably meant primarily *the part* (above ground) *left after felling*. In 40^{24} it seems rather to be used of the bole of a growing, newly planted tree; cp. the New Hebrew usage: see Levy, *NHB*, *s.v.*—*The stump of Jesse*] this phrase well reflects the fact that the Jewish monarchy is no more, though the family, from which it sprang, survives; "the stump of David" would have reflected this less clearly and might more appropriately have been used if the monarchy had merely lost power and glory as at the Disruption.—*A scion*]

14^{19} (?) 60^{21}, Dn 11^{7}, Sir 40^{15} (margin). The word נצר comes probably from the root which in Arabic (نضر) means *to be fresh and beautiful*, and, of the foliage of a tree, *to become green*; it was presumably applied to vigorous growth from a tree, whether as here and in 60^{21} directly from the root, or from some other part; it is used in NH of *withies*; cp. חבל נצר, *a rope of withies*; סלי נצרים, *a basket made of withies* (Levy, *NHB* iii. 431*b*). —*Shall bear fruit*] if the text is right, the 2nd line of the distich goes beyond the first—not only will a new tree grow from the old root, but it will yield fruit; not only will the Davidic monarchy be restored, but the new king will prosper (cp. Ps 1^{3}). But יפרה may be an error for יפרח, *shall sprout forth* (cp. Job 14^{9}), and the two lines throughout synonymously parallel.—**2.** The king will be a man on whom the spirit of Yahweh *rests* (Nu $11^{25f.}$, cp. 2 K 2^{15}, Nu 11^{17} n.), and therefore fit for exceptional achievements; as the spirit gives the exceptional craftsman (Ex 31^{3} 35^{31}), or the warrior (Jg 6^{34} 11^{29} 13^{25} $14^{6.\ 19}$), or the prophet (Nu $11^{25f.}$, Is 61^{1}), or the interpreter of dreams (Gn 41^{38}), the power to do or be something beyond the ordinary (cp. 2 K 2^{15}), so it gives kingliness to the king (1 S $16^{13f.}$). King and people often seemed to the prophets to forget this, and in consequence to trust in "flesh" rather than in "spirit" (31^{3}); but the Messianic age will be distinguished by the outpouring of the spirit (32^{15}, Jl $3^{1f.}$ ($2^{26f.}$)) on all men, and, in particular, the point with which alone the present passage is concerned, on the Messiah. The spirit of Yahweh settles upon the king as a *spirit of*, or, as we should say, imparting, *wisdom and discernment* (cp. Ex 31^{3}), a capacity to discern what rightly belongs to the king's office and to the right discharge of it, and to detect the right in difficult circumstances (v.^{3}, cp. 1 K $3^{9\text{-}12.\ 28}$). The *spirit* is also one *of counsel and might*, i.e. the king receives power not only to discern the right, but to execute it, to secure for the weak their due, and to punish and put to death the guilty, however powerful (v.^{4}). By the spirit of Yahweh the king becomes a wonderful, or exceptional, Counsellor and Mighty One (9^{5}). In spite of 36^{5}, it is very questionable whether the king is here represented as a great soldier. Finally, the spirit makes him careful for the will of God and a true worshipper of Yahweh, and consequently

righteous, v.[5], cp. Jer 23[5f.]: he is possessed of *knowledge and fear of Yahweh*: knowledge is here not knowledge of his craft, as in Ex 31[3], an idea sufficiently covered by v.[2b], but knowledge of God which shows itself in care for the poor and weak: cp. Jer 22[16]. 𝔗 gives to *the spirit of Yahweh* the specialised sense of the spirit of prophecy — an interpretation which made the passage a convenient proof, though it is certainly not the ultimate source of the idea, of "the seven spirits which are before the throne of God" (Rev 1[4]); for the idea, see Schöttgen *Horae Talmudicae*; for its origin, cp. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, pp. 294–302; *KAT*[3] 624 f.—The opening words of 3 𝔐 are obviously the result of dittography, or of the intrusion into the text of variants (see phil. n.). As they stand they are meaningless: literally translated they read, *and his enjoyment of the scent of the fear of Yahweh*, or, assuming an awkward suppression of the copula, *and the scent that he enjoys is the fear of Yahweh*, which is paraphrased by RV into "and his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord"; *i.e.* himself God-fearing, he will delight to find the fear of God in others.—The real sense of the phrase used in 𝔐 is clear in Ex 30[38], "Whosoever makes anything like it (this sweet incense), *to enjoy the scent of it*, shall be cut off from his people"; cp. Lv 26[31]. Since the feasts and solemn assemblies of the Hebrews were thick with the fumes of sacrificial victims, it was quite appropriate to say, "I will not enjoy the scent of them (Am 5[21])"; but "the fear of Yahweh," which is here made the object of the vb., was not a smell. Another meaning that has frequently been tortured out of the words is this, *He will scent out the fear of God*, recognise at once the God-fearing; but in this sense הריח takes the simple acc. (Job 39[25]).

3–5. **The character of the king** and his method of government, which will spring from his spiritual endowments (v.[2]). Here there is certainly no hint that the king will be a warrior: he reigns after war has been abolished (cp. 9[4f.]). The king will possess something of the wisdom of God; he will know all that goes on in his country (cp. 2 S 14[20]), and will be able like God (1 S 16[7]), or a prophet of God (1 S 9[19]), to probe things to the bottom (cp. Pr 25[2]), not being misled by deceitful appearances or lying words, but reading men's hearts. En 49[4], which may be a paraphrase of the v., gets near to the

meaning—"He will judge the secret things, and no one will be able to utter a lying word before him."—**4.** As the perversion of justice by which the poor and weak suffered was a constant feature in actual life ($1^{17.\ 23}$ 10^{2}), so it is natural that the securing of the rights of these classes becomes a permanent feature of the ideal ruler, cp. Ps 72.—*The needy. . . the poor*] 10^{2}. 𝔐 here has ענוי, *the humble-minded, meek*; but the parallel suggests that this is an error for עניי; the two forms were liable to be confused: see Dr. *DB* iv. 20.—*Of the earth*] not required by the parallelism and perhaps an addition. It indicates the world-wide sway of the king (cp. 9^{6}); for the rendering *of the land** is improbable.—**4c. d.** The Messianic age is not to be an age free from sin (cp. 65^{20} 32^{5}); the conception is thus entirely different from the later conception of heaven. But the wicked will not as now sin on with impunity: the king will make use of the divine power given to him, to smite such sinners dead with a word; cp. 9^{7} n., Ac $5^{1\text{-}10}$.—*The ruthless*] reading עָרִיץ (13^{11} n.) for ארץ (𝔐𝔊), *earth* or *land*. *Earth* cannot by itself mean the godless world (Del.). A real parallel to רשע, *the wicked*, of the next line is required, and such is ערץ; cp. Job 15^{20} 27^{13}: note also the connections in which ערץ is used in 29^{20}, Ps 37^{35}, Jer 15^{21}.—*The rod of his mouth*] *i.e.* by a mere word: see above. Cp. the two-edged sword proceeding from the mouth in Rev 1^{16}. More remote parallels to the idea of speech as a deadly, cutting instrument may be found in Jer 18^{18}, Ps $57^{5\ (4)}$.—*The breath of his lips*] this also means speech; cp. Ps 33^{6} "the word of the Lord . . . the breath of his mouth."—*The wicked*] the Hebrew term is sing., but, of course, generic in meaning. Nevertheless it is interpreted individually of Antichrist by 𝔗, "He will kill the wicked Armillos," and by Paul in 2 Th 2^{8}.—**5.** The description of the king's character closes with a figure derived from the custom of girding up the clothes before undertaking any active work: whatever he undertakes is undertaken in *righteousness* and *faithfulness*: cp. צדק and אמונה of man, Hab 2^{4}, 1 S 26^{23}, and of Yahweh as King, Ps 96^{13}.—It corresponds closely to the justice and righteousness of 9^{6}.

6–8. The return of the golden age.—Nature will be

* Du., Che., Box.

transformed in the days of this king; the golden age of the past will return; wild beasts will no longer prey on one another, or be hurtful to men. The harmlessness of the wild beasts is clearly connected in v.^{7c} with the expectation that in the age to come they will cease to be carnivorous and become graminivorous, as they, like man (ct. after the Flood, Gn 9^{3}), were first created (Gn 1^{30}); the same idea may be, but is much less clearly suggested by v.^{6c}, in a passage that depends on the present (65^{25}); this harmlessness of the beasts is rather ineptly heightened by making the serpent continue to eat dust, which was not a feature of the golden age, but part of the curse that fell on the serpent. For security from the present hurtful habits of wild beasts in pictures of the future, see Hos 2$^{20\ (18)}$; less genially expressed, Ezk 34$^{25\text{-}28}$, cp. Lv 26^{6}. The idea was wide-spread; Virgil's use of it (*Ecl.* iv. 21 f., v. 60) is famous, and many other parallels are cited by Ges. i. 425 f. It is far less probable that Virgil is dependent on Isaiah than that both Hebrew prophet and Latin poet are common users of an ancient oriental idea; cp. Gressmann, 193 ff., and Conway's Essay in Mayor, Fowler and Conway's *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*.

6a. b. Wolves will no longer devour lambs, nor leopards kids, but these strong and ferocious beasts will dwell together with the others and under their protection! They will be *gerim* (14^{1} n.: cp. *Numbers*, p. 175) of these domestic animals.—**6c.** *The calf and the young lion*] against the analogy of $^{6a.\ b.\ 7a.\ c}$ (cp. v.$^{8a.\ b}$), 𝔓 adds a second domestic beast, *the fatling* (1^{11} n.); apart from 𝔊 it would be fairly obvious that this third term has driven out, or is a corruption of, a verb: the young of oxen and lions will graze on the same pastures. Probably v.^{7c} once formed the first line of this distich, which then resembled the next (v.$^{7a.\ b}$) in mentioning the two kinds—the wild and the domestic—in the first line, their young in the second. In this case v.^{6d}, which introduces the little child fearlessly driving young lions as well as calves, was supplied by some annotator, probably from a parallel poem. If these suppositions are correct, the marked parallelism of terms in the two lines of each distich, which characterises most of the poem in any case, would be maintained without break; the one monostich (v.^{7c}) which at present stands isolated among the distichs would disappear; and the poet would complete at once what he had to say of lions, instead of introducing the bears

between the young lion and the lion.—**7.** After the males (v.[6] and perhaps [7c], see last n.), the females—*cow* and *she-bear*—(דב, fem., as 2 K 2^{24}).—*Shall be companions to one another*] as Lagarde perceived, one of the two ת's at the beginning of תתרעינה (cp. Pr 22^{24}) has accidentally dropped out, leaving in 𝔐 תרעינה, *shall feed*, which by itself is pointless; for, since the cow as well as the bear is mentioned, the point cannot be that the bear will graze instead of continuing to hunt (Di.).—**7c** = 65^{25}; this line should precede v.[6a]: see above. Like stalled animals such as the ox (1^{3}), the lion will eat chopped *straw* (Gn $24^{25.\ 32}$, Jg 19^{19}, 1 K 5^{8}).—**8.** Not only with one another, but with man will animals, now hurtful, be friends: the point is expressed by picturing the safety with which the weakest members of the human race, babies under two or three years of age, will approach with safety the most malignant of beasts (Gn 3^{15}), the serpent, and make its haunts their favourite playground.—*The weaned child*] is the child just weaned (cp. 28^{9}, Ps 131^{2}), *i.e.* two or three years old (2 Mac 7^{27}).—*Shall play about*] or *take its delight*: in any case the vb. suggests more than the mere fact of playing with immunity, it implies delight. Cp. the use of the vb. (שעשע), or noun (שעשעים), in 5^{7} 66^{12}, Jer 31^{20}, Pr $8^{30f.}$: in Syriac the vb. is used of diverting oneself with hounds, with a ball, etc.—*The hole*] חר occurs in the pl. in 42^{22}, and (differently punctuated) in 1 S 14^{11} of holes in the ground; in Zec 14^{12} it is used of the *socket* of the eye. To infer from the last usage a reference here to the eye of the snake is precarious.—*Asp . . . viper*] it is impossible and, for the appreciation of this passage, unimportant to determine the precise species of serpents intended: see *EBi.* and *DB*, *s.v. Serpent.*—*The dwelling*] a term with such a meaning as this is required by the parallel, but it is very questionable whether מאורת, 𝔐, which means *place of light*, meant also specifically *lighthole* (BDB), *den* (RV); Di., Du. take the word to mean *the shining* (*thing*), *i.e.* the serpent's shining, glistening eye; unfortunately, if this meaning of מאורת could be admitted, the parallel would still make it improbable that the poet is here making use of the observation that babies "readily stretch out their hands to shining objects." We should perhaps read מערת, *hole* (Che.), or מעונת, *lair* (Beer).—*Trip about*] the translation rests on a conjectural emendation; RV *put* for הדה is a conjectural rendering of the very questionable text of 𝔐.

1. חטר, נוץ, נצר] all three words "are first found in the later [OT] literature" (Hackmann, p. 149); this is correct and not altogether insignificant. חטר was in use in the Aramaic dialect of N. Syria before the age of Isaiah: cp. חטר חלבבה . . . נתן בירי הדד, Zinjerli Inscriptions (Hadad), l. 3 = Cooke, *NSI* 61[3]; and it is frequent in later Aramaic. חוטרא renders שבט, *sceptre* (Ps 45[7] 𝔗), or מטה, *staff* (Nu 17[21] 𝔗J); in Gn 30[37] 𝔗 it is used of fresh cut poplar wands, and in Nu 17[17] 𝔗 of the rod that was to bud. In Syriac ܚܘܛܪܐ means *staff, rod, sceptre*; in Assyr. *ḫutartu* means *staff*; and خطر has, as one of its meanings according to the Ḳamûs as cited by Lane, a *branch* of a tree. חטר (Pr 14[3] †) may have been more frequently in use with the Hebrews than the two occurrences suggest.—נצר] possibly late (see last n.), but not due to Aramaic influence, for √נצר = נצר = נضر (cp. Dr. § 178) does not appear to occur in Aramaic.—**2.** דעת ויראת יהוה] one of the rare instances of two co-ordinated construct cases depending on the same gen. (G–K. 128*a*; Kön. iii. 275*b*). But possibly even this is the result of textual error. V.[2d] is at present longer than [2c], and 𝔊 renders יראת יהוה by *εὐσεβείας* without the addition of *πρὸς τὸν Κύριον* (33[6]). The original text may have had יראה, and this may have been replaced by a correct marginal note explaining יראה to be יראת יהוה.—**3.** והריחו ביראת יהוה] a corrupt dittograph of רוח דעת ויראת יהוה, not (Beer) an error for יי והניח בו יראת (cp. Ezk 24[13]). Note that 𝔊 renders יראת יהוה by *φόβου θεοῦ* in v.[3], by *εὐσέβεια* in v.[2]; v.[3a] 𝔊 may be the addition of a later hand.—**5.** חגור . . אזור] so read instead of אזור . . אזור 𝔓 (cp. 16[7] n.). The evidence of 𝔊 in favour of two different words is strong, for *ζωννύειν, ζώνη* are frequently used for both חגר, אזר (and derivatives); here, where both words occur together, *εἰλημένος*, which nowhere else renders either word, is adopted in order to preserve the difference.—**6.** ומריא] read ירעו: the strongest evidence is given above. After *καὶ λέων* = וכפיר, 𝔊 continues *ἅμα βοσκηθήσονται*; 𝔊 also inserts between *καὶ μοσχάριον* (= ועגל) and *καὶ λέων* the words *καὶ ταῦρος* (= ? ומריא in a different position from 𝔓).—נהג בם] 𝔊 *ἄξει αὐτούς*. Di. draws attention to the cstr. with ב instead of the normal acc., and therefore renders *a driver among them*.—**8.** ירו הדה] Doubtful, for note (*a*) הדה would be the only occurrence in the poem of a pf. tense, and this remains suspicious in spite of Driver, § 14*γ*; (*b*) the length of the line; (*c*) apart from the possibility of its being found in the proper name יהדי, הדי, the root is unknown in Hebrew: in Arabic and Syriac (هدى, ܗܕܐ) it is frequent, and means *to lead, direct*; yet no trace is to be found in either of these languages of the meaning *to stretch out* commonly attributed to it in this passage. The second of these objections is merely brought into relief, but not removed, by chopping v.[8b] into two lines at צפעוני, for the whole of [8b] is parallel to [8a]: the halves are parallel neither to one another, nor to v.[8a]. ירוהדה is an early error, and conceals a single word which was the imperfect tense of a verb parallel in sense to ישעשע in v.[8a], *possibly* יתרדה (38[15] n.), *shall trip about*, with the movements natural to a child learning to walk.

XI. 9–16.—*The Return of the Dispersion to the Holy Land.*

This passage is not entirely poetical (Lowth.), nor even with the exception of v.[11] from מפתרוס to the end (Du., Cond.), but in part prose, as shown below. Che. treats vv.[9-11. 16], Box [10f. 16], Marti [9-11], as prose. In vv.[12-14] the dominant rhythm in 3 : 3 ; this is probably not continued in v.[15], though the v. has almost certainly suffered some textual corruption, leaving the exact nature of the rhythm an open question. Marti treats vv.[12-16] as a poem of four strophes each containing two distichs : if this were right, the poem contained a hysteron proteron, see on v.[15].

9 No harm nor destruction shall be wrought throughout all
my holy mountain: for the land will have become full of the
knowledge of Yahweh as the waters cover the sea. 10 And it
shall come to pass in that day the root of Jesse which will be
standing for a signal to the peoples—

Him shall the nations consult,
And his resting-place shall be glorious.

11 And it shall come to pass in that day the Lord shall again
'raise' his hand to acquire the remnant of his people, which
remains over, from Assyria and from Egypt and from Pathros and
from Cush and from ʿElam and from Shinʿar and from Ḥamath
and from the isles of the sea.

12 And he will raise a signal to the nations;
And he will gather the outcasts of Israel,
And collect the dispersed (fem.) of Judah
From the four corners of the earth.

13 And jealousy of Ephraim shall cease,
And the vexers of Judah shall be cut off;
Ephraim shall not be jealous of Judah,
Nor shall Judah vex Ephraim.

14 And they shall swoop down upon the shoulder of the
Philistines, westward,
Together shall they plunder the sons of the East;
Edom and Moab shall be brought under their dominion,
And the children of Ammon shall be obedient to
them.

15 And Yahweh will 'dry up' the tongue of the sea of Egypt,
And he will swing his hand over the River . . .
And he will smite it into seven wadys,
And make it (a way) to be trodden with sandals.

16 And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people who remain over from Assyria, as there was for Israel in the day that it came up from the land of Egypt.

The well-marked and sustained rhythm and parallelism, which is so conspicuous in vv.1-8, is not continued in vv.9-11. In vv.12-14 something similar reappears, and but for the fact that the tenor and spirit of these verses is different, and vv.1-8 sufficiently complete in themselves, vv.1-8. 12-14 might be regarded as a single poem which has been interpolated (vv.9-11) and added to (vv.15f.)

Vv.9-16 appear to be a collection of brief pieces, in part prose, in part poetry (see above). They are arranged in no very obvious order, but they deal with related subjects, viz. the future glory of Ṣion, and its attractiveness, as the home of true Religion, for the Gentiles, vv.9f.; the restoration of the Jews at present dispersed throughout the world, vv.11f. 15f.; the freedom of the future community from attack and internal dissensions (v.13), and its success in establishing its authority over its neighbours, v.14.

It is very doubtful whether any part of this section is the work of Isaiah: most of it is clearly post-exilic, since it presupposes the Exile and the Dispersion of the Jews as existing facts. The argument for post-exilic date is well and fully stated by Che. in *Introd.* pp. 59–62.

9 = 65^{25b} + Hab 2^{14}. In 65^{25} the subject of the vbs. are clearly the harmful beasts, and the fact that 65$^{13-25}$ is a speech of Yahweh's immediately accounts for the first person in the phrase *my holy mountain*: in Hab. הארץ clearly means *the earth*, and not merely *the land* of Judah. Here the first person is not accounted for by the context, and both the subject of the vbs. and the meaning of הארץ are ambiguous. This closer cohesion of the two parts of the v. with their respective contexts in 65^{25} and Hab 2^{14} is good reason for holding that their original homes are there, and that here they are quotations carrying out the general thought of what proceeds, viz. that there will be no more

harm and destruction, but not harmonising closely either with the thought or structure of the passage. If, now, v.[9] is the original continuation of vv.[1-8], those verses must be later than Hab. and 65^{25}; so, *e.g.*, Hackm. pp. 136–138, 146; but v.[9] is rhythmically distinguished, and should be separated from vv.[1-8]. So long as ch. 11 in its entirety was referred to Isaiah, it was naturally assumed, rather than critically maintained, that v.[9] was the source whence two later writers derived their words.

Owing to the ambiguities referred to above, the exact point which the annotator, who combined two quotations and inserted them here, wished to make is not clear: possibly that Yahweh's territory will no longer suffer from the nations of the world, for the whole earth will have come to know that Yahweh is Yahweh, and that His people are not to be molested with impunity, a line of thought found in Ezk 39^{17-29}; but the modification of Habakkuk's phrase, "the knowledge of the glory of Yahweh" (cp. Is $66^{18f.}$) to *the knowledge of Yahweh*, does not favour this. More probably we should abandon the meaning *earth*, which הארץ has in Hab., and seek another interpretation of the subjects of the vbs. *They shall not hurt*, etc., obviously cannot refer to the weaned child and the suckling, the last mentioned subjects in vv.[1-8], nor, since they are incapable of the knowledge of Yahweh, to the wild beasts of vv.[6-8]. That the thought passes far back to attach itself only to the ruthless and the wicked men of v.[4] is altogether improbable: the subjects are best taken in the most indefinite way—no one shall hurt, no hurt shall be done by man, for the knowledge of Yahweh, which restrains from such conduct, will prevail throughout the land.—*All my holy mountain*] this may mean here the entire Holy Land, for this was a mountain country, and, as belonging to Yahweh, holy; *all* is then explained, and the phrase is co-extensive with *the land* in the next sentence. Naturally, of course, Yahweh's "holy mountain," a phrase never used by Isaiah, is Mount Ṣion.—*As the waters cover the sea*] the comparison would most naturally suggest itself to one who was thinking of the whole earth (Hab.).—**10.** The capital of the monarchy of the restored Jewish community will be famous, and the nations of the world will come and consult the king as an organ of the revelation of the one true God; cp. 2^{2-4}: but here prominence is given to the vehicle of Yahweh's Revelation; there the nations are said to obtain instruction from Yahweh Himself.—*The root of Jesse*]

i.e. the new shoot from the old root (cp. v.[1]), *root* being used in the same sense as in 53[2].—*Which will be standing*] the part. here is in any case awkward, but the future sense (𝔗) is preferable to the present (𝔙, RV). The pf. tense would be stylistically preferable, but unsuitable in the context.—*As a signal to the peoples*] cp. 5[26] (n.): also 49[32]. That a root should stand as a signal, or banner, is an extraordinary combination of figures; *root* no doubt, as a technical term, might at once suggest a person, the Messianic king; cp. "my servant the Shoot," Zec 3[8]; but it remains extraordinary that a person stands like a signal or banner (ct. v.[12]). Possibly here, as in v.[9], the writer is citing phrases from different places without welding them well together. —*Him shall the nations consult*] so as to obtain oracles (8[19]), or religious instruction (cp. 2[3]), from him.—*And his resting-place shall be glorious*] glorious things will be spoken of Ṣion, the city of Yahweh, the *resting-place* (cp. *e.g.* Dt 12[9], 1 K 8[56]) of His Messiah and the birthplace of the nations into a new life (cp. Ps 87); or, perhaps, we might compare 4[5]. מנוחה is used also of Yahweh's abode in the midst of His people (Ps 95[11] 132[14]). 𝔙 renders "his sepulchre"; this reflects an exegesis which saw in the "signal" of the first part of the v. the Cross; it is not due to an etymology based on the use of the vb. נוח in 57[2].

11. The Lord will re-possess himself of the survivors of his people now scattered over the known world. The style is awkward and some details are ambiguous; but the general impression of a wide dispersion of the Jews *as an existing fact* is too strongly and clearly conveyed for the passage to be pre-exilic: cp. Zec 10[5-12].—*The Lord shall again 'raise' his hand to acquire the remnant of his people*] taken strictly, this should mean that *the remnant* has already once been acquired, to wit, when Yahweh brought back some of the exiled Jews from Babylon. But possibly the style is loose, and all that the writer means is that there will be a second acquisition: at the Exodus, Yahweh *acquired* (Ex 15[16], cp. Ps 74[2]) a whole people; He is now going to acquire what remains of His people by gathering the exiled Jews from all quarters of the earth.—*From Assyria*, etc.] either the clauses define from whom the acquisition is to be made, in which case the clause *which remains over* is otiose; or there is an awkward breviloquence—*the remnant . . . which remains over of* (those who were in) *Assyria*, etc.—*Assyria*, which as in

Ezr 6^{22} (cp. 10^{20} n.) may refer to the Persian Empire as the contemporary occupant of the Tigris-Euphrates valley which formerly belonged to Assyria, and *Egypt* are mentioned first as being the centres of the two great civilisations of the Ancient World. After these two wide terms follow (1) two specific districts of the Nile valley, *Pathros* and *Cush*: Pathros is upper Egypt: the Egyptian P-to-rês meant South Land, and more particularly, perhaps, the country extending from a few miles S. of Memphis to Syene (Assouan) at the First Cataract;* Cush (cp. 18^{1} n.) is Ethiopia, and extended southwards from the First Cataract; (2) two specific districts of the Tigris-Euphrates basins, *Elam*, lying to the E. of the lower Tigris (21^{2} n.), and *Shin'ar* (Gn 11^{2}, Jos 7^{21}, Zec 5^{11}, Dn 1^{2}), *i.e.* Babylonia, the district in which the city of Babylon and also Erech, Accad, and Calneh were situated (Gn 10^{10}); (3) *Ḥamath* on the Orontes (10^{9} n.), for which Lag., deeming the reference to a city so relatively near Judah improbable, proposed to substitute a more remote district, and *the isles*, or *coastlands*, *of the* Mediterranean *sea*. The last term, never used by Isaiah, is a favourite with the Deutero-Isaiah, who thereby indicates his far western horizon. W. Max Müller (*DB*—*Pathros*) takes a different view of the relation of the terms Egypt, Pathros, and Cush: he would give to Egypt here the limited sense of lower Egypt; then the three terms together cover the Nile valley. So Esar-haddon describes himself as king of the kings of Muṣur, Paturisi, and Ku-si. Some† hold that from Pathros to the end of the v. is a subsequent addition. 𝔊 has a rather different list.

12. The thought that Yahweh will gather home His widely scattered people, expressed in prose and with geographical particularity in v.[11], is here expressed in poetry with poetical brevity and expressiveness. The Dispersion will be brought back *from the four corners of the earth* (Ezk 7^{2}, Job 37^{3}); Yahweh *will raise a signal* (5^{26} n.), in response to which the nations will bring home the exiled people (49^{22} 66^{20}), and indeed the whole of it, Israel as well as Judah, males (נדחי) and females (נפצות) alike (cp. 49^{22} 60^{4}).—**13.** Israel, now called *Ephraim* (cp. 9^{8}), *and Judah*, thus restored (v.[12]), will no more be subject to the envy and opposition of the nations, nor will the internal feuds which marked

* W. Max Müller, in *DB* iii. 693.

† Sta., Du., Cond.; but not Di., Che., Marti.

the actual history of Yahweh's people (cp. $9^{20\,(21)}$), be renewed in the age to come. For the future unity of Israel and Judah, see Ezk $37^{15ff.}$ and Hos 2^{2} (1^{11}); cp. "unto David their king" in Hos 3^{3}; for the cessation of outward hostilities, cp. *e.g.* $9^{3.\,5f.}$. —*Jealousy of Ephraim . . . the vexers of Judah*] קנאת אפרים may, of course, mean (G–K. 128*h*, 135*m*) either the jealousy which Ephraim feels, or the jealousy of which Ephraim is the object (cp. Ezk 35^{11}); and צררי יהודה either those who had opposed or oppressed Judah, or those in and of Judah who are at enmity with another country (RV marg.). But to treat the genitives as subjective gives an unsatisfactory antithesis:— Ephraimite sentiment will change, but in Judah opposition to Ephraim will only be brought to an end by an annihilation of those who will still cherish enmity towards Ephraim. The two distichs of v.[13] speak of different things; consequently the second is not superfluous, and there is no reason for omitting it with Du., Che., al.—**14.** Re-united (v.[13]), Yahweh's people will, as of old under David, exercise dominion over the whole of Palestine, East and West of Jordan; cp. Am $9^{11f.}$, also Ps $60^{8\text{-}10\,(9\text{-}11)}$.— *They shall swoop*] cp. Hab 1^{8} (עוף).—*The shoulder of the Philistines*] the hills between the maritime plain and the Judaean highlands which formed a debatable ground between Judah and Philistia. For the idiom, cp. "the shoulder of the sea of Chinnereth" (Nu 34^{11}), "the shoulder of Moab" (Ezk 25^{9}).— *The sons of the East*] the nomadic tribes of the desert to the E. of trans-Jordanic Palestine; cp. Jer $49^{28ff.}$, Jg 6^{3}.—*Shall be brought under their dominion*] lit. *are the outstretching of their hand*, i.e. that which their hand stretches out to take possession of: cp. Ex $22^{7.\,10\,(8.\,11)}$.—**15, 16.** Cp. Zec $10^{10f.}$. The second Exodus (v.[15]), in which the Remnant will depart as easily from Assyria as Israel of old from Egypt (v.[16]), would in reality be the prelude to the unmolested life and victorious undertakings of the restored exiles (v.[13f.]). The present connection, or the order, of vv.[13-16] is perhaps not the original.—*Will dry up*] so 𝔊 (= והחריב, cp. 50^{2}): והחרים 𝔐, *will ban, devote.*—*The tongue of the sea of Egypt*] the Red Sea; *tongue* is also used for a tongue-shaped piece of water in Jos $15^{2\text{-}5}$ 18^{19}.—*He will swing his hand*] 10^{32} n., 19^{16}.—*The River*] probably the Euphrates (7^{20} n.); possibly the Nile (cp. נהר without the art. in 19^{5}).—*With the glowing heat of his breath*] or *wind* (see phil. n.). The clause, if the rendering

at all represents its meaning, goes oddly with *he shall swing his hand*: perhaps it is a gloss on the previous line (Du., al.).—The last part of the v. also is inadequately explained: it is supposed to mean that the Euphrates will be smitten into "seven (shallow) streams" (Che. *SBOT*), so that the returning exiles may easily wade over. But why wear sandals to wade? Why seven streams? And would not this miracle be anti-climactic after the complete drying up of the Egyptian sea? Others think of waterless wadys over which the exiles pass in sandals, *i.e.* dry-shod (Rashi, Ḳi.). The נחל, *wady*, is not specifically a shallow stream; it may be deep and strong enough to carry away those who attempt to cross it (Jg 5^{21}, cp. Ezk 47^{5}), and at other times it dried up completely (1 K 17^{7}).—**16.** *A highway*] for the returning exiles: cp. 40^{3}, the source (Du.) rather than an echo (Di.) of this v.

9. רעה] cp. 28^{9}, Ex 2^{4}; ct. רעת, 11^{2}. On the acc. את יי, see G–K. 115*d*. 𝔗 renders דעה את יהוה by לדעת את כבר יי=למדע ית דחלתא דיי, Hab 2^{14}. Houb., Cond. read דעת ויראת יי (cp. v.^{2}).—[כמים לים מכסים] "a unique form of expression" with more analogy in Arabic than Hebrew: the nearest parallel in Hebrew is Nu 10^{25} (P); remote parallels are 14^{2}, Nu 25^{18} (P), Dt 4^{42}; Dr. § 135 (7) Obs.—**11.** אדני] many MSS read יהוה.—[שנית] 𝔊 τοῦ δεῖξαι; read שְׁאֵת (Marti). If 𝔐 be retained, it is necessary to assume an ellipse of an infinitive dependent on יוסיף and governing ידו.—**12.** נִדְּחֵי] for the omission of daghesh in the ד, see G–K. 20*m*. The Niph. part. of נדח is also used of banished, exiled Hebrews in 27^{13} 56^{8}, Mic 4^{6} (Zeph 3^{19}), Dt 30^{4} (Neh 1^{9}).—**14.** בְּחֵף] MT is due to erroneous interpretation: cp. 𝔗, and see Dr. § 190, Obs.; the cstr. is בֶּחֶף, which should be read here.—**15.** The four lines are unequal. The text may have suffered considerably.—[בעים רוחו] עים is a ἅπ. λεγ. In Arabic غام means *to be cloudy, to become thirsty, to be affected with internal heat* (see Lane); but this does not make it very probable that בעים רוחו is a rare synonym for באפו בחרון, and means *in the heat of his spirit*, still less that it means *in the glowing heat of his wind*. Ges. (*Thes.*), al. read בעצם רוחו (cp. Ex 14^{21}); whether 𝔊 πνεύματι βιαίῳ (cp. 𝔙 *in fortitudine spiritus sui*) read this, or guessed at the meaning of 𝔐, is uncertain—**16.** [שאר . אשר ישאר מאשור באשר] this persistent alliteration may have been intended: there is nothing like it in Isa.—[מאשור] 𝔊 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.

XII.—*Songs of Deliverance: to be sung on the occasion of the New Exodus* ($11^{11.\ 15}$).

The chapter consists of two songs, (*a*) vv.$^{1f.}$, (*b*) vv.$^{4-6}$, each of which is provided with an introductory formula, resembling

those which introduce similar songs (25^{9} 26^{1} 27^{2}, cp. $14^{3f.}$) in chs. 24–27; and (*c*) a prophetic promise (v.[3]).

Each song written for the New Exodus ($11^{11.15}$) is suitably enough reminiscent of the song (Ex 15^{1-18}) which, according to the tradition already current in the writer's age, had been sung by Moses and the children of Israel on the occasion of the First Exodus; with v.[2c.d] cp. Ex $15^{2a.b}$; with v.[5a], Ex 15^{1}.

The first song expresses Israel's gratitude that though Yahweh had been angry (cp. 10^{5}), His anger had turned away (10^{25}), and He had comforted His people (cp. $40^{1f.}$), delivering them and restoring them to their land, and to an unmolested (v.[2b]) and glorious life there (ch. 11). The second song calls for the proclamation to the nations of the might of Yahweh displayed in the restoration of His people, and (v.[6]) for Ṣion to cry out joyously at the presence in her midst of her great and Holy God.

It thus seems obvious that the chapter was written to occupy its present position after a collection of prophecies that spoke of Yahweh's anger with His people, but concluded with an account of the New Exodus. Whether this collection of prophecies was 10^{5}–11^{16} only or chs. 1–11, ch. 12, being the sequel to 11^{10-16}, is no earlier than that passage, and, therefore, post-exilic.

The argument as to date just stated is the briefest, and it is sufficient. But the chapter, even if it be regarded by itself and independently of its relation to what precedes, is clearly post-exilic. Ew. in 1840 was the first to detect that it was not Isaiah's: "Words, figures, terms of expression, yes, and the entire contents and spirit, are not Isaiah's: and this is so clear that further proof would be superfluous. . . . The colour and character of the passage clearly refer it to the times soon after chs. 40–66; and an old scribe or reader who found with great delight a fulfilment of the words of $11^{15f.}$ in the release from the Babylonian exile may at that time have enlarged Isaiah's oracle with these exultant words" (*Propheten des AB*[2], i. 459, cp. pp. 77 f.). Ew.'s discovery remained for some time unfruitful; but his conclusion was emphatically endorsed by Lag. in 1878 (*Semitica*, i.), and has since then been widely admitted: see Stade (*ZATW*, 1883, p. 16), Kuenen (*Ond.*[2] ii. 57), Francis Brown (*JBLit.*, 1890, pp. 128, 131), Di., Du., Kön. (*Einleitung*, 319), Che. (*Introd.* 57–59), G. A. Smith (in Hastings' *DB*), Marti; cp., less decisively, Dr. in *LOT*[6]; and for a defence of Isaiah's authorship, see W. H. Cobb, in *JBLit.*, 1891, pp. 131–143. A date very considerably later than the Exile seems more probable than that suggested by Ew. in view of the relation of the poem to late Psalms. "In scope and expression, in its conceptions and its hopes, it is closely allied to the late Psalms, such as 118, 138, 145: cp. also 91–100, 107, 111" (Brown).

Rhythm.—In vv.[1f.], balanced distichs—3 : 3; in [4-6] the distichs are all

balanced, but of different length: the first distich in v.[4] is 2 : 2, the second 3 : 3; those in vv.[5f.] are 4 : 4, each line being divided by a caesura into 2 : 2.

[1] And thou shalt say in that day:—
[1] I give thanks to thee, Yahweh, for thou wast angry with me,
'And' thine anger turned away and thou comfortedst me.

[2] Behold, God is my salvation,
I trust and dread not;
For my strength and 'my' song is Yah,
And he has become my salvation.

[3] And ye shall draw water with joy out of the fountains of salvation, [4] and ye shall say in that day:—
Give thanks to Yahweh,
Invoke his name;
Make known among the people his deeds,
Make mention that his name is exalted.
[5] Make melody to Yahweh, for he hath wrought proudly;
Let this be known throughout the whole earth.
[6] Give a shrill cry, give a ringing cry, O inhabitress of Ṣion;
For great in thy midst is the Holy One of Israel.

1. *Thou shalt say*] Israel, who speaks in the first pers. sing. in the following poem, as so often in the Psalter, is here addressed. Ct. the distributive pl. of v.[4] (אֱמְרוּ).—*I give thee thanks*] the word (הוֹדָה) occurs also in v.[4] 25[1] 38[18. 19] and nowhere else in the Book of Isaiah: it occurs in Gn 29[35], very frequently in the Psalter, and elsewhere most frequently in Chron.; cp. Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, pp. 461 f. Israel gives thanks because Yahweh's anger had not been drawn out to all generations (cp. Ps 85[6]), but had turned away (ct. 9[11] etc.). The vb. אנף is used here only in the Book of Isaiah; other occurrences of it are worth comparing in illustration of the similarity in tone and temper of this Psalm and late liturgical pieces: see Ps 60[3] 79[5] 85[6], 1 K 8[46] (with the following verses).—*And thine anger turned away*] it is best to assume a slight mutilation of the text (see phil. n.): *let thine anger turn away* (RVmarg.) is a correct rendering of יָשֹׁב, but leaves Yahweh's anger as the sole ground for giving thanks, which is highly improbable.—*God*] אל without the art. absolutely of the one

true God, as in Deutero-Isaiah (40[18] 45[14]) and Psalms (*e.g.* 16[1] 17[6] 106[14]). Cp. "with us is God" (El) in 8[8. 10], and perhaps "the stars of God (El)" in 14[13]; but the predicative use in 31[3] is, of course, different, as also are the remaining occurrences of אל in 1–39, viz. 9[5] = 10[21] (El Gibbor) and 5[16] (with the art.).—**2c. d** = Ex 15[2], which is also used in Ps 118[14]: see above.—*And dread not*] 19[10] n.—*Yahweh*] is inserted in 𝔐 after *Yah* (cp. 26[4]), but it is absent from 𝔊 and from Ex 15[2], and it overloads the line.—**3.** The restored Israelites will rejoice as they draw on the unfailing fountain of Yahweh's grace; cp. 55[1], Jer 33[10f.]; for the figure of Yahweh as a fountain or cistern, see Jer 2[13] 17[13], cp. Ps 36[10] 87[7].—**4.** *And ye*] 𝔊 *And thou*; cf. v.[1].—**4a. b. c** = Ps 105[1].—**4d.** Cp. Ps 148[13]: ct. "Yahweh (not *his name*, as here) is exalted," 2[17].—**5.** Cp. Ex. 15[1b].—*Make melody to*] this word (זמר) is very characteristic of the Psalter, and occurs outside it only here and in Jg 5[3].—*He hath wrought proudly*] עשה גאות: in Ex 15[1] גָּאֹה גָּאָה: cf. Ps 93[1] גאות לבש . . . יהוה; גאות is similarly used in 26[10], but with different nuances by Isaiah (9[17] 28[1]).—*Let this be known*] *this* with backward reference to the fact of God's proud and majestic achievements.—**6.** *Give a shrill cry*] so 24[14] 54[1], Jer 31[7]—all, as here, synonymous with רנן: in 10[30] צהל has a different force.—*Inhabitress of Ṣion*] Jer 51[35] †: cp. "inhabitress of Shaphir," "of Maroth," "of Lachish," Mic 1[11]. What is meant is the entire population of the city.—*For great in thy midst*] cp. "Great is Yahweh . . . in the city of our God," Ps 48[2 (1)]; cp. Ps 99[2].—*The Holy One of Israel*] this favourite term of Isaiah's and the Deutero-Isaiah's is used by this Psalmist in common with two or three other Psalmists: see Ps 71[22] 78[41] 89[19].

1. יָשֹׁב אפך וּתְנַחֲמֵנִי] MT clearly takes the vbs. as jussives: cp. the fut. of 𝔗, "When I shall have returned to thy Law thy anger will turn away from me and thou wilt have pity on me"; but 𝔊 (*καὶ ἀπέστρεψας τὸν θυμόν σου καὶ ἠλέησάς με*), 𝔖 = וַתָּשֹׁב (Hiph.; cp. Ps 78[38], Job 9[1. 3]). Read, וַיָּשָׁב אפך וַתְּנַחֲמֵנִי. Marti prefers to read שב, assuming a dittography of י in 𝔐; but the coupling of the vbs. (𝔊) is far more probable, since the real reason (כי) of אודך is first reached in the last two (cp. 5[4]). This point also weighs against the theory that the text is sound and ישב a "poetically shortened" form for וַיָּשָׁב, a theory that is precariously supported by reference to Hos 6[1] (note preceding ו) and Ps 18[12] (ct. 2 S 22[12]): cp. Dr. § 174.—**2.** יזמרת יה] וזמרת has suffered the loss of י before יה.—**3.** כְּמַעֲנֵי for the two pathaḥs, cp. יַעֲקֹב from יַעְקֹד; in 1 K 18[5] the alternative form כַּעֲנֵי occurs.—**5.** מְיֻדָּעַת] K[e]tîb, Pual part.; Ḳ[e]rê מוֹדַעַת.

Hoph. part. The Pual part. elsewhere means *acquaintance*. The Ḳᵉrê (Lv $4^{23.\ 28}$†) is preferable, the part. being gerundial (G–K. 116*e*); but perhaps הוֹרֵעַ (Ⓖ) was the original reading; cp. the ‖ ומרו and v.⁴.

XIII.–XXIII.—*Prophecies mainly devoted to Foreign Nations.*

This main section of the Book of Isaiah falls into the following subsections:—The Oracle of Babylon, 13^{1}–14^{23}; The Fall of Assyria, $14^{24\text{-}27}$; of Philistia, $14^{29\text{-}32}$; The Oracle of Moab, 15 f.; The Oracle of Damascus (and Ephraim), $17^{1\text{-}11}$; The Tumult of many Nations, $17^{12\text{-}14}$; The Land beyond the rivers of Cush, 18; The Oracle of Egypt, 19; Isaiah a sign against Egypt and Ethiopia, 20; The Oracle of "the Wilderness of the Sea," $21^{1\text{-}10}$; The Oracle of Dumah, $21^{11\text{f.}}$; The Oracle "In Arabia," $21^{13\text{-}16}$; The Oracle of the Valley of Vision, $22^{1\text{-}14}$; The Fate of Shebna, $22^{15\text{-}25}$; The Oracle of Tyre, 23.

The nine, or (including $14^{29\text{-}32}$) ten, "oracles," either in whole or in part, not improbably at one time formed by themselves an anonymous "Book of Oracles"; to these the sections not defined as oracles were in that case subsequently added; the addition of the words "which Isaiah the son of 'Amoṣ saw" to the title of the first section (13^{1}), may indicate that the whole of the enlarged work came to be attributed to Isaiah: see, further, Introduction, §§ 33 f.

XIII. 1–XIV. 23.—*Babylon.*

The "Oracle of Babylon" consists of (*a*) a poem predicting the capture of Babylon, "the beauty of kingdoms," by the Medes, and the complete and permanent desolation of the site of the city, $13^{2\text{-}22}$; (*b*) a section, part poetry, part prose, explaining that the Fall of Babylon will be the prelude to Yahweh's restoration of the Israelites to their land, and the subjection to them there of those who at present exact from them the hard service of captives, $14^{1\text{-}4a}$; possibly $13^{22c.\ d}$ belongs to this section: see Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 353; (*c*) a song of triumph over a cruel and arrogant tyrant who had conquered and held in subjection the entire world, $14^{4b\text{-}21}$; according to section (*b*) this king was a king of Babylon (14^{4a}); (*d*) a prose re-statement of the theme of (*a*)—Yahweh is about to exterminate the Babylonians and make the site of the city desolate; (*d*) also appears to refer to (*c*).

Whoever is answerable for the final form of the oracle quite clearly, whether correctly or not, understood the whole to refer to Babylon. The poem in ch. 13 was written at a time when Babylon was the commanding city of the entire world (13^{19}), and when it was natural to expect that her supremacy, if wrested from her at all, would be wrested by the Medes (13^{17}); *i.e.* it was written at some time after the Fall of Nineveh in *c.* 606 B.C., but before the actual Fall of Babylon in 538 B.C.; not later than 538, for the fate of Babylon is described in $13^{19\text{-}22}$ prophetically, not *ex eventu*; the desolation of the site of the city was by no means what the writer depicts. A date about, or a little before, 550 B.C. best meets the case (see below on 13^{17}).

Clearly, then, the oracle of Babylon is no earlier than the Exile: it is probably later, for $14^{1\text{-}4a\ (22f.)}$ is post-exilic rather than exilic; Babylon to the writer of these verses may be a symbolic name for all those that oppress Israel; the Israelites who are to be restored are to come from many quarters (see $14^{1\text{-}4a}$). The song of triumph ($14^{4\text{-}21}$) judged by itself less clearly reveals its date (see below); but it is fairly safe to infer, if merely from the striking difference in style, that it is not the work of the author of $14^{1\text{-}4a}$.

We may then attribute the oracle in its present form to a post-exilic editor who wrote $14^{1\text{-}4a}$ to connect two poems ($13^{2\text{-}22}$ and $14^{4b\text{-}21}$) which he understood, and in the case of the first at least correctly, to refer to the Fall of Babylon. He, too, may have added $14^{22f.}$, and perhaps have introduced some modifications into $13^{2\text{-}22}$.

For some two thousand years and more the singularly unfortunate guess of some editor who thought that the entire oracle was a prophecy of Isaiah's (13^{1}) led to the unquestioning acceptance of Isaiah's authorship of 13^{1}–14^{23}. The impossibility of this was perceived by Eichhorn, who, however, though he correctly perceived the *terminus a quo*, failed to see that ch. 13 at least was written before the end of the Exile. He treated the entire oracle as post-exilic. Ges. correctly dated ch. 13 in the Exile, and with him, as with most succeeding scholars till Du., this was allowed to determine the date of the entire section. Bredenkamp, who maintained Isaiah's authorship of ch. 13, but saw in $14^{4b\text{-}20}$ a poem on the fall of Nebuchadnezzar, assigned $14^{1f.}$ to a third hand. Rejected by Di. as "apologetische Halbheit," this correct perception of difference was utilised by Du., who treated $14^{1\text{-}4a}$ as a post-exilic editor's link connecting $13^{2\text{-}22}$ (to which he thought $14^{22f.}$ might also belong) and $14^{4b\text{-}21}$, the two poems being possibly, but not necessarily, the work of the same author. The analysis has been accepted by Che., Marti,

and others; but with less readiness to admit that the two poems may be the work of the same hand, or that $14^{22f.}$ may belong to 13^{2-22}. "There are such differences in the imaginative pictures of the judgment in the two works, and there is so much more poetic heat in the ode than in the prophecy, that the conjecture (already offered in *PI* i. 21) of a twofold authorship is a reasonable one" (Che. *Introd.* p. 75).

But once 14^{4b-21} is isolated, the date of it cannot be determined so clearly or so closely as the date of 13^{2-22}; and there have been attempts of late to show that it is earlier and, indeed, the work of Isaiah; see below, pp. 251 f.

That the section 13^{1}–14^{23} cannot in its entirety be the work of Isaiah follows so obviously from the historical situation presupposed in 13^{2-22}, that it need not be more elaborately proved here. For such proof, see, *e.g.*, Ges., Di., Che. *Introd.* 67 ff. For defences of Isaiah's authorship, see Uhland, *Vat. Jes. cap. xiii. . . . prophetae Jesaiae vindicatum* (Tübingen, 1798), the commentary of Or., and earlier editions of Del.

XIII. 1. Title.—*The oracle of*] *i.e.* concerning *Babylon*; cp. 15^{1} 17^{1} 19^{1} $21^{1.\,11}$ 22^{1} 23^{1}, Nah 1^{1}. משא, *oracle*, or *utterance*, is a noun derived from the vb. נשא used as in 3^{7} (n.) 42^{2}.—*Which Isaiah saw*] *i.e.* received by revelation: cp. 1^{1} n., 2^{1}. See further on this title, Introduction, §§ 28 ff.

XIII. 2–22.—*The coming Destruction of Babylon.*

The dominant rhythm in vv.$^{2-8}$ is 3 : 2, in vv.$^{9-22}$ it is 3 : 3. In vv.$^{1-8}$ there are 12 to 14 distichs, most of which are obviously 3 : 2; at most two are 3 : 3, and even these were probably 3 : 2, for in v.^{2b} makkeph הרימו־קל (cp. ‖ שאו־נס); and in v.^{7b} אנוש may be intrusive (see n. below). Of some 25 distichs in vv.$^{9-22}$ most are clearly 3 : 3; in MT only one (v.$^{11a.\,b}$) is 3 : 2, though by makkephing לא with the vb. in vv.$^{10b.\ 22d}$ two further 3 : 2 distichs could be obtained. On the other hand, if the makkeph be omitted after ועל, even v.$^{11a.\,b}$ is 3 : 3, not 3 : 2.

By omitting a word from the second line of several distichs (viz. in vv.$^{9d.\ 11d.\ 12b.\ 14d}$), by assuming the loss of two words after v.^{21a} and also after v.^{21b}, by treating v.^{16} as *two* distichs ("Langverse"), and by other hazardous treatments of the text and improbable line divisions, Du. nearly succeeds in reducing the whole of vv.$^{2-22}$ to what he, and after him Marti, Box, and Whitehouse, claim that it was—42 distichs 3 : 2. Box is less consistent than Du. in his reconstruction, but still boldly claims that the whole is in the rhythm of the Hebrew dirge. But if the 5 successive distichs in vv.$^{4f.}$ and the 6 successive distichs in vv.$^{11c-14}$ are, as they stand in 𝔐 (and Box does not emend), in the *same* rhythm, then there is no such thing as distinction of rhythm in Hebrew. Vv.$^{4f.}$ are in echoing, vv.$^{11c-14}$ in balanced rhythm.

In both parts of the chapter there are irregularities, *i.e.* distichs neither 3 : 2 nor 3 : 3; but at least some of these are due to textual corruption; see notes on vv.$^{3.\ 6.\ 8.\ 9.\ 16.\ 18}$. Note, further, that vv.$^{15.\ 20a.\,b}$ were 2 : 3 unless a

word ‖ הרב has dropped out after ירקר in v.[15] and עור in v.[20a] (see n.); v.[17a. b] contains in all only 4 accents; [19c. d] is 2 : 2 (balanced, not echoing).

The strophic structure, if such was intended, is not clear, or, if clear, irregular. In the translation, spaces are left where there seems to be a larger pause in the sense. Du., followed by Box, distributes his hypothetical 42 long lines into six strophes each containing exactly seven lines, and ending respectively with vv.[4. 8. 12. 16. 20. 22].

[2] "On a bare hill raise the signal,
Cry aloud to them;
Wave the hand that they may enter
Through the gates of the nobles.
[3] (For) 'tis I have charged 'to (execute) my anger'
[The host of] my consecrated ones,
Yea, I have summoned my warriors,
My proudly exultant ones."

[4] Hark! a tumult on the mountains
As of much people;
Hark! the din of kingdoms,
Of nations assembled.
Yahweh of Hosts is mustering
The host of battle.

[5] They are coming from a land afar off,
From the end of heaven—
Yahweh and the instruments of his indignation,
To ruin all the earth.
[6] Howl! for the day of Yahweh is near,
As devastation from the Almighty it cometh.
[7] Therefore all hands will hang slack,
And every heart of man faint.
[8] And . . . will be dismayed . . .
. . . . . .
They shall be seized with pangs and pains,
As a travailing woman shall they writhe;
They shall look at one another in amazement,
Their faces will be aflame.

[9] Behold the day of Yahweh cometh,
Cruel with wrath and heat of anger,
To make the earth a desolation,
And to destroy the sinners thereof from it.

10 For the stars of heaven and its Orions
Shall not give their light;
The sun is dark when it rises,
And the moon shall not let its light shine.

11 "And I will punish the world for 'its' evil,
And the wicked for their iniquity;
And I will make the pride of the presumptuous cease,
And the haughtiness of the awe-inspiring will I bring low.
12 I will make mortals more rare than fine gold,
And men than gold of Ophir."

13 Therefore the heavens 'will tremble,'
And the earth quake out of its place,
Through the wrath of Yahweh of Hosts,
And in the day of the heat of his anger.

14 And it shall come to pass, as a hunted gazelle,
And as a flock with none to gather it,
They shall turn every one to his people,
And they shall flee every one to his land.
15 Every one that is found shall be thrust through,
And every one that is caught shall fall by the sword.
16 Their children shall be dashed in pieces in their sight,
Their houses shall be spoiled and their wives ravished.

17 "Behold I am stirring up
Against them the Medes,
Who take no account of silver,
And in gold find no delight.
18 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
They have no compassion on the fruit of the womb,
Nor doth their eye look pityingly on children.

19 And Babylon the beauty of kingdoms,
The glorious pride of the Chaldaeans,
Shall be as when God overthrew
Sodom and Gomorrah.

20 It shall be uninhabited for ever,
It shall be undwelt in to all generations:
The Arab shall not pitch tent there,
Nor shepherds fold (their flocks) there.
21 But yelpers (?) shall make their lair there,
And their houses shall be full of shriekers;
And there shall ostriches dwell,
And satyrs shall dance there.
22 And howling beasts shall sing in the mansions thereof,
And jackals in the delightful palaces.
Its time is nearly come,
And its days shall not be prolonged.

The poem describes the summoning of Yahweh's warriors, vv.2f., their assembling and advance, vv.4f., and the terror of the people against whom they march, vv.6-8; the effect on Heaven and earth, vv.9-13; the flight of the foreign people in the threatened city to their own lands and the slaughter of those that remain, vv.14-16. In v.17 it is first stated that it is the Medes who are to be Yahweh's warriors, and in v.19 that Babylon is the threatened city. The poem closes with a description of the complete and eternal desolation of the site of Babylon.

The poem is itself, substantially as it stands, or it rests upon a poem which was, the work of a Jew living during the Exile, watching the movements of the Medes, and anticipating that the proud city and empire of Babylon would be overthrown by them; it must have been written about 550 B.C.; see above, p. 233, and on v.17.

Two characteristics of the section, one of its form and one of its substance, suggest that the original poem may have received additions and been subject to modifications beyond those (of which there are many) that are due to ordinary processes of textual corruption. Firstly, there is a clearly-marked change in the dominant rhythm which formally distinguishes vv.1-8 from vv.9-22 (see above). Secondly, whereas in vv.17-19 the poem is quite clearly concerned with actual conditions, and possibilities closely related to them, in other places there appears the vagueness of an eschatological poem; the opening verses might well refer to superhuman armies of

Yahweh,* and by no means obviously suggest a single specific nation—the Medes: so again the darkness (v.[10]) and the universal commotion are eschatological features, and in v.[11] it is not Babylon, but the whole world, that is to be punished. If these eschatological features were limited to the 3 : 2 distichs (vv.[1-8]), we might suppose that an eschatological fragment has been prefixed to a poem predicting the Fall of Babylon; but they are not; they appear also in vv.[9-13].

2–4. Yahweh's warriors summoned and assembled. —Let those whose duty it is to do so make signals to the Medes (v.[17]) to enter Babylon (v.[19]) as the executants of Yahweh's anger.—*On a bare hill*] where the signal will be conspicuous. With הר נשפה †, cp. שפיים, *bare hills*, e.g. 41^{18}, Jer 3^{2} 4^{11}.—*Raise the signal*] Jer 51^{27}, see 5^{26} n.—*Wave the hand*] clearly as a third way of giving a signal: but this meaning of הניף יד (11^{15} 19^{16}) does not occur again.—*The gates of the nobles*] apparently the Babylonians are treated as nobles in relation to the other inhabitants of the world (cp. 47^{7}). The term נדיבים is applied to men of rank and position on whom society and government rest; it is parallel to "king" in Job 34^{18}, to "princes" (שרים) in Nu 21^{18} and Pr 8^{16}; cp. also, "It is better to take refuge in Yahweh than to trust in nobles," Ps 118^{9}.—**3.** On the conjectural emendations underlying the translation, see phil. n.—*I*] Yahweh.—*Consecrated ones*] *i.e.* soldiers; see next line. Cp. "consecrate nations against her," Jer 51^{27}; "consecrate war, rouse up the warriors," Jl 4 (3)[9]. War was a sacred institution, and therefore those who fought were consecrated and subject to strict laws of purity and taboo: see Dt 23^{10-15}, 2 S 11^{11}, also Jer 6^{4} 22^{7}, Mic 3^{5}; F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsalterthümer.*—*My proudly exultant ones*] Zeph 3^{11}; cp. 22^{2} n.—**4.** *The mountains*] of Media.—*Kingdoms . . . nations*] under the sway of the king of Media; cp. Jer $51^{27f.}$, "Call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz . . . consecrate against her the nations, the king

* They were so understood by Eus., who, if the poem has come down in its original form, is rightly criticised by Jer. in his comment on v.[3]. "Principes et gigantes juxta LXX Translatores Eusebius virtutes Angelicas interpretatur, et pessimos daemones, qui ad eversionem Babylonis missi sunt," and on v.[17] "Apertum est quod latebat: quod nequaquam fortes et gigantes, Angeli intelligendi sunt et daemones, sed Medorum gens.

(𝔊) of Media, his governors and all his viceroys, and all the land of his dominion."

2. ויבאו] followed by the acc. as in Ps 100⁴.—**3.** אני צויתי למקדשי] for ל of the obj. of צוה, see Ex 1²², Jer 32²³. But the words are probably a mutilated distich: one of the lost words (לאפי), perhaps shifted down to the next line which is over long. By a further conjecture Marti obtains two good 3 : 2 distichs:

אני צויתי לאפי | צבא מקדשי
גם קראתי גבורי | עליוי גאותי

4. דמות] for בְּ: rare; see BDB 198*a*.—מַמְלָכוֹת] to be so pointed (𝔗), not מַמְלְכוֹת (MT), which destroys both rhythm and parallelism.—

5–8. Terror at the approach of Yahweh and His warriors.—**5a. b.** Cp. 5²⁶ 46¹¹.—*The instruments of his indignation*] Jer 50²⁵; cp. "instruments of war" as applied to Saul and Jonathan, 2 S 1²⁷.—*All the earth*] rhetorical for the entire Babylonian empire (Jer. al.), or eschatological? See above, p. 237 f.—**6.** *Howl*] Jl 1⁵· ¹³: and the remainder of v.⁶ = Jl 1¹⁵ᵇ; other similarities to Joel occur in vv.⁸· ¹⁰· ¹³. Joel is imitative (*Exp.* 1893, Sept., pp. 208–225), and may be the borrower, or second user, of most of these common phrases or ideas; but this v. is rhythmically peculiar in its present setting; it is a distich 4 : 3, or, apart from *howl*, 3 : 3; in the latter case the rhythm is that of vv.⁹⁻²², but not of vv.¹⁻⁸ (3 : 2); in the former it resembles the rhythm of neither part of ch. 13. Possibly the v. was interpolated so as to generalise a prophecy of the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes into a prophecy of the final and universal judgment. If original in its present position, the imperative *wail* must be addressed to the Babylonians; but it breaks in awkwardly and forms a less satisfactory antecedent than v.⁵ to the *therefore* of v.⁷. Nothing is gained by putting vv.⁶⁻⁸ after vv.⁹⁻¹³ (Cond.).—*As devastation from the Almighty*] or, reproducing the assonance in כשד משדי, *as an overpowering from the overpowerer* (Dr., *Joel and Amos*, p. 45). The coiner of the present phrase associated the divine name שדי with the root שדד (21² 33¹ etc.), and must have understood it to mean the Waster, or Devastator. The actual etymology and original meaning of the term is altogether obscure; 𝔊 frequently renders by *παντοκράτωρ*, whence EV *Almighty*; the later Greek versions by *ἱκανός*, which is probably also intended by the MT punctuation שַׁדַּי, *he that is sufficient*. By modern scholars it has been

explained as שָׁדַי, my lord? (cp. אדני), or compared with the Babylonian epithet of Bel, *šadu rabbu* = *great mountain* (cp. צור as an epithet of God). The term occurs nowhere else in the Book of Isaiah. Frequent as an archaism in Job and P, it occurs rarely elsewhere: Gn 49^{25}, Nu $24^{4.\ 16}$ are, presumably, early, and Ezk 1^{24} 10^{5}, Ps 68^{15} 91^{1}, Ruth $1^{20f.}$, late instances of its use. See, further, on the usage, etymology, and meaning of the name, *HPN* 196 ff.; Dr., *Joel and Amos*, 81 f.; *EBi.* 3326; Ges–B. *s.v.*—**7 f.** The sequence to v.^{5}; v.^{6} being parenthetic, if not interpolated. The Babylonians become paralysed with fear.—*All hands*] The seat of power, cp. Jos 8^{20}, Ps 76^{6}.—*Hang down*] helpless: cp. Jer 50^{43}; also 2 S 4^{1}, Jer 6^{24}, Ezk 7^{17} 21^{12}, Zeph 3^{16}, Job 4^{3}.—*Every heart of man*] *the heart of man* without *every* is quite a general expression: cp. Ps 104^{15}; *every heart* is a more exact parallel to *all hands*. *Of man* is perhaps a misplaced fragment of the mutilated line that follows, or an interpolation intended to modify *every* (Babylonian) *heart* into *every heart of mankind*. In 𝔐 the distich is 3 : 3, with the omission, like the neighbouring distichs, 3 : 2.—**8.** *And they will be dismayed*] according to Di. the subj. is the owners of the hearts and hands just mentioned in v.^{7}: very improbable; the word נבהלו is the fragment of a lost distich.—**a. d.** For the figure of birth-pangs, never found in the prophecies of Isaiah, see 21^{3}, Jl 2^{6}, Jer 50^{43} 49^{24}, Ps 48^{7}.—*Their faces are aflame*] in feverish excitement; cp. Nah 2^{11}, Jl 2^{6}.

7. The obvious parallelism of כל ידים תרפינה and כל לבב ימס, and the prevalent parallelism *within* the distichs, makes the theory that על-כן ידים תר׳ is one mutilated distich and כל לבב אנוש ימס ונבהלו (Du., Che., Box) is another, far less probable than the theory of mutilation stated above.—**8.** יאחזון] either the obj. *them* is omitted, or צירים וחבלים is the obj.; for אחז with similar objects, cp. Job 18^{20} (𝔐 not 𝔊) 21^{6} (construction ambiguous).

9–13. Darkness and universal commotion accompanying Yahweh's judgment of the world for its wickedness.—9a. b. On the text, see phil. n.—**10.** Darkness: cp. 5^{30} 8^{22}, Am 8^{9}, Ezk 30^{18} $32^{7f.}$, Zeph 1^{15}, Jl 2^{10} 3^{4} 4^{15} Jer 4^{23}: see, further, *KAT*^{3}, p. 393.—**10a. b.** Possibly a variant of c. (d.). Note the absence of parallelism.—*Its Orions*] "Orion and other constellations of the same brilliancy" (BDB). But the *plural* is strange, and was perhaps not read by 𝔊: see phil. n. Other allusions to Orion are Am 5^{8}, Job 9^{9} 38^{31}†. The identification

of כסיל with Orion goes back to 𝔊 and is probably correct; if so, the name meaning *fool* goes back to a myth of "some foolhardy, heaven-daring rebel, who was chained to the sky for his impiety" (Dr., *Joel and Amos*, 179); for etymological speculations, see Harper's note on Am 5[8].—**11 f.** Yahweh speaks. —*The world*] תבל is never, like ארץ, limited to a single country. The entire world is to be punished for its wickedness and violence; in 14[17] it is the object of the wickedness and violence for which the king of Babylon is to be punished. The following terms, *the wicked, the presumptuous, the awe-inspiring* (25[3]), may be as wide and universal as *the world*; but they might also apply specifically to the Babylonians: cp. 14[5] (Hab 1[4. 13]) for the first; and note that "the most awe-inspiring of the nations" is a standing epithet with Ezekiel for the Babylonians: see Ezk 30[10f.] 32[12f.] 28[7] 31[12].—**12.** *Gold of Ophir*] Cp. Ps 45[10], Job 28[16], 1 Ch 29[4], Job 22[24]. This specially prized gold was brought from Ophir, a district reached by ships sailing from ʿEṣion-geber at the head of the Gulf of ʿAḳabah (1 K 9[6-8]). For the understanding of the present passage it is unnecessary to discuss the exact situation of Ophir: for theories, see *DB* and *EBi. s.v.*; also Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 222.—**13a. b.** Cp. Jl 2[10].—*The heavens will tremble*] so 𝔊: 𝔓, awkwardly continuing the speech of Yahweh (vv.[11f.]), half-way but only half-way through v.[13], *I will make the heavens tremble.*

9. הנה יום יהוה בא אכזרי ועברה וחרון אף] the distich is scarcely 3 : 3, still less 3 : 2; nor is the cast of it quite like that of the other distichs. If the text is correct, אכזרי is best taken as in apposition to יום יהוה and ועברה as a case of *waw concomitantiae* (7[1] n.). Possibly 𝔊 read אכזרי עברה (acc. of respect: G–K. 131*p*, *q*). Du. omits יום יהוה; but an expressed subject of בא seems to be required. Possibly, however, יום has been inserted (cp. v.[13]); אכזרי would go better with יהוה than with יום: cp. Job 30[21] (אכזר).—**10.** כי כוכבי השמים וכסיליהם] 𝔊 *οἱ γὰρ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὁ Ὠρείων καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*: are the last two clauses a paraphrase of וכסיליהם? or did 𝔊 read וכסיל, and is the last clause in 𝔊 a doublet of the first? Du. omits כוכבי.—**11.** רעה] read רָעָתָה: cp. the parallel עונם. 𝔊 *κακά* probably = רעת—intermediate between 𝔓 and the original text.—**13.** וארגיז] 𝔓 is an error for וירגזו 𝔊 (*θυμωθήσεται*: cp. 37[29]).

14–16. Flight from Slaughter and Violation.—All foreigners in Babylon (cp. 47[15], Jer 51[44]) will attempt to flee (v.[14]), but if found there will share the fate of the Babylonians, who will perish one and all.—**14.** *A flock*] 𝔊 *a wandering* (אבר,

as 1 S $9^{3\text{-}20}$, Ezk 34^{4}) *flock*. For the figure, cp. 1 K 22^{17}, Ezk 34^{5}.—**15 f.** The Jewish aspiration for vengeance lies behind the description: may the Babylonians be served as they served us! Cp. Ps $137^{8f.}$.—Strictly speaking, people who have fallen by the sword (v.[15]) cannot subsequently (v.[16]) see their children dashed in pieces (Marti); but it would be precarious to deny the possibility that the present sequence of the vv. is original.—**16b.** Cp. Zec 14^{2}. But the spoiling of the houses stands curiously between the fate of the children and of the women. The text may be in some disorder. Haupt attempts a reconstruction (*SBOT*, p. 124).

17 f. The Medes.—Yahweh speaks again, revealing the instruments of His indignation—the Medes—and (v.[19]) the object of it, Babylon. Whether the divine speech extends to the end of the poem, and if not how far, is uncertain.—**17.** *Behold I am about to stir up against them the Medes*] cp. Jer 57^{11} "Yahweh hath stirred up the spirit of the king (𝔊; 𝔙 *kings*) of Media, because his device is against Babylon to destroy it: for it is Yahweh's vengeance, the vengeance for [what was done in 586 B.C. to (cp. 51^{24})] his temple." The historical situation in both passages is the same; Babylon still occupies a supreme position in the eyes of the world; but the Medes are threatening that supremacy. This historical situation can be closely defined: it existed not earlier than 561 B.C., and it ceased to exist with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538 B.C. The Medes (מדי, Assyr. *Madai*: in Persian inscriptions *Mâda*) are first mentioned by Shalmaneser II. in the 9th cent. B.C.; and in the 8th century raids against Median chieftains are recorded by the *Assyrian* kings Tiglath-pileser and Sargon. Increasing in power through the 7th cent., the Medes, or Umman (*i.e.* hordes of) Manda,* at the end of that century, in alliance with, but without the active support of, the Babylonians destroyed Nineveh, and subsequently divided the spoils with the Babylonians. Down to the end of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar friendly relations existed

* Μῆδοι (Herod. i. 106, 185; cp. מדי, Jer 51^{28}); Umman-Manda (stele of Nabuna'id; ed. Messerschmidt). For some different explanations of the exact relation of the terms Medes, Madai, and (Umman-) Manda to one another, and for fuller discussion of the points summarised above, see *KAT*³ 177, 100–105; S. Langdon, *Neubabyl. Königsinschriften*, 3 ff.; Jeremias, *PRE*³ xii. 491; Sayce, *DB*, *s.v. Medes*; Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* ii. 288 ff., 368 ff.

between the Babylonians and the Medes (or Manda); but these ceased with his death in 561 B.C. From the mention of the Medes only without reference either to the Persians or Cyrus, some infer that the prophecy was written before 549, in which year Cyrus overthrew the Median empire of Astyages (Dr. *LOT*⁶ 212).—*Who regard not silver*, etc.] their attack is not to be turned aside by money payments.—**18.** The opening words of the v. can be rendered *and bows shall dash youths in pieces*, but the text is certainly corrupt: see phil. n.—*The fruit of the womb*] parallel to, and synonymous with, *children* (or, *sons*; 1² n.); cp. Ps 127³, Mic 6⁷.

18. וקשתות נערים תרטשנה] Ⓖ τοξεύματα νεανίσκων συντρίψουσιν. The order —subj., obj., vb.—is unusual, but not unknown: Dr. § 208 (3). The vb. being 3rd *fem.* pl. נערים cannot be the subj., nor can the subj. be either indef., or the Medes; cp. Ⓖ, and Ⓥ *sed sagittis parvulos interficient.* קשתות must be the subj., if the text be correct; yet it is very doubtful whether *bows* meant *bowmen*, or רטש could be predicated of bows: in 2 K 8¹², Ps 137⁹† the subj. of רטש is personal. The three words of Ⓟ occupy the place of a whole distich, *i.e.* they are the (corrupt) fragment of six words. Du. constructs *two* distichs out of the three words on the basis of Jer 50⁴² 51²⁰⁻²⁴; but his distichs are 3 : 2, and therefore not in the rhythm prevailing in vv.⁹⁻²².

19–22. The eternal desolation of Babylon.—Babylon, still as yet glorious and supreme, will be overthrown as completely as Sodom and Gomorrah: its site will be for ever uninhabited; even nomads will avoid it; it will be given up to solitude-loving and demonic beasts.—**19.** *The beauty*] or *ornament of* the many *kingdoms* that constituted the Babylonian empire, or perhaps the phrase was intended even more widely.—*As when God overthrew*] Jer 50⁴⁰ (49¹⁸): cp. 1⁷ n.—**20a. b** = Jer 50³⁹ᵇ.—*The Arab*] the Arabs are first mentioned in Jer 3²: the word means *dweller in the steppes*, and is applied to the Bedawin of the Syro-Arabian desert.—**21.** Cp. Jer 50³⁹.—*Yelpers*] the ציים, whatever the name precisely means (see phil. n.), appear in other descriptions of desolation, 23¹³ 34¹⁴, Jer 50³⁹.—*Shriekers*] אחים†; precise meaning uncertain: cp. ܐܚܐ, *to cough*; ܐܚܐ, *a shriek*: the Assyr. *aḫu* may mean *jackal* (Del.), but this beast is probably mentioned just below in v.²²: Ⓖ *echo!*—*Ostriches*] cp. 34¹³ 43²⁰, Mic 1⁸, Job 30²⁹.—*Satyrs*] שעירים is commonly used of *he-goats*, though usually in the phrase שעיר עזים, lit. *a hairy one of the goats*. RV renders *he-goats* here, but the in-

troduction of domestic animals is improbable. Here as in 34^{14}, Lv 17^{7}, 2 Ch 11^{15}, 2 K 23^{8} (point שְׂעִירִים), we must think of demonic animals, howling after the wont of demons and jinn in unfrequented places, of a hairy nature and perhaps goat-like in form; see *EBi. s.v. Satyr.*—**22.** *Howling beasts*] אִיִּים (34^{14}, Jer 50^{39} †) are perhaps *wolves*, perhaps *jackals*, *DB* i. 620.—*Jackals*] תַּנִּים (or *wolves*, *DB* i. 620) made mournful noises (Mic 1^{8}), and frequented desolate spots (34^{13}, Jer 9^{10} 10^{32}).

19. מהפכת] *nomen verbi* (cp. G–K. 45*e*) with את; cp. 11^{9} n.—**20.** לא תשב] Jer 50^{39} + עוד; if עוד is inserted here, then v.$^{20a.\ b}$ is 3 : 3, at present it is exceptionally 2 : 3.—יהל]=יֵאָהֵל: cp. G–K. 68*k*. 𝔊 יְחֻלֶּה.—**21.** צִיִּים] if the text be correct in 23^{13}, Ps 72^{9}, the word may be used of human beings: some therefore derive from the root צוה, صوى, *to be parched*, and give it the meaning *desert dweller*. Another possible derivation is from the root ضوى, *to yelp* (Dozy). *Desert dweller*, or *yelper*, would be applicable to many animals. *Wild cats* (Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. c. 14) is badly supported by ضَبُوع, which is from another root. The meaning was already obscure to the early translators: 𝔊𝔙𝔖 here render by a general term for wild beasts, 𝔗 here and in 34^{14}, Jer 50^{39} by תמין, which by no means necessarily means *monkeys* (Walton): in 34^{14} 𝔊 has *δαιμόνια*, in Jer 50^{39} *ινδάλματα*, 𝔙 *dracones*.—**22.** ועניה] sing. pred., pl. subj. following (G–K. 145*o*): yet it is suspicious that this cstr. should occur in just one of several similar sentences. Whether 𝔊's *κατοικήσουσιν* implies a reading ושכנו is doubtful.—אלמנותיו] *its widows*, i.e. deserted palaces! (Ḳi.). But read ארמנותיה . . . עתה—קרוב] since the pred. precedes, עת was not necessarily meant to be masc. (8^{22} n.).

XIV. 1–4a. The restoration of Israel.—Babylon must fall (ch. 13), and that immediately ($13^{22c.\ d}$); *for* (14^{1}) it is Yahweh's gracious purpose to set free the Jews from their present captivity, and to re-establish them in Canaan (vv.$^{1f.}$): restored to Canaan, the Jews will sing a pæan ($14^{4b.\ 21}$) over the fall of the king of Babylon.—These verses are probably an editorial link (see above, p. 233); even the distichs in vv.$^{1f.}$ hardly formed the original conclusion of the poem in ch. 13, which is rather to be found at 13^{22} (b or d); and vv.$^{2a.\ 3f.}$, which are prose, are marked off from both the poem that precedes and that which follows. Whether the editor composed the distichs in vv.$^{1f.}$ or derived them from elsewhere (*e.g.* Zec 1^{7}) is uncertain.

Du., al. treat 14^{1-4a} as prose, Cond. as poetry, throughout. It requires some audacity to detect poetry in vv.$^{3.\ 4a}$; and v.^{2a} would yield but a poor distich 4 : 4, even if the last clause were omitted. But v.$^{1a.\ b.\ d.\ c}$ are as a

matter of fact two distichs (3 : 3) of lines parallel in sense, and 1c a monostich of 3 accents : v.2b. c is 3 : 3 or 3 : 2, according as בנגשיהם be read as one or two accents.

1 For Yahweh will have pity on Jacob,
And will again choose Israel;
And he will settle them on their ground.
And the *ger* will join himself unto them,
And they will become members of the House of Jacob.
2 And peoples will take them and bring them to their place, and the House of Israel will possess themselves of them on the ground of Yahweh for slaves and slave-girls,
2b And they will be captors to their captors,
And the lords of their (former) task-masters.
3 And it shall come to pass in the day that Yahweh giveth thee rest from thy toil and turmoil, and from the hard service which thou wast made to serve,4 thou shalt utter this taunt-song against the king of Babylon, and say—

1a. b. Cp. Zec 1^{17} 2^{16}.—**1.** *For Yahweh*] 𝔊 *and Yahweh.* —*Will again choose*] the first choice was at the beginning of the nation's history: Dt $7^{6f.}$, Ezk $20^{5f.}$. Yahweh's choice of Israel is a favourite idea of the Deutero-Isaiah's: see $41^{8f.}$ 43^{10} $44^{1f.}$, and Dr. *LOT*6, p. 238.—**1c.** Cp. Zec 2^{16} and Ezk $37^{12.\ 14}$ "I will bring you into the land of Israel . . . and I will settle you upon your ground." הֵנִיחַ is generally used of placing a person in a particular place after his removal from another; cp. 46^{7}, Gn 19^{16}, Jos 6^{23}, Lv 24^{12}, Nu 15^{34}.—*The ger*] the term originally denoted a person not of the same tribe or people as those among whom he lived, but enjoying at their hands certain conceded (as distinct from inherited) social rights and privileges. Such rights and privileges naturally carried with them some accommodation on the part of the *ger* to Jewish religious practices; for example, it was incumbent on the Jews to concede the privileges, and on the *ger* to observe the laws, of the Sabbath (Ex 20^{10} 23^{12}); yet as late as the Deuteronomic code the *ger* was no full member of the holy nation: he might eat unclean food (Dt 14^{21}). In P the term has become purely religious; persons not Israelite by descent may by accepting the rite of circumcision become as full members of the community as those born Jews, and subject to the same rights and duties (see, *e.g.*, Nu 15^{13} n.). P seems to

contemplate such persons as were united geographically with the Jewish community in Palestine. Later even this limitation disappears from the word: the *ger* is any person not of Jewish descent who becomes a convert to the Jewish religion, *a proselyte*; it is this last sense that the word bore to some of the Greek translators, for in some books גר is rendered by προσήλυτος, and with this sense it is used in the Mishna (Levy, *NHB*, *s.v.*). In the present passage the term probably has much the same sense as in P, and is very nearly equal to *convert* or *proselyte*. The restored Jewish community will be enlarged by the inclusion of men of other nations, who, seeing what Yahweh has done for His people (cp. Ps 126^{2}), will seek to be united with them. Foreigners who do not become converts will pass into the possession of the restored people, as slaves and slave-girls. The writer contemplates for the world at large two alternatives—conversion to Judaism, or enslavement to the Jews: cp. the alternative presented elsewhere (60^{10-12})—conversion or submission.—*Join himself*] נלוה is used of the close relationship of husband and wife (Gn 29^{34}), of Levites and priests (Nu 18^{2}), and also of religious union which is elsewhere defined as union with Yahweh; see $56^{3.6}$, Jer 50^{5}, and especially, as parallel to the present usage, Zec 2^{15} "and many nations shall join themselves unto Yahweh . . . and shall become his (𝔊) people, and they (𝔊) shall dwell in thy midst."—*And they*] the plural pronoun carries on the sing. collective term *ger*.—*Will become members of*] נספח, too, denotes close attachment: see 1 S 2^{36} (Kal), Job 30^{7} (in MT Pual), and especially 1 S 26^{19} (Hithp.); Hab 2^{15}† is probably corrupt.—**2.** *And peoples shall take them and bring them*] cp. 49^{22}.—*To their place*] their country or home; cp. *e.g.* Nu 24^{25}.—*The ground of Yahweh*] Canaan. Cp. "the land of Yahweh," Hos 9^{3}; "the holy ground," Zec 2^{16}. Restored to their land, the Jews will need slaves, which the later law forbade them to seek from those of their own race (Lv $25^{44ff.}$); they will therefore subject to slavery those of the nations who do not seek and obtain incorporation in the Jewish community as *gerim* (v.[1] n.). The tables will be turned: those who had enslaved the Jews will now become their slaves. Babylon for the moment seems to be lost sight of, or rather has become a generic term for all oppressors of the Jews: the writer lives at a time when many nations at one time or another had enslaved the Jews. The

phrase *slaves and slave-girls* (עבדים ושפחות) is frequent (*e.g.* Gn 12^{16} 20^{14} 30^{43} Jer $34^{9ff.}$); as compared with the synonymous אמה, שפחה rather points to more servile conditions, or the more menial nature of the tasks exacted (BDB, *s.vv.*). Not only the thought, but the phraseology in v.[2] seems to be affected by Lv $25^{44ff.}$; התנחל is confined to this passage, P (Lv 25^{46}, Nu 32^{18} 33^{54} 34^{13}), and Ezk 47^{13}; here and in Lv 25^{46} the objects possessed are slaves, in the other passages land. So the vb. רדה probably echoes Lv $25^{43.\ 46.\ 53}$ and refers to domestic rule, not to political dominion, which RV suggests; נגש, *task-master*, is used as in Ex 3^{7} 5^{6}, Job 3^{18}; below in v.[4] rather differently.—*Captors to their captors*] Jg 5^{12}.

3. The exiled nation is now addressed: ct. vv.[1f.].—*Giveth thee rest*] releases thee from servitude; with this use of חניח, cp. that of נוח in Ex 23^{12}, Dt 5^{14}, Job 3^{17}. In Dt. (*e.g.* 25^{19}) the Hiphil is rather differently used: see Che. *Introd.* 71.—*Toil*] cp. 88^{3}, Ps 127^{2}.—*Turmoil*] רגז denotes strong mental agitation proceeding from various causes, here the disquiet of the slave who lives in fear of "the voice of the taskmaster" (Job 3^{18}, cp. [26]).—*The hard service*] Dt 26^{6}, Ex 1^{14} 6^{9} (P).—In אשר עֻבַּד בך, lit. *wherewith it was worked with thee*, the Pual (Dt 21^{3}†) is the passive of עבד ב', lit. *to work by means of*, Lv 25^{46}, Ex 1^{14}, Ezk 34^{27} etc. —4. *Thou shalt take up*] on the lips, and so *utter*; cp. 1 K 8^{31}, Jer 7^{29}, and the noun משא, 13^{1} n.—*Taunt-song*] so may משל be rendered here and in Hab 2^{6}, Mic 2^{4}; on other meanings, see *Numbers*, pp. 299 f., 344 f., xiii f., where it is suggested that the following poem may have been modelled on the ancient *m^{e}shalim* which used to be actually recited (Nu 21^{27}), and of which many probably still existed in and after the Exile.

XIV. 4b–21.—*The Fall of the Tyrant.*

The dominant rhythm is clearly 3 : 2; parallelism is occasionally between entire periods of 5 accents (see vv.[6. 9. 12]); but far more frequently it is between the period of 3 and the period of 2 accents. The translation is arranged to bring into relief the more frequent form of parallelism.

Down to v.[17b] and in [18b. c. 19a. b. 20b-e. 21a. b], the rhythm is for the most part obviously 3 : 2. But vv.[5. 16c. d] are 4 : 2, unless we omit יהוה in the one case and האיש in the other; and [9c. f. 10a. b] are 2 : 2, and so also is [12c. d] in ֵיָּ, but prefix איך. V.[21c. d] would be 3 : 3 if ערים is part of the line (but see n.). On the obviously mutilated text of v.[17c-20a] see notes.

The first twenty-one distichs (vv.[4b-15]) are clearly marked off, as Ew.

already perceived, into three equal strophes of 7 distichs each. It is probable that this equality of strophes was maintained throughout, but the mutilated text in vv.[17-20] prevents certainty on this point. 𝔊 contains slightly less than fourteen distichs between vv.[16] and [21]; but with the addition of vv.[22. 23] it would contain considerably more.

On the structure of the poem see especially Budde in *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 12–15, where some earlier theories of strophic division are noticed: Bickell, *Carmina Vet. Test.* (1882) p. 202 f., and *Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, viii. 101 f.; W. H. Cobb, in *JBLit.* xv. 18 ff.

1.

[4b] How hath the Tyrant ceased,
The Terror (?) ceased!
[5] Yahweh hath broken the staff of the wicked,
The rod of the rulers;
[6] Which smote the peoples in wrath,
With smiting unceasing,
Which angrily trampled (?) on nations,
With 'trampling' (?) unrestrained.
[7] All the earth is at rest, is quiet,
They have broken forth into a ringing cry;
[8] The fir-trees, too, have rejoiced at thee,
The cedars of Lebanon—
"Since thou hast lain down, there cometh not up
The feller against us."

2.

[9] Sheol beneath is thrilled at thee,
Meeting thine advent;
Arousing for thee the shades,
All the bell-wethers of Earth,
Making rise up from their thrones
All the kings of the nations.
[10] They shall all of them answer
And say to thee,
"*Thou*, too, art made weak as we,
Unto us art made like."
[11] Brought down unto Sheol is thy pomp,
The music of thy lutes;
Beneath thee maggots are spread,
And (of) worms is thy coverlet.

3.

12 How art thou fallen from Heaven,
O Shining One, son of the dawn!
'How' art thou hewn down to the earth,
. . . of 'all' nations!
13 Thou that hadst said in thine heart,
"Heaven will I scale;
Above the stars of God
Will I set on high my throne,
That I may sit (enthroned) in the Mount of Assembly,
In the recesses of the North:
14 I will ascend over the summits of the clouds,
Will be like the Most High."
15 Yet to Sheol shalt thou be brought down,
To the recesses of the Pit.

4.

16 They that see thee look narrowly at thee,
To thee give attention—
"Is this the man that caused earth to thrill,
That caused kingdoms to quake;
17 That made the world like a wilderness,
And overthrew its cities?"
. . . . . .
18 All the kings of the nations,
They all have lain down in glory,
Each one in his house;
19 But *thou* art cast forth 'tombless,'
Like an abhorred 'untimely birth' (?)
. . . . . the slain,
That are thrust through with the sword,
That go down to the stones of the Pit,
As a corpse trodden under foot.
20 Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial,
. . . . . .

5.

[20b] For thy land hast thou ruined,
Thy people hast thou slain.
Never more shall it be named,
The seed of evil-doers.
[21] Prepare a butchery for his sons,
For the iniquity of their fathers,
That they rise not and possess the earth,
And fill the face of the world.

The poem expresses the exultation over the fall of a Tyrant who had treated the peoples of the world with unsparing and unremitting severity: in the first strophe the world-wide terror, which his career had inspired, and the world-wide relief and joy at his fall, are effectively contrasted. The second strophe illustrates in another way the supreme position of the Tyrant in the world of his time: his entrance to Sheol is depicted: he is greeted by all the kings of the earth, who are amazed that one who had been so much greater and more powerful than they, is now weak as one of themselves. In the third strophe the overweening pride and ambition of the Tyrant is pictured: not content with conquering earth, he would have conquered heaven and dethroned the supreme God and King; actually he attains to the lowest depths of Sheol. Such is the fate of his spirit: the fourth strophe dwells on the fate of his dead body: it receives no royal burial in the mausoleum which he had built for himself, but lies unburied, one of a heap of carcases on the battlefield where he fell. The final lines, or strophe (vv.[20b-21]), are more miscellaneous; first, they find reason for the Tyrant's fate in the fact that he had ruined his own land and people as well as others, and then assert that he and his race shall pass out of memory; and finally they call for the slaughter of his children that no future member of his line may repeat his career.

How far does this poem depict the actual career of a single definite historical individual? How much of it was determined by certain definite events, how much by the imagination of the poet? Of course the speeches of the cedars in v.[8], of the shades in v.[10], of the Tyrant himself in vv.[13f.], and of the people on the battlefield after the battle, v.[16], all of which betray a keen

dramatic sympathy and power of expression, are due to the poet's imagination. But how much more? Had the Tyrant actually fallen when the poem was written? Or does the poet merely throw himself forward in imagination to the day and the scene which he feels would be the fitting conclusion to the career of the cruel and arrogant conqueror under whose government he has lived and suffered?

If v.[19] be imaginative prophecy, then it is simplest to see in the entire poem a paean over Assyria, or Babylon, personified (cp. 10[5-13]), or "totum corpus Regum Assyriorum et Babylonicorum" (Vitr.), rather than over a particular Assyrian or Babylonian king. So it is of the character and achievements of a people rather than of a single definite monarch that Ezekiel thinks, even when he uses the term "king of Tyre," "king of Egypt," in prophecies that have several points of contact with this poem: see Ezk 28–32. For a briefer example of a lament written to suit merely anticipated and not actual conditions, see Am 5[1f.]

But if v.[19] refers to an actual historical event, it refers to details of which nothing is otherwise known, whether the king in question be Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar (Jer., Ḳi.), or Nabonidus (Hitz., Du.). It is indeed recorded that Sargon was "not buried in his house" (cp. v.[18]); but this does not necessarily imply that he died a violent death, and lay unburied (cp. v.[19]): moreover, Sargon certainly did not involve his country and people in ruin (v.[20]): within twelve days of his death his son Sennacherib was recognised as king, and Assyria suffered no serious check for half a century after Sargon's death.

In *Altor. Forschungen*, i. 193 f., Winckler attempted to explain v.[19] as an allusion to the *murder* of Sennacherib in 682 B.C.; this obviously inadequate explanation with the claim that the poem was written by Isaiah (some sixty years after his Call!) was adopted by W. H. Cobb in *JBLit.* xv. 18 ff. Later, Winckler (*ib.* pp. 410 ff., *KAT*[3], pp. 74 f.) advanced the far more satisfactory theory that the allusion is to the death of Sargon; an ominous, but through mutilation obscure, reference in the Eponym canon for the year 705 B.C. is illumined by K 4730, an inscription of Sennacherib (also mutilated) in which he says, "the death of Sargon . . . in his house he was not buried . . . (*ina bîtîšu la ḳib-ru*), the transgression of Sargon, my father by expiation will I expiate: I will [blot out] the transgression which they (? he) committed against a god . . . against the gods of Akkad; because he the curse of the king of the gods up [on himself] brought, in his house he was not b[uried]—*ina bîtîšu la ḳ[i-bir]*." Recognising that vv.[20b-21] were unsuitable to Sargon, Wi. held that the ode written in 705 B.C. extended from v.[4b] to v.[20a] only. It is

not impossible that an editor may have found in a collection of *m*ᵉ*shalim* (v.⁴ n. ; *Numbers*, pp. xiii f.) a paean over Sargon and, adding a strophe (vv.[20b-21]) suitable to the Fall of Babylon, have given it here as a song to be sung when "Babylonian" tyranny was ended. It would not necessarily follow that *Isaiah* was the author of the song: his attitude towards *Assyria* (*not* the king) in 10[5-15] is, in spite of some resemblances, different. There are, however, some linguistic usages and some ideas in the poem which would perhaps find a more easy explanation if even vv.[4b-20a] were written later than the age of Sargon. See notes below on נגש, v.⁴ ; משלים, v.⁵ ; סרה, v.⁶ ; פצח רנה, v.⁷ ; עליון, *Most High*, v.¹⁴ ; בור (=Sheol), v.¹⁵ ; השגיח, v.¹⁶ ; בל, v.²¹. Are the resemblances between this poem and Ezekiel, especially chs. 28–32 (see Comm. on vv.[12-15. 16]), due to the dependence of Ezekiel on this poem, or of this poem on Ezekiel, or to the fact that both belong to the same century? Certainly this poem far excels Ezek. in poetical and dramatic power, but that is precarious proof of priority. The same questions arise with regard to 37[22-29] ; but there is not the same difference in poetic quality ; Is 14[4b-21] and 37[22-29] might be the work of the same hand. Some of the conceptions of Sheol and life after death found here have no earlier parallels in the OT than Ezekiel: but are they such as to *demand* that the author of this ode must have lived as late as the Exile? see, on the one hand, Che. *Introd.* 69 f., on the other, Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*.

4b–8. The Relief of the World at the Fall of the Tyrant.—*How*] so v.[12] : cp. p. 32.—*The tyrant*] cp. Zec 9⁸ ; but in v.² (n.), 9³ נגש has a different meaning.—*The Terror*] uncertain. מדהבה, has been rendered *the golden city* (EV), *the exactress of gold* (AVmarg.), *the exactress* (RVmarg.), *tribute* (Ⅎ) ; but all these renderings rest on the illegitimate assumption (cp. Ḳi., Ibn Ezra) that a Hebrew noun would be derived from an Aramaic form (דהב, *gold*) of which the Hebrew form (זהב) was in constant use. If ד is, as often, a mis-written ר, the root is רהב which is used in 3⁵, in close connection with נגש, of the vulgar bluster of the inferior when social restraint is withdrawn ; here, where the attitude of the superior, or stronger, is in question, the nuance would be different: Che. renders *raging*, Box *insolent raging*. But since in Ca. 6⁵ הרהיב means something like *to terrify* and Ar. رهب certainly and often means *to fear*, מרהבה may rather mean *Terror*, this idea being associated with tyranny or oppression as in 51[13].—**5.** *Yahweh has broken*] perhaps originally *Broken has been* : see note on rhythm.—*The staff . . . the rod*] cp. 10⁵ 9³. The genitives that follow each term may be appositional (Kön. iii. 337*c. d*), so that the phrases mean *the wicked staff*, *the imperious rod* ; the second phrase is rather differently used in Ezk 19[11]. The king, or nation, which should have corrected the wicked, has

itself proved wicked: cp. $10^{5\text{-}15}$. But if this view of the construction be correct, since the terms רשעים (13^{11}), משלים (49^{7} 52^{5}) are plural, the writer has not in view merely a single individual. —**6.** *Which smote*] the sing. מכה refers back to *rod* and *staff*: cp. v.[29].—*Trampling*] 𝔊 *persecution*: but see phil. n.—**7.** *All the earth is . . . quiet*] שקט occurs in 18^{4}, the Hiph. in 7^{4} 30^{15} 32^{17}. It is the vb. used in Judges (*e.g.* 3^{33}) of the quiet enjoyed after one of the Judges had delivered Israel from a foreign lord: it is also used of the relief of slaves in Sheol in being quit of their taskmasters (Job $3^{17f.\ 26}$).—**8.** Cp. 37^{24}, Hab 2^{17}. On a rock-relief in the Wady Brissa in Lebanon, Nebuchadnezzar is represented "breaking the cedars with bare hands." But cedars were felled to satisfy the needs of most Mesopotamian monarchs and of Egyptian monarchs too: see Jeremias, *ATAO*, p. 494; *KAT*[3], p. 190. Hebrew poets often represent inanimate objects participating in the joys of others: see, *e.g.*, 55^{12}, Ps $96^{11f.}$: more rarely is the emotion represented as due to a cause peculiarly affecting them alone. See Köberle, *Natur u. Geist*, p. 105.—*Since thou hast lain down*] in death; v.[18] 43^{17}, Job 14^{12}.

4. מרהבה] Del. suggested *place where they are made to pine away*, from an otherwise unknown רהב=ראב, or רוב. Very improbable. It is commonly supposed that 𝔊's ἐπισπουδαστής (whence also 𝔖) implies מרהבה; but מר is an abstract, ἐπισπουδ. a personal noun meaning *one who presses hard upon another*: this would indeed form an admirable parallel to נגש, but it would require שבת instead of שבחה. Perhaps 𝔊 read שבת המרהב, but in view of the anarthrous נגש this is not likely to have been the original text. Che. (*SBOT*, p. 199) conjectures נַפְשָׁהּ מַעֲבֹדָה: cp. v.[3].—**6.** מכת] G–K. 130*a*.—בלתי־סרה] *of non-cessation*: a rare use of בלתי: BDB, p. 116*b*. With סרה, *cessation*, cp. the use of the vb. in 11^{13}, Am 6^{7}. In 1^{5} 31^{6} the noun has a different meaning—*apostasy*.—מרדף . . . רדה] the noun should doubtless be cognate with the vb. as in the previous line—מכת . . . מכה. If רדה is correct, the noun (cstr.) was מִרְדַּת; but רדה *to rule*, though sometimes used of hard or strict rule, does not seem strong enough in the context. Either רדה has here exceptionally the sense *to trample*, like רמס, or *to chastise*, like נָגַן; or we may restore רֹדֵד מִרְדַּת: cp. רדד in 41^{2}, Ps 144^{2}, and in NH *to beat, stamp down*.—בלי חָשְׁךָ] MT assumes a rare use of בלי with the finite vb.; see BDB 115*b*. Probably חשך was intended to be an infin. or a noun.—**7.** פצחו רנה] 44^{23} 49^{13} 54^{1} 55^{12}, and, without רנה, 52^{9}, Ps 98^{4}. The only other occurrence of the root פצח is the Piel, meaning *to break in pieces*, in Mic 3^{3}. There is no secure pre-exilic instance of רִנָּה meaning *joyous cry*: cp. Che. *Introd.* p. 268.

9–11. The Tyrant's reception in Sheol.—This strophe depicts the excitement and emotions of the inhabitants of Sheol

at the descent into their midst of a monarch whose fame had reported him so great that he seemed likely to escape the common lot that had befallen even monarchs before him. These kings of earlier days, according to a prevalent belief that the distinctions of life were in some degree perpetuated in Sheol (cp. *e.g.* Ezk $32^{21ff.}$, 1 S 28^{15}), sit each on his throne: they respectfully rise to greet the new-comer and address him with words that reflect at once their sense of his greatness and a certain satisfaction that he is now made weak as they.

9. *Sheol*] different conceptions of Sheol mingle in the writer's mind: it is a realm *beneath* (cp. 5^{14c}) the earth; it is a community of the dead who step forward *to meet* the newly dead king at his advent among them; it is a person who has all the dead, even the dead *kings of the nations*, under his control: with this personification cp. $28^{15.\ 18}$, where Sheol is a monarch with whom those who would avoid death would fain make treaties; commoner is the personification of Sheol as a monster with an insatiable appetite for (5^{14}, Hab 2^{5}, Pr 1^{12} 27^{20} 30^{16}), or a hunter who snares (Ps 18^{6} 116^{3}), the living. On these and other ideas with regard to the dead which appear in this passage, see, further, *EBi.* 1338 ff.; Hastings, *DB* i. 739 f., v. 668 f.; F. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*; A. Jeremias, *Die Bab. Ass. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode . . . mit berücksichtigung der AT Parallelen*; S. Langdon, *Baby. Eschatology*, in *Essays . . . presented . . . to C. A. Briggs* (1911), pp. 141–161; and C. Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus*, pp. 41–60 (with full references to comparative material).—*Is thrilled*] with excitement at strange and portentous news: רגז, *to quake* (of the earth, 5^{25}, 1 S 14^{15}; of kingdoms, 23^{11}), is also used of various emotions such as fear, v.^{16} 64^{1} $32^{10f.}$, or grief, 2 S 19^{1}.—*The shades*] the רפאים are the inhabitants of the world of the dead, probably so called as the weak (cp. רפה, *e.g.* 13^{7}), or enfeebled (cp. v.^{10}), continuations of the strong and lusty living. The term occurs also in $26^{14.\ 19}$, Job 26^{5}, Pr 2^{18} 9^{18} 21^{16}, Ps 88^{11}†, and in Phoenician: cp. *e.g.* "Mayest thou have no seed among the living under the sun, nor resting-place with the shades" (משכב את רפאים) — Tabnith Inscr. *c.* 300 B.C. (Cooke, *NSI*, p. 26). Whether the term used for the vanished giant race (*e.g.* Gn 15^{20}: cp. "the valley of Rephaim," 17^{5}) is identical in origin, as well as in form, is not absolutely certain; but see, further, Schwally, in *ZATW*, 1898,

pp. 127–135.—*The bell-wethers*] עתודים, *he-goats*, used specifically of the leaders of the flock (Jer 50^{8}), and figuratively of human beings as in 34^{6}, Jer 51^{40}, Ezk 39^{18}.—**11.** No throne in Sheol for the once proud monarch: dethroned and disgraced at the last in life he has nothing in death but a bed of maggots and a coverlet of worms: to this has come the pomp (גאון as 4^{2} 23^{9} 60^{15}) and gay music (5^{14}) amid which he lived.

9. הקים . . . עוֹרר] 3rd pff.: cp. 𝔗 אקימו . . . אעירת; but if the vbs. were pff. the forms should have been *fem.* Read therefore הָקֵם . . . עֹרֵר—infin. abs. (G–K. 113*h*).—**11.** יצע] Pual pf. 3rd masc.; רמה is acc.; G–K. 121*a. b.*—מכסיך] many MSS מכסך; מְכֻסֶּה, *covering*, 23^{18}, Ezk 27^{7}, Lv 9^{19}; but also with a mere difference of pointing (מְכֻסֶּה), Gn 8^{13} (J) and several times in P.

12–15. The Tyrant attains, not to the heaven of his ambition, but to the lowest hell.—12. The Tyrant is half compared, half (for the moment) identified, with the radiant hero of some astral myth. A similar instance of mingled comparison and identification of an earthly power with a mythic figure occurs in Ezk $28^{11\text{-}19}$; whence the myth came, whether from Babylon or Phoenicia,* and what was its exact form is uncertain. The natural phenomenon which gave rise to the myth, and still affects the phraseology of this passage, may be the contrast between the brilliance of a star, such as Venus,† at the seasons when it is apparent, and its total disappearance at other seasons: or it may be "the overpowering of the temporary brilliance of the morning star by the rays of the sun" (*EBi.* 2828); for other views, see next n. but one.—*Shining one*] "In the happy realms of light clothed with transcendant brightness." הילל is to be connected with הלל, *to shine* (13^{10}, Job 29^{3} 31^{26} 41^{10}); הלל, *to begin to shine*: cp. הלאל, *new moon*, and Ass. *ellu*, *bright*. 𝔊 renders well ἑωσφόρος (cp. φωσφόρος, 2 P 1^{19}); 𝔙 *Lucifer* (cp. Lk 10^{18}). Cp. the Arabic name for Venus زُهَرَة, *the bright shining one.—Son of the dawn*] so called because the luminary in question shines at dawn: 𝔊 ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων (cp. Rev 22^{16}). It would, of course, be easy, if necessary, for שחר to read שהר (3^{18} n.) and render *son of the moon*, as Winckler has suggested (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 24): then the *shining one* might be the new crescent moon (הלאל); or, retaining שחר, we might suppose that

* Cp. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 132–134; *KAT*³ 464, 565.
† Cp. Jeremias, *ATAO* 568, 110.

הילל is the waning crescent moon (*KAT*[3] 565), which is seen in the morning sky.—*Hewn down to the earth*] so the Tyrian king is described as cast down from Eden and the mount of God to the earth, Ezk 28[16-18]. The vb. does not necessarily imply the figure of a tree: see 22[25], Jer 50[23].—. . . *of all nations*] הלש על is not transitive (RV) in spite of Ex 17[13] MT (see Dr. *ad loc.*): it may be corrupt (cp. 𝔊) and conceal an epithet like "Hammer of all the earth," Jer 50[23]: or the line may have depicted the shining one *lying powerless on the corpses* (גויות for גוים*) of those whom he had led in his warfare against the Most High.—**13 f.** The boasting of the tyrant is not merely hyperbolic and figurative; he is identified for the moment with, or represented as renewing the presumptuous rôle of, the mythic hero (v.[12]). The opening boast (v.[13a. b]) might indeed be mere hyperbole (cp. Job 20[6]), but not what follows: the wicked may in his pride act as though God did not govern the earth (cp. Job 22[12ff.]), but he does not think of dethroning the Most High and taking over the administration of Heaven: yet this is precisely what the speaker here means (cp. Ezk 28[2]); he is guided, as Milton very correctly interprets, by

> "Ambitious aim
> Against the throne and monarchy of God."

The Most High, according to the ancient (Babylonian) conceptions which here govern the poet, sat enthroned *above the stars of God* in the highest point of Heaven, or, as the next line puts it, in the Mountain where the gods assembled in the *recesses of the North.—The Mountain of Assembly*] cp. "the Mountain of God," Ezk 28[16]; for *Assembly* (מועד), cp. *the Tent of Assembly* (אהל מועד), which may originally have meant a tent for the assembly of the gods, though to the Hebrews it came to bear quite another meaning (Ex 33[7-11]), and may have had a connection with the Babylonian conception of the World-Mountain piercing into heaven, where the gods assembled to determine destinies (*KAT*[3] 592, cp. p. 355 with references).—*That I may sit*] enthroned; cp. 10[13], Ps 61[8], and frequently of Yahweh, *e.g.* Ps 2[4] 9[8] 29[10].—*The recesses*] lit. *the two flanks* (ירכתי), but idiomatically *the most distant parts*: see 37[24], 1 S 24[4], Am 6[10], Jer 6[22]. *The recesses of the North*, in Ezk 38[6. 15] 39[2], has not the

* Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, p. 133; Che. (*SBOT*).

same sense as in the present passage to which the difficult passage in Ps 48^3 may be more closely parallel; here, as the context clearly shows, it is the seat of the god. Anu, the chief member of the principal divine triad of the Babylonians, had his throne in heaven, and, apparently, was particularly localised in the Northern heaven, at the north pole: see *KAT*^{3} 352 f.; *ATAO*^{2} 20 f.—**14.** *The Most High*] עליון here, as in Nu 24^{16}, in the mouth of a foreigner. Very rare in pre-exilic, but a favourite term with post-exilic, writers: see Che. *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 84. Note also that, according to Philo Byblus, Ἐλιοῦν was in use among the Phoenicians (Eus. *Pr. Ev.* i. 10).—**15.** *The Recesses of the Pit*] ct. "the Recesses of the North," v.^{13} (n.).—*Pit*, בור, "poetical and late" (BDB), is a synonym for Sheol (cp. *e.g.* Ps 88^5, Ezk 26^{20} $32^{18\text{-}24}$), conceived as resembling a vast cistern, roomy below but with a narrow mouth or opening (Ps 69^{16}—באר).

12. נגדעת] איך may be prefixed for rhythm's sake.—הֵילֵל] MT intends the word to mean *howl* (15^1 n.): cp. 𝔊 *howl in the morning*.—חולש על גוים] 𝔊 ὁ ἀποστέλλων πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, reading שולח, which must be wrong, for חולש, and בל before גוים, which may be right. With חלש, cp. Job 14^{10}, Jl 4^{10}.

16–20a. The once all-conquering tyrant lies on the battlefield where he fell, a rotting and unburied corpse.—**16.** Cp. the terms in which Yahweh speaks of His treatment of the proud king of Tyre: "I cast thee out upon the earth, before kings I set thee for them to feast their eyes upon thee . . . I turned thee into ashes upon the earth in the sight of all them that saw thee (כל ראיך, as here). All that knew thee among the peoples were appalled at thee," Ezk $28^{17\text{-}19}$.—*Look narrowly*] the vb. is also used of peering through a window, Ca 2^9; of the high priest Simon looking out of the Temple, Sir 50^5; of the intense and hungry look of a (poor) man on another's (well-laden) table, Sir 40^{29}; of God's all-seeing gaze out of heaven over men, Ps 33^{14}: with the last usage, cp. NH הישגחה, *Providence*. — **16c. d.** The same kind of astonished question occurs in 23^7.—**17c, 18.** It is uncertain, probably owing to textual corruption at this point, whether all or any of the words of these lines belonged to the speech that began in v.^{16c}. From the resumption of the address to the king (cp. vv.$^{12f.}$, $^{16a.\ b}$), we may assume that the speech has ended before v.^{19}, and v.$^{18b.\ c}$, which is antithetical to v.^{19}, should naturally also

fall outside the speech. V.[17c] (𝔐: 𝔊 omits the last word) may be rendered *his prisoners he released not homewards*; if 𝔐 is substantially correct, then v.[18a] *all the kings of the nations* is best regarded as the second and shorter line of the distich, and as an explanatory apposition to *his prisoners* (Du.); this, as compared with the verse division of 𝔐, RV, has the merit of maintaining the rhythm of the poem unbroken through vv.[17f.] while it still leaves the antithesis of vv.[18b. c] and [19a. b] well stated: all the kings of the nations died indeed, but received honourable burial, and now lie *each one in his house*, i.e. in the mausoleum which each had built for himself; whereas (v.[19]) the king of Babylon is flung forth, dishonoured, one of a mass of common corpses that lie unburied like his own. But this interpretation of vv.[17-19] is open to two objections, the second of which lies even more forcibly against 𝔐, RV. (1) Du. himself perceives, and states, and attempts to meet the first of these difficulties: "Strictly speaking, the kings of the nations cannot have been buried each in his house, if they had not been allowed by Chaldaea to return home. The poet doubtless means that the kings were released owing to the fall of the Chaldaean, so that they recovered their kingdoms and died in peace; and he is guilty of a *hysteron proteron* in representing them as already dead before the now-expiring Babylonian. But the poet may be pardoned for what would not be tolerated in prose." (2) Unreadiness to release prisoners (ordinary, common captives, according to 𝔐) is not the greatest of enormities; and therefore v.[17c] comes as a rather violent anti-climax after the preceding description of the king's creating world-wide desolation and terror. If the main point were the *capture* of *the kings*, the anti-climax would be less; and this we could obtain in a slightly emended text from which ביתה is omitted as in 𝔊, and אסר ולא (𝔐[1]) is read for אסיריו לא,

> He fettered and released not
> All the kings of the nations.

But the *hysteron proteron* (see above) still remains. Not improbably v.[17c] is seriously corrupt. — **19–20a.** The Tyrant's corpse, unlike those of other kings, which, retaining something of royal state, rest each in its own mausoleum (v.[18]), lies outcast, trodden under foot, where it fell pierced with the sword in battle.

So much remains clear: but we have the *disjecta membra* rather than the whole of the distichs in which the poet indicated the contrast to v.[18].—*Art cast forth*] the vb. is used of corpses left to lie unburied (34[3], Jer 14[16] 36[30]), or hurried unceremoniously into the nearest available tomb (2 K 13[21]), or, like those of malefactors, thrown down to be covered over with stones (Jos 8[29]). The vb. is followed in 𝔐 by מקברך, which might be rendered (1) *from thy tomb*; but the passage is clearly speaking not of disinterment, but of non-interment; or, though much less naturally after השלכת, (2) (far) *away from thy tomb*; see BDB 578*a*, *b*. It would be better to treat ך as dittographic and read מקבר, *tombless* (Dr.): cp. Ps 52[7] (מאהל, *tentless*), Job 11[15]. 𝔊 ἐν ὄρεσιν (*v.l.* ἔθνεσιν) probably read בהרים, *on the mountains*: see phil. n.—*Like an abhorred . . .*] the object of comparison is נצר, which is rendered by 𝔖, Theod., and 𝔙 commonly *shoot* (11[1] n.). But the adjective and noun in that case seem ill-suited to one another. Di., feeling that *abhorred* or *abominable* (cp. Job 15[16]; תועבה, *abomination*, e.g. 1[13]) is too strong an epithet for a useless shoot cut out of a tree and thrown away, suggests that combined with the idea of a rejected shoot is that of the scion of a human family expelled and abhorred on account of his badness: improbable. Other versions either gave a different meaning to נצר, or read differently: 𝔊 *νεκρός*, Aq. *ἰχώρ*, Symm. *ἔκτρωμα*, 𝔗 יהט; and Jer. alludes to *sanies* as a rendering. Schwally (*ZATW*, 1891, p. 258) conjectured נפל, *untimely birth* (Job 3[16]); while Nestle (*ib.* 1904, pp. 127–129) claimed that נצר meant something like *putrefying matter*: cp. NH נצל, *decayed matter, liquid and coagulated portions of a corpse.—The slain*] cp. 10[4]. לבש might be a noun (cp. *e.g.* 63[1]), but *a garment of the slain* is nonsense; better, *clothed with the slain*, of which 𝔊 *with many slain* may be merely a paraphrase; but in spite of other rather similar metaphorical uses of לבש (Job 7[5], Ps 65[14]), it is doubtful whether the text is sound here.—*That go down to the stones of the Pit*] MT treats יורדי, like the participles that precede, as a plural; and this is probably right. That יורדי is sing. —an instance of *yod campaginis* (cp. 1[21], Zec 11[17], La 1[1])—*thou that goest down* (Du.), is abstractly possible. 𝔊 has *those that go down to Hades*, which is probably a correct paraphrase, if not the literal rendering of an earlier and shorter text containing the phrase that occurs in 38[18], Ps 30[4] etc. If אל אבני, *to the*

stones of, is not a corrupt fragment that has crept into 𝔐 since 𝔊, אבני is probably an error for אדני, *the bases of the Pit*, i.e. of Sheol (v.[15] n.), with which cp. *the bases of the earth* (Job 38[6]), a synonym with "the recesses of the Pit" (v.[15]).* Others understand by *the stones of the Pit*, the tomb or grave—the stone or rock tomb of the rich (22[16]; Ges.), or the casual grave into which an enemy cast a fallen foe, covering him with stones (2 S 18[17]; Du.), or the stones which were rolled up to or placed over the mouth of a grave (Mt 28[2]; Hitz.).—**20.** *With them*] with whom? doubtful. Ew., Di. answer, with *those that go down to the stones of the pit* (*i.e.* the graves of the rich, see last n.), which clause they extract from v.[19] and prefix as a *casus pendens* to v.[20]. Du. prefixes by conjecture *thy fathers—thou shalt not be joined with them.*

16a. b. 𝔊 renders briefly, and adds (cp. 𝕋𝕊) an explanatory καὶ ἐροῦσιν.—**16c.** הוה] 𝔊 וה.—עריו] עריה would be correct; תבל is fem.—**17.** אסיריו לא פתח ביתה] on the wider question of the text as affected by exegesis, see above. Note that 𝔊[A] omits the preceding clause ועריו הרם. 𝔊 read אסי(י)ר(י)ם (without the suffix) or אס(י)ר (rendered collectively) instead of אסיריו. The emphatic position of the object אסיריו in 𝔐 admits of no obvious explanation, and may be a further indication of corruption. Che., Marti reconstruct vv.[17b-18] as follows:

אסיריו לא פתח | איש לביתו
מלכי גוים כלם | שכבו בכבוד

But איש לביתו is a feeble redundance, whereas איש בביתו where it stands in 𝔐 is effective. Kit. al.:

לאסיריו לא פתח | בית הַכֶּלֶא
מלכי גוים כלם שכבו בכבוד | איש בביתו

But the first of these distichs, though rhythmically tolerable, is still anticlimactic in sense, and the second distich is rhythmically bad.—פתח] פְּתַח (MT) if Kit.'s emendation be accepted; otherwise פִּתַּח: cp. Jer 40[4].—**18.** כל מלכי גוים כלם] it would be unsafe to infer that 𝔊 had one only of the words כל, כלם. MT takes all four words together (cp. *e.g.* Nu 16[3], Ezk 11[15]). For the idiom in Kit.'s reconstruction, cp. 9[8].—מטעני חרב] for the commoner חללי ת (22[2]). טען occurs nowhere else in the OT, but طعن and Aram. טען are common.—**19, 20a.** After the first five words the rhythmical scheme of the poem breaks down in 𝔐. 𝔊 differs to some extent, but yields no satisfactory text. If ἐν ὄρεσιν=בהרים represents an original בהרגים (Du., Che.), it is nearer the original text than 𝔐. On καταβαινόντων εἰς Ἅδου, see above. For כפגר 𝔊 read ככגר and then treated מובם as=מחבוסמה (Ezk 16[6]). Οὐκ ἔσται καθαρὸν οὕτως οὐδὲ σὺ ἔσῃ καθαρὸς *may* represent something very different from לא תחר אתם בקבורה; with ב' . . . לא תחר, cp.

* Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, p. 133; Che. (*SBOT*).

Gn 49[6].—Elaborate reconstructions such as Du. and Che., who regard vv.[19-20a] as the mutilated fragment of five distichs, offer, are of necessity very uncertain; but it is unwise to invent איך נגזרת as a fitting introduction to בנצר while the unfitting epithet נתעב is left attached to נצר.

20b–21. May no descendant of the Tyrant survive to repeat his career.—*Thy land hast thou ruined, thy people hast thou slain*] 𝔊 *my land . . . my people*, doubtless understanding the words to refer to Nebuchadnezzar's treatment of the Jews (cp. Jer.). 𝔐 means that the conqueror, who has ruined (cp. Ezk 30[11]) other lands by his conquests (v.[6]), has also ruined his own. But how? Merely, like all great conquerors, who press heavily on their land by the drain of war, and expose many of their subjects to death in their campaigns?* This rather inadequate explanation would apply equally well to any of the great conquering kings of Assyria or Babylon. Or is the meaning that the career of the conqueror has brought about the downfall of the state and people, that the people have exchanged the rôle of the conqueror for the fate of the conquered? Then this particular trait might fit Nabonidus, or the last king of Assyria, or, perhaps best of all, the personified nation.—*Seed of evil-doers*] 𝔊 *the evil-doer*. Even if the plural is correct, the phrase has not quite the same meaning as in 1[4]: here it means the descendants of the evil and hurtful kings.—**21.** *A butchery*] מטבח † may denote either the act of slaughtering animals, or the place where they are slaughtered.—*Fathers*] 𝔊[B] *father*.—*And fill the face of the world*] 𝔐 + *with cities*—to subserve their tyranny (Del.): improbable. Many emendations of ערים have been suggested (see below), but the line is rhythmically complete without it (Du., Marti). Both ערים and פני, *the face of*, which is not expressed by 𝔊, may be additions; and the original text may have had the common parallelism *earth* and *world* (see, *e.g.*, 24[4] 34[1]).

21. בל seems to have the force of *so that . . . not*; cp. Ps 10[18] 78[44]. With the exception of two not altogether certain occurrences in Hos 7[2] 9[16], בל is confined to the later literature—chs. 26. 33. 35, and 40–66, Pr., Job, 1 Ch., Ps.—ערים] 𝔊 πολέμων, which is probably an error for πόλεων (Aq., Theod., Symm., and some MSS of 𝔊), or πολεμίων = ערים, taken in its Aramaic sense of *enemy* (Dn 4[16]): cp. 𝔗. Among emendations that have been suggested are עיים (Hitz.), עֲרָצִים (Ew.), חרבות ערים (Di.), אעור, to be taken closely with וקמתי in v.[21] (Cobb).

* Cp. Jer., Ges., Di., al.

22–23. Yahweh promises to wipe out the Babylonians, and to make of Babylon a desolate city.—This is scarcely either poetry or the original continuation of vv.[4b-21]: see above, p. 233 f.—*I will arise against*] 31[2]. The response to v.[21].—*Saith*] נאם thrice in these verses: nowhere else in 13[1]–14[21]. —*I will cut off name and remnant*] and so wipe out of existence and memory: the response to v.[20d. e], cp. Zeph 1[5]: similar phrases occur in 1 S 24[22], 2 S 14[7]. *Name and remnant* and *kith and kin*, or more literally *progeny and posterity* (נין ונכד), are both alliterative phrases: נכד and נין always occur together—Gn 21[23], Job 18[19], Sir 41[5] 47[22] †: in 𝔊 of the last passage נין ונכד is in synonymous parallelism with זרע, *seed*.—**23.** *The possession of the porcupine*] 34[11] n.—*I will sweep it away with the besom of destruction*] the proud city is implicitly compared to filth that must be swept away: cp. for rather similar vigorous figures, 1 K 14[10], 2 K 21[13].

23. ומאמאתיה] probably Pilpel of מוא, otherwise unknown. For a full discussion of the form, see König, **i.** 652 f.

XIV. 24–27.— *Yahweh's plan to destroy Assyria on the Mountains of Palestine.*

The opening words down to אם לא fall outside the rhythmical scheme, are absent from 𝔊, and may be editorial. The ten lines that follow fall into 5 distichs of equal (or approximately equal) lines parallel to one another in sense. Two, or if צבאות be omitted in v.[27a], three, of the distichs are 4 : 4; [25a. b] is 3 : 3; [25c. d] 𝔐 3 : 4, or, with the omission of יסור, 3 : 3.

[24] Yahweh of Hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely
As I have thought, so shall it come to pass,
And as I have planned—even that shall be realised;
[25] That I will break Assyria in my land,
And trample him on my mountains.
And his yoke shall remove from upon them,
And his burden from upon his shoulder shall remove.
[26] This is the plan that hath been planned against the whole earth,
And this is the hand that has been stretched out against all the nations:
[27] For Yahweh of Hosts hath planned, who then can annul?
And his hand is the out-stretched (hand); who then can turn it back?

This poem or fragment is unconnected with that which precedes it; it is separated by a concluding and, in 𝔊, by an initial formula; it is also distinguished by difference of rhythm and subject; vv.[1-23] deal with the approaching fall of Babylon, vv.[24-27] with the approaching destruction of Assyria. It is separated from what follows by a fresh editorial note (v.[28]). Some see in the fragment a misplaced conclusion to 10[5-8. 13-15] (Che.), or to 10[32] (Cond.), or to 10[34] (Ges.), or to 18[7] (Ew.); but after any of these passages v.[24] would be necessary to explain the 1st pers. of v.[24b], and v.[24a] is not rhythmical.

If the fragment is Isaiah's (cp. *e.g.* Du., Che. *Introd.* 79), it may have been written during the campaign of Sennacherib; but the phrase *my mountains* (v.[25]), and ideas in v.[25] and v.[26] recalling Ezekiel and later writers, leave room for the suspicion that it is the work of a post-exilic writer familiar with Isaiah's prophecies: see Stade in *ZATW* iii. 16, and Marti.

24. *Yahweh . . . hath sworn*] cp. Am 4[2] 6[8] 8[7], Gn 22[16], and, probably, Is 5[9]; also, in later writings, *e.g.* 45[23] 54[9] 62[8], Jer 22[5], Ps 95[11].—*As I have thought*] Nu 33[56]: דִּמָּה occurs also in 10[7], but it is questionable whether this clause refers back to 10[7]: the subject of the sentence is not emphasised so as to suggest an antithesis between Yahweh's thought and Assyria's.—*As I have planned*] This, like all Yahweh's (Ps 33[11], Pr 19[21]), but unlike many human (8[10]), plans, will be carried out; for יעץ or עָצָה, see also 5[19] 19[12. 17] 23[9] 25[1] 46[10], Jer 49[20] 50[45].—**25.** Yahweh's plan is to destroy Assyria, and in order that it may be clear that He is the author of this destruction, the destruction is to take place in His own land (cp. Ezk 38[16. 22f.] 39[21f.]), on the hills of Palestine; cp. 10[12] n. Yahweh is conceived as a warrior (cp. 63[1-6]) mangling (שׁבר, cp. Jer 14[17] 19[11], Is 30[26], Lev 21[19]) and then trampling (Ps 44[6] 60[14], Zec 10[5]) on the prostrate corpse (cp. 14[19]) of Assyria; for similar personifications of nations, see 1[3] n. 10[16] n.—*Assyria*] if the term has its primary sense and refers to the Assyrian Empire, this passage was written at all events before the close of the 7th cent., and anticipates the elaboration of the idea in Ezk 38 f. If, as in Ezr 6[22], Assyria is used of one of the empires that succeeded Assyria proper, the passage may be late and dependent on Ezk 38. 39.—*My mountains*] cp. 65[9], but probably not Ezk 38[21]. With Ezek. the

term "mountains of Israel" is a favourite mode of reference to Palestine: cp. $6^{2f.}$ 19^{9}, and, in reference to the scene of the destruction of the world power, $39^{2.\ 4.\ 17}$.—**25c. d.** Cp. 10^{27}. The lines may be an interpolation; Judah, to whom the pronouns in *upon them* and *his shoulder* must refer, has not been mentioned. —**26.** Not only Assyria, strictly speaking, is the object of Yahweh's plan: all the nations of the world also must assemble on the mountains of Judah to feel there the destructive power of Yahweh: cp. Jl 4 (3)$^{12ff.}$. Some understand *all the earth* and *all the nations* to be entirely synonymous with *Assyria*: so Di., who appeals to 10^{14} 8^{9} $17^{12f.}$ 29^{7} 30^{28}, and also 13^{5}.—*The hand that has been stretched out*] 5^{25} 9^{11}.—**27.** Cp. Nu 23^{19}, Is 43^{13}, Dn $4^{32\ (35)}$, Job 9^{12}.

24. אם־לא . . נשבע] 𝔊 om.—תקום . . . היתה] for the vbs. and the fem., cp. 7^{7}; for the proph. pf., Dr. § 14.—**25.** לשבר] is dependent on רמיתי, יעצתי, in v.^{24}; in the parallel clause the inf. passes over into the impf.: Dr. §§ 117, 118. —שכמו] some would read שכמם: cp. מעליהם.—יסור] overloads the line and inelegantly repeats the vb. of the parallel line.

28–32.—*The Fate of Philistia.*

The introductory note, v.^{28}, is prose; vv.$^{29-31}$ consist of 6 distichs, $^{32c.\ d}$ is another distich; the opening words of v.^{32} are not, but look like the fragment of another distich. The distichs consist of balanced lines mostly parallel in sense: the length of the line is 3 or 4 accents. On a possible intrusion of נחש into ^{29c}, which at present overbalances ^{29d}, see n. below; וּשְׂאֵרִיתְךָ in v.^{30d} should be read as two accents.

28 In the year that King Ahaz died was this oracle:—

29 Rejoice not, O entire Philistia,
Because the rod that smote thee has been broken;
For from the root of the serpent shall issue an asp,
And its fruit shall be a flying fiery serpent.

30 And the poorest of the poor shall feed,
And the needy will lie down in security;
And 'he' will cause thy root to die of hunger,
And thy remnant will he slay.

31 Howl, (every) town! cry out, (every) city!
Faint away, entire Philistia!
For out of the north smoke cometh,
And there is no straggler in his ranks.

[32] And what answer will . . . give
. . . the messengers of the nation (?)?
"That it is Yahweh who hath founded Ṣion,
And in her the afflicted of his people take refuge."

Some event, presumably the death, overthrow, or enfeeblement of some victorious adversary, who had inflicted severe suffering on the entire Philistine country, has led the Philistines to rejoice (cp. 2 S 1[20]). The prophet warns them that their rejoicing will be short-lived, for worse things await them from the same quarter; an army descending from the N. will destroy the Philistines, root and branch.

Appended to (v.[32]), and at present interwoven with (v.[30a. b]), this prediction of the destruction of Philistia are promises that the poor (v.[30]), *i.e.* the Jewish nation, or the afflicted part of that nation (v.[32]), will find security in Ṣion.

So much seems clear; but the identification of the adversary and the determination of the date of the poem are closely related problems which cannot be solved with certainty. Some theories may be ruled out at once as inconsistent with a sound exegesis; unless the unity of the poem be abandoned, so that v.[29] is referred to one and v.[31] to another poem, the "asp" and the "fiery serpent" and "the smoke from the North" all refer, directly or indirectly, to the person, or power, that is to destroy Philistia. But, since the "asp" and "the fiery serpent" are sprung from the same root as "the rod" that has already inflicted injury on Philistia, we may infer (1) that the writer has the same hostile nation in view throughout, and believes that the same nation that has already smitten Philistia will destroy it; and (2) that this nation is not Judah, for Judah would have attacked Philistia from the *East* (cp. 9[11] 11[14]); this power descends from the *North*: the writer is doubtless thinking of the great coast road from the N. by which alike Assyrian, Babylonian, and, later, Greek invaders came. On the ground, then, of both (1) and (2) we may rule out the theories that "the rod" was Ahaz (or Uzziah; Rashi, Ḳi.), the "asp" Hezekiah, and the "fiery serpent" the Messiah (Del.; cp. 𝔗, Jer.); or that "the rod" was the Jewish, the "asp" the Assyrian, dominion over Philistia (Di.): on the ground of (2) we may dismiss the theory that "rod" and "asp" indicate different periods of Jewish dominion, interrupted by a period of weakness (Ges.); and on the ground of (1) the

theory that the "rod" was the Persian dominion, and the "asp" Alexander the Great (Du., Marti).

But various possibilities remain; though the number is reduced, if we can prove that the poem dates from the 8th century. According to the introductory note, it does do so; but the evidence of this note has been much challenged. Some hold that it is an editor's inference from the contents of the poem; interpreting the rod of Ahaz and the asp of Hezekiah, he inferred, so it is suggested, that the *occasion* of the poem must have been the death of Ahaz, which the poem describes as the breaking of the rod. This is extremely improbable; for Ahaz did not smite the Philistines, but was smitten by them (2 Ch 28^{18}); it is one thing for interpreters with the note before them, and even then in desperation, to identify the rod with Ahaz; quite another for an editor uninfluenced by the note to stumble on an interpretation so improbable that to avoid it the mediaeval Jewish commentators fell into other improbabilities by identifying the rod with Uzziah, who died several years before Ahaz. The possibility remains that a late editor inferred, on grounds no longer obvious, the *date*, not the occasion, of the poem, and gave his chronological note the same form as that in 6^{1}. Yet this is not very probable, and were it not for the suspicious המשא at the end of the note, might be dismissed; but המשא may be a substitute for הרבר, or the whole of the last clause may be a substitute for a different conclusion more resembling the form of 20^{1}.

There is probability, then, that the chronological note is genuinely ancient, and not a mere imitation of an old type of note; its evidence, therefore, must not be lightly dismissed.

Unfortunately, even if the note be correct, the date remains uncertain within limits of a dozen years or so. Ahaz was certainly alive in 728, but some chronological schemes place his death in 727, *i.e.* in the 6th year before 722 B.C. (2 K 18^{10}), others in 715 or 714, *i.e.* in the 14th year before 701 (36^{1}), others at some intermediate date such as 720. If 727 be the correct date, the "rod" would be Tiglath-pileser, who also died in that year and had treated Philistia with severity; the event of the year 734 singled out for reference in the Eponym canon is Tiglath-pileser's campaign in Philistia, and we have more particular evidence of his treatment of Gaza and Ashḳelon. It can be no objection to this theory that Tiglath-pileser's immediate successor, Shalmaneser, inflicted, so far as is known, no defeat on Philistia; for while the "rod" is matter of history to the prophet, the "asp" is subject of prediction: in 727, Isaiah may have anticipated a renewal of Assyrian hostility against Philistia, which as a matter of fact did not take place till the reign of Sargon, just

as he anticipated the destruction of Samaria a dozen years earlier than the actual event.

It is possible that the death of Shalmaneser (722) and the death of Ahaz nearly synchronised; and some have identified the "rod" with Shalmaneser. But it does not seem probable that Shalmaneser ever troubled Philistia, though the lack of inscriptions by him does not admit of a positive statement on this point.

Rejecting the evidence of the note, many have identified the "rod" with Sargon, whose death occurred in 705. Sargon's treatment of Philistia in 720 and again in 711 (ch. 20) was severer even than Tiglath-pileser's.

Accepting the note and placing the death of Ahaz in 720, *i.e.* 16 years (2 K 16^2) after *c.* 735, when Ahaz was already (ch. 7), though he had probably only just become, king, but abandoning the interpretation of the broken rod as a reference to the death of a king, Wi. attributes the joy of Philistia to the effect of the news of the battle Dur-ilu in 721: according to Sargon's own account, he was successful in this battle against the Elamites, the allies of Merodach-baladan; but, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, Sargon was defeated, and subsequent events show that it was certainly several years before Sargon made good his position in Babylon. Che. adopted this theory in *Introd.* p. 81, but abandoned it later (*SBOT*, p. 195) in favour of the theory that $14^{28\text{-}32}$ is, like $14^{4\text{-}21}$, a post-exilic poem referring to Sennacherib's death in 681.

Du. and Marti have also argued for a non-Isaianic origin, and indeed for a post-exilic date on these grounds: (1) v.[32] attributes the foundation of Ṣion to Yahweh, 29^1 to David; (2) the application of the terms דלים, אביונים, עניים in vv.[30a. b. 32]; (3) בהררי *conjecturally* substituted for בכורי in v.[30a]. (1) and (3) have no great weight: for if David's battles might be called Yahweh's battles (1 S 25^{28}), surely David's foundation might also be called Yahweh's foundation: Isaiah surely conceived Yahweh as working through David; הרי in v.[30] is anything but certain (see n.). (2) is not without weight: see notes below. But [30a. b. 32], the only parts of the poem affected by the argument, might well be subsequent additions (see especially n. on [30a. b]).

28. Cp. 6^1; and on the meaning and probable genuineness of the note, see above.—**29.** *Philistia*] פלשת occurs in the OT (v.[31], Ex 15^{14}, Jl 4^4, Ps $60^{10} = 108^{10}$ 83^8 87^4†) only as a poetical synonym for "the land of the Philistines" (ארץ פלשתים); but *Palastu*,

Pilistu, occurs in Assyr., *e.g. ana* (*matu*) *Pilišta* in the Eponym Canon for 734, and *Pilesheth* in Egyptian Inscription of the 22nd Dynasty (*c.* 945–745 B.C.): see H. Vincent, *Canaan*, 454.—*The staff that smote thee*] cp. 10^5, or *the staff of thy smiter* (𝔊): cp. $10^{20\text{-}24}$ 14^6 (9^3); in the latter case the broken stick corresponds directly to the death of the king at whose hands Philistia has suffered; in the former, to the temporary withdrawal from Philistia of the hostile army, probably in consequence of the death of the king. If under the dead king the Philistines were smitten with a stick, under the new king they will be smitten with serpents (cp. 1 K 12^{14}). For suggested identifications, see above.—*For from the root of the serpent*] rejoice not, *for* worse is to follow than has yet come and from the same quarter. At present there is an abrupt change of figure: *serpent* takes the place of *rod* in the previous line. Possibly serpent (נחש) is a gloss on the rare word צפע, *asp*, and the original text ran *from its root*, i.e. the root whence the rod came. In any case the meaning is that the future greater mischief will issue from the same quarter as the mischief that is past; if *asp* and *fiery serpent* refer to Assyrian king(s), so too does *rod*; and if *rod* referred to a Jewish king or dominion, so too would *asp* and *fiery serpent*. It is quite unsafe to assume that v.$^{29c.\ d}$ refer to successive stages in a future increasing peril (Di.), and *asp* and *fiery serpent* to distinct persons, one succeeding to and proving more dangerous than the other. Certainly, if נחש be original in v.^{29c}, it is most natural to explain *its fruit* as meaning the fruit of the *serpent* (נחש) rather than the fruit of the *asp*: the two lines are then parallel and synonymous statements of the same fact or anticipation—the future issue and offspring of the root whence the rod was taken will be dangerous serpents. Again, there is no sound evidence that three terms נחש, צפע, and שרף מעופף refer to reptiles of differing degrees of venomousness. The first is generic (Gn 3), but is used of dangerous serpents (Gn 49^{17}, Am 5^{19}, Ec 10^8, Ps $58^{5\ (4)}$); the second and third refer to specific types of venomous reptiles, actual or mythical: but what particular types are intended cannot be determined. The צפע mentioned here only may be the same as the צפעני of 11^8 59^5, Jer 8^{17}, Pr 23^{32}†; for the שרף מעופף, see 30^6; and for the meaning of שרף, cp. 6^2 n., Nu 21^6 n.—**30.** The hostile power will destroy Philistia with famine and the sword of war, but will leave Judah unmolested: the Jews will live in peace and plenty

(cp. v.[32]). Such must be the meaning, if v.[30a. b] is original; yet the use of the terms *poor* and *needy* for Yahweh's people savours more of the Psalter than of Isaiah: 10[2], of course, being different, probably also 11[4]. Possibly these lines at least are later than the age of Isaiah. In any case they are probably misplaced: for the peace and plenty of the poor, v.[30a. b], is no natural sequence (ורעו) to the succession to the stick of a serpent (v.[29]), nor again is the slaughter of the Philistines (v.[30c. d]) a natural sequence (והמתי) to the peace and plenty of Judah; on the other hand, v.[30c. d] is the sequence of v.[29]; while [30a. b] could find a more suitable place after v.[32].—*The poorest of the poor*] lit. *the firstborn of the poor*: the nearest parallels to the idiom are in Job 18[13], Ps 89[28 (27)]. But the text is open to suspicion; the superlative seems pointless (see line b), and parallelism suggests that בכורי conceals a term synonymous with לבטח in the next line: בדד (Dt 33[28], Jer 49[31]: cp. לבדד, Nu 23[9], Mic 7[14]) would be suitable, *the poor shall feed by themselves*, unmolested by the nations (cp. Nu 23[9]). Easier palaeographical emendations (see phil. n.) give a definition of place; but this would form a less satisfactory parallel: the line then reads, *And the poor shall feed on my meadow* or *on my mountains* (v.[25] n.); in this case Yahweh is the speaker.—*And he will cause to die . . . he will slay*] the rendering rests on the reading וְהֵמִית (𝔊𝔗) for וְהֵמַתִּי, *I will slay*; the subject is the same as in v.[29c. d]. Many prefer to obtain two vbs. in the first person by following 𝔙 instead of 𝔊 in the first line, and reading אהרג for יהרג in the second: in this case Yahweh is the subj.—*Thy root*] in contrast to the root of v.[29], which sends up stronger growth, the root of Philistia will die. But (1) the parallel line does not maintain the figure of a tree; ct. 5[24], Hos 9[16]; (2) a dead tree is not a good figure of complete destruction (cp. Job 14[8]); (3) trees die for lack of water; the *famine* of which Philistia is to die is probably the famine of beleaguered cities (cp. 5[13]), and some term more immediately suggestive of human beings seems wanted; consequently 𝔊's *thy seed* (cp. *e.g.* 54[3]) may represent the original text.—**31.** *Town*] lit. *gate*: cp. the Deuteronomic phrase "within thy gates," *i.e.* in all thy towns.—*From the north*] cp. Jer 1[14] 10[22] 47[2].—*Smoke*] if this is correct, the enemy is represented as capturing and burning the country as it moves southward towards Philistia: the next line,

in spite of the uncertainty of the last word (see phil. n.), suggests that a more personal term may have been used; the enemy moves on compactly and rapidly with no *straggler*, lit. *one who is separated, in his ranks*; cp. 5^{27}.—**32.** In contrast to Philistia (vv.$^{29\text{-}31}$), Ṣion, the existing city (ct. 28^{16} n.), is safe, for none other than Yahweh has founded it (cp. 54^{11}, Ps 87^{1}): in Ṣion, Yahweh's people will find a secure retreat (cp. v.$^{30a.\ b}$ with n.). So much is clear; but how this idea was introduced and connected with what proceeds is not clear, for the opening words are a corrupt fragment of an entire distich (see phil. n.). It is possible that v.^{32} was not the original continuation of v.^{31}; but if it was, then the odd expression *the messengers of* (*the*) *nation*, if not itself the result of corruption, must imply that the Philistines send envoys to Jerusalem (cp. 18^{2}, Jer 27^{3}) to seek aid, and receive in response the words of $^{32c.\ d}$—for them a somewhat irrelevant answer. The answer would doubtless be more relevant if addressed to messengers of *Assyria* demanding the capitulation of Jerusalem; but the difficulty is to establish the connection of an Assyrian embassy to Jerusalem with a threat of the destruction of Philistia; the difficulty remains if we read *nations* (𝔊).—*The afflicted of his people*] does this mean that another portion of Yahweh's people will not find refuge there? If v.^{32b} is in agreement with v.$^{30a.\ b}$ and the terms *poor* and *needy* here mean Judah as opposed to Philistia, this is improbable. At the same time it is rather unsatisfactory to take עניי עמו as an appositional gen. and render *the afflicted*, (*even*) *his people*. Possibly עניי is an error (cp. 10^{2}): the term, like those of v.$^{30a.\ b}$, is more easily explicable by post-exile circumstances than by those of the 8th cent.

28. המשא] 𝔊 τὸ ῥῆμα, as in 15^{1} 17^{1} 22^{1} 23^{1}.—**30.** בכורי] 𝔖𝔙 MT בְּכוֹרֵי, *first-born of*; Lowth בְּכוּרֵי, (*the poor shall feed on*) *my choice first-fruits*. Koppe proposed בְּכָרַי, *in my meadows*; and many have adopted this or בָּקְרִי, *in my meadow*; but see 30^{23} n.; Che., Marti בְּהָרַי, *on my mountains*; but ct. על־הרי, v.^{25}. For another suggestion, see above. 𝔊's equivalent for בכורי דלים is πτωχοὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.—יַהֲרֹג . . . והמתי] 𝔊 ἀνελεῖ . . . ἀνελεῖ; 𝔖 . . . ܠܡܩܛܠ ܘܠܡܩܛܠ; 𝔗 יקטול . . . וימית; 𝔙 *interire faciam . . . interficiam*. On the choice of readings, see above.—שרשך] 𝔊 τὸ σπέρμα σου; 𝔗 בנך.—**31.** הילילי שער] *שער* is here exceptionally fem.; Kön. iii. 249*m*.—נמוג] inf. abs. Niph.: G–K. 72*v*, 113*bb*.—מוֹעָדיו] so pointed, here only; and מוֹעָד nowhere has quite the sense required here; the word מוֹעָד is explained as *the place appointed* (יעד) for the soldier, *i.e.* the ranks of an army. Marti proposes עמודיו; cp.

עשן in the previous line. On 𝔊's rendering of אין בורד במועדיו by καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ εἶναι, see Ges. p. 102, and Ottley.—**32.** ומה יענה מלאכי גוי] certainly, if v.[32] is part of the poem in [29-31], these words look like a fragment of a distich. 𝔊 reading מלכי for מלאכי, and (cp. also 𝔗) probably יענו for יענה, and גוים for גוי, renders καὶ τί ἀποκριθήσονται βασιλεῖς ἐθνῶν. The best that can be done with 𝔓 is to treat יענה as a vb. with an indefinite subject (G-K. 144*d*), *what then shall one answer* (RV); cp. 𝔙: this is obviously unsatisfactory. 𝔖 reads נְעֲנֶה, *what answer shall we give*—also improbable. Very unconvincing attempts to complete the distich have been made by Bick., Du., and Che.

XV. XVI.—*The overthrow of Moab.*

These chapters, containing *the oracle* (13[1] n.) *of Moab*, in part describe and lament, in part, as it seems, predict a great calamity. An appendix, 16[13f.], treats the entire oracle as a "word of Yahweh," *i.e.* a prophecy, which was spoken long ago and has hitherto remained unfulfilled, but is now to be fulfilled within the term of three years.

The oracle is probably enough not the work of a single writer. It would be easier to speak with decision on this point if the text were less corrupt, and the interpretation of many details less uncertain.

In the first place, it is to be noted that the major part of the oracle re-appears with many textual variations and much difference of order in Jer 48.* Thus:

Is 15[1-2b]	absent from Jeremiah; yet cp. 48[15. 18].
15[2c-7a]	= Jer 48[37a. 38. 34a. 31 (cp. 36a. b) 34b. 5. 34d. 36c].
15[7b]–16[5]	absent from Jeremiah.
16[6-11]	= Jer 48[29. 30b. 36a. b. 32c. b. a. d. 33. 36a. b].
16[12]	absent from Jeremiah.

Even in 15[2c-7a] and 16[6-11] there are a few lines, or clauses, not incorporated in Jer.; the more important are 15[6b. c] 16[8a. b. 9b]. But it remains remarkable that whereas almost the whole of 15[1-7a] 16[6-11] is quoted, or has left its trace, in Jer 48, no trace of the long intervening section is to be found there. Was then the compiler of the cento in Jer 48 familiar with Is 15. 16, or did he and the editor of Is 15. 16 alike make use of an elegy over Moab of which the whole or much of Is 15[7b]–16[5] and 16[12] formed no part? The latter alternative seems the more probable; for there is a difference of character between A 15[1-7a] 16[6-11] and

* Cp. the translation and notes in Dr. *Book of Jer.* 280 ff.

much of B 15^{7b}–16^{5} 16^{12}. A is throughout descriptive, or expressive, of the emotions which naturally find an outlet in elegy: the first person, when it is used (Is 15^{5} $16^{9.\ 11}$: also Jer 48^{36} = Is 16^{7}), refers to the poet. On the other hand, in B the first person (15^{9b}? 16^{1} ℭ) refers to Yahweh, and the prophetic element is conspicuous; note והיה, $16^{2.\ 12}$, and the other clearly prophetic statements in 15^{9b} 16^{5}. A less significant difference is the dramatic character, as it appears, of 16^{1-4}. But this difference of character in the different sections of Is 15. 16 cannot be the reason why Jer 48 does not quote from B as well as A; for Jer 48 has incorporated the passages from A, the elegy, into a whole which resembles B in being prophetic, and in introducing Yahweh as the speaker (cp. *e.g.* Jer $48^{1.\ 12.\ 30.\ 35.\ 38}$).

If we are right in this conclusion, we have to inquire whether the extent of the elegy can be more closely determined. (1) Such parts of 15^{7b}–16^{5} as are not clearly prophetic may belong to the elegy and have been omitted by Jer., as are a few lines of the remainder of Is 15. 16. Not improbably, then, 15^{7b-9a} belonged to the elegy; at all events they scarcely formed part of the prophecy, though it is possible that they were variants or parallels not yet incorporated in the elegy when the editor of Jer 48 made use of it. Even 16^{2}, if והנה be read for והיה, might have formed part of the elegy; but the awkwardness which is occasioned by the present position of this v. may be due to the certainly corrupt state of 16^{1}. (2) Possibly enough some of the original elegy has failed of preservation in either Is. or Jer. We appear to have in $15^{4c.\ d.\ 5a}$ 16^{7} and 16^{11} a thrice-repeated, though in each case more or less mutilated, refrain. The number of rhythmically similar lines at present preceding each occurrence of the refrain is nearly though not quite equal. If, however, 15^{9b}–16^{6}, entire or in large part, were included in the elegy, great inequality would result; and this is some confirmation of the conclusion that most at least of that section is really foreign to the elegy. (3) 16^{6} though also found in Jer. is unlike the rest of the elegy (note the 1st *plural*), and may be a reflection on it which, at an early period of the text, was incorporated in the elegy.

To facilitate the study of the section along lines which seem safest where all is uncertain and many details most uncertain, a continuous translation—in many respects quite tentative—of

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the elegy is given first. The translation of the prophetic section 15^{9b}–16^{5} is given below, p. 286, and of 16^{12} in its place.

XV. 1–9a + XVI. (6) 7–11.—*An Elegy on Moab.*

The text is so uncertain, or ambiguous, that it is difficult to speak with certainty of the rhythm. It is often said to be *kinah* rhythm; but if so, the variation 2 : 2 for 3 : 2 is so frequent as to give the poem a very different rhythmical character from 14^{4-21}. Parallelism occasionally occurs between periods of 2 accents: see, *e.g.*, 15^{2c} and the distich $15^{6b.\ c.\ d}$; more often the periods of parallelism are longer—4 : 4; see 16^{8-10} with phil. n. The rhythm of the refrain (see $15^{4c.\ d.\ 5a}$ $16^{7.\ 11}$) in its original form perhaps, and of $15^{4a.\ b}$ certainly, was 3 : 3. On the strophic division, see above.

1.

[1] Because in a (single) night ʿAr has been spoiled,
Moab is undone;
Because in a night Ḳir has been spoiled, Moab is undone.
[2] 'The daughter of' Dibon hath ascended the high places to weep;
On Nebo and on Medeba, Moab doth howl.
On every 'head' is baldness, every beard is clipped,
Jer 48^{37} [Upon all hands are gashes, and on all loins sackcloth.]
[3] In his streets they have girded on sackcloth,
On 'his' roofs and in 'his' squares (Moab), one and all, howls,
Running down (?) with weeping.
[4] Ḥeshbon and Eleʿaleh cried out,
As far as Yahaṣ was their voice heard.
Wherefore the loins of Moab (?) 'quiver'
His (?) soul quivereth for himself:
[5a] My heart crieth out for Moab.

2.

^ ^ [5b] For the ascent of Luḥith—he goeth up thereon weeping,
For the way to Ḥoronaim—they raise (thereon) the cry of destruction.

6 For the waters of Nimrim became desolations.
For the grass has dried up,
The young grass is exhausted,
Green things have not grown.
7 Wherefore the abundance he had acquired and their (?) . .
Over the Wady of Willows they carry them away.
8 For the cry hath gone round the border of Moab;
As far as Eglaim is the howl thereof,
And (as far as) Be'er Elim is the howl thereof.
9a For the waters of Dimon are full of blood,
16 16 We have heard of the pride of Moab, very proud,
His haughtiness and pride and overbearing—not right are his pratings.
7 Therefore 'I' howl 'for' Moab,
For entire Moab 'I' cry out,
For the raisin-cakes of Ḳir-'ḥeres' 'I' moan.
. . . . . .

3.

8a For the tract of Heshbon the vine of Sibmah hath languished,
b The lords of nations its red clusters smote down:
d Its tendrils have stretched out, gone over to the sea,
c Unto Ya'zer have they reached, strayed into the wilderness.
9 Wherefore I weep with the weeping of Ya'zer,
O vine of Sibmah I drench thee with my tears,
Heshbon and Elealeh;
For upon thy grapes and thy (grape-)harvest shouting (?) hath fallen,
10 And joy is withdrawn and exultation from 'thy vineyards.'
And in the vineyards no ringing cry is given,
The wine 'is not trodden,' in the vats 'none is left';
11 Wherefore my bowels for Moab sound like a harp,
And my inward parts for Ḳir-ḥeres [sound like a pipe].

The *first strophe* (15 1-5a) states the disaster, and its effect,—the destruction of Moab,—and then depicts the lamentation that spreads with the news through Moab. The disaster appears to have been an attack from the South; 'Ar and Ḳir (sites to the S. of Arnon), taken unawares, fell before the enemy

almost without a blow (v.[1]). The news spreads northwards across Arnon to Dibon and to the extreme northern towns of Moab—Ḥeshbon and Eleʿaleh (v.[4]). The refrain in the present text records the emotion of both Moab and the poet (vv.[4c. d. 5a]).

The *second strophe*, 15[5b-9a (7)] 16[7]: further scenes of lamentation and desolation; the sites mentioned are all uncertain; but some at least probably lay in Southern Moab, though not necessarily, with the exception perhaps of Ṣoʿar, in the extreme south, *i.e.* on the Edomite border. The refrain in the present text of Is (emended above) records the emotion of Moab; in Jer the refrain refers mainly to the poet's emotion.

Many writers find in this strophe a description of the flight of Moabite refugees into Edom; this view rests partly on identifying the Wady of Willows with the Edomite border, partly on emending 15[9a] so as to introduce the word Edom, and partly on a particular explanation of a very obscure v., 16[1]. An allusion to flight into Edom is anything but certain, even if 15[9b]–16[5] formed an integral part of the poem.

Third strophe, 16[8-11]: a special feature in the disaster—the extensive and famous vineyards of Northern Moab are destroyed; the enemy have fallen on the country in the time of vintage, and there will be no joy of the vintage and no wine for Moab. The refrain records the poet's emotion.

The age of this elegy is very uncertain. It is earlier than the Appendix (16[13f.]), and earlier than the composition of Jer 48; but the dates of these are unfortunately also uncertain. It belongs to an age when the territory of Moab stretched far north of the Arnon. In the time of Omri, Israel held the country as far south as Arnon; Mesha, toward the end of the 9th century B.C., recovered this northern territory, at least as far north as Nebo. Soon after, if we may press 2 K 10[32f.], it passed back to Israel and then into the hands of the Syrians; and then, possibly after another period of Moabite occupation (cp. 2 K 13[20f.]), if we may rely on Am 6[14], 2 K 14[25] with the more specific implications of 1 Ch 5[1-17], it was restored to Israel by Jeroboam II. in the first half of the 8th century B.C. It ceased to be Israelite in 722 at latest, and much at least of it was Moabite at the beginning of the 6th century (Ezk 25[9]); but there is no definite evidence to show precisely how long before and how long after the time of Ezekiel the Moabites

held it. But we may infer with great probability that the district both south and north of Arnon was overrun by Arab nomads, who so completely subjugated the ancient population that they gave their own name of Nabataeans, or Arabians, to the population of the country. The chief facts are these: (1) Ezek. in the early part of the 6th cent. foresees such an invasion; (2) Nehemiah (mid. 5th cent. B.C.) couples Arabians and Ammonites; and he may well mean by Arabians, inhabitants of Moab (Neh $4^{1\,(7)}$, cp. 2^{19}); (3) in the 2nd cent. B.C. the population of ancient Moab is certainly Nabataean, and Medeba in particular belonged to the tribe of Jambri (an Arab name)—1 Mac $9^{35f.}$; so, later, Josephus terms the people of this district Arabians (*Ant.* XIV. i. 4), and the district formed part of the Roman Provincia Arabia; (4) Mal 1^{2-5} attests the northern or western movement of nomads from the Syrian wilderness into the neighbouring country of Edom. (2) and (4) together suggest the 5th century as the period of the Nabataean conquest of Moab of which we have no direct information, but which fell between *c.* 570 and 170 B.C.—(1) and (2).

Not improbably the elegy actually relates this Nabataean conquest of the 5th cent.; if so, subsequent events showed that the poet was not employing any rhetorical exaggeration when he declares that the fall of ʿAr and Ḳir signified the extinction of Moab as an independent people. It would accord with this that the attack described in the poem seems to be delivered from the south or east; it is possible, too, that the special emphasis laid on the destruction of the vines reflects the special animosity displayed by the Nabataeans (Diodorus 19^{94}) towards vine-culture (so Marti). There is nothing in the poem, even if it included 15^{9b}–16^{6}, inconsistent with this theory; and the strong sympathy with Moab displayed by the poet would find some parallel in the Book of Ruth, if that book is rightly attributed to the 5th century.

It is still more difficult to determine, even approximately, the absolute date of the Appendix or epilogue ($16^{13f.}$), or of 15^{9b}–16^{5}, if this section is rightly judged to be an interpolation. But it will be convenient to say what may be said at this point.

(1) We can hardly simplify the problem by attributing the interpolations in the elegy to the writer of the epilogue; for the epilogue certainly purports to be added to a "word of Yahweh"

concerning Moab, which 15^{1}–16^{12} in its present form is (see 15^{9b}), but which the elegy was not.

(2) The style and language of both epilogue and interpolation is indecisive; due regard being had to the state of the text, they show little or nothing necessarily late, nor again anything decisively Isaianic; for the fact that some of the vocabulary can be paralleled from the prophecies of Isaiah no more proves the passages to be Isaianic than the fact that in part it cannot be so paralleled proves by itself that it is non-Isaianic (cp. Cheyne, *Introd.* 83–85). With this epilogue, cp. that in $23^{17ff.}$. So long as the Book of Isaiah was regarded as being primarily a work compiled by Isaiah into which certain interpolations had crept, it was not unreasonable to argue that no sufficient case was made out against the Isaianic authorship of the epilogue; but once it is recognised that the Book of Isaiah is a prophetic collection of the 3rd century B.C. (Introd. § 27), it becomes a bold and unjustifiable assumption that this epilogue to a prophecy, which is perhaps not much older than the 3rd century, was itself written by a particular prophet five centuries before; more especially is this so in view of the fact that other "oracles" in chs. 13–23 are clearly later than the age of Isaiah.

(3) At the same time it is no easier to select a period in the age subsequent to Isaiah than in the age of Isaiah itself to which the epilogue can be confidently assigned.

Brief reference may be made to some other theories. Since the time of Koppe and Eichhorn the Isaianic authorship of the elegy at least has been increasingly questioned and is now seldom maintained, though it is not decisively rejected by Driver (*LOT*^{6} 213f.). This is due to the style and manner of the piece — the unrestrained sympathetic emotion, the absence of any reference to Yahweh, "the very awkward accumulation of the particles כי and כן, על," the excessive use of paronomasia; see more fully Che. *Introd.* 85f., Di. p. 146, where, however, the list of expressions not found in Isa. includes along with a few which, taken together, have some weight, some which are textually doubtful. The style, however—though this points decisively away from Isaiah—does not point decisively to any particular *age*: many, therefore, have attributed the elegy to a writer *earlier* than Isaiah, and, in particular, to the period of the (assumed) conquest of Moab by Jeroboam II. This theory, relying on the supposed reference to a flight of the Moabites *south* in 15^{7}, assumes, in spite of 15^{1-5}, that the elegy describes an attack on Moab from the *north* by Jeroboam II. of Israel; then 16^{1-5}, treated as part of the elegy, is supposed to refer to Jeroboam's con-

temporary Uzziah (whose friendship was sought by the Ammonites (2 Ch 26^{8}), and therefore, it is inferred, might have been sought by the Moabites also) as the king whose protection is sought by the Moabite refugees (6^{1-5}). So substantially, among others, Hitz., Reuss, Wellh. (*EBrit.*[9] xvi. 535), W. R. Smith, Di., Skinner, Whitehouse.

Du. ascribes the elegy to a very recent date: the epilogue only fits a period when the hope was cherished of thoroughly destroying the Moabites and the Nabataeans; such a period is that of Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B.C.). The elegy itself should not be much earlier, and may refer to a Nabataean incursion in the 2nd cent. B.C., the ruler in Ṣion (16^{1}) being John Hyrcanus (135–105 B.C.).

Marti suggests that the elegy written in the 5th cent. (see above) may, not long after it was written, have been turned into a prophecy by the addition of 15^{9b}–16^{6}.

Ew. (*Propheten*[2], i. 380f.) already detected the work of three hands in chs. 15. 16, and assigned (1) 15. 16^{7-12} to a prophet who lived East of the Jordan between the beginning of the 9th cent. and the time of Amos; (2) 16^{1-6} to a contemporary of Uzziah, who lived perhaps nearly half a century before Isaiah's appearance as prophet; (3) $16^{13f.}$ to Isaiah.

For modern attempts to defend the Isaianic authorship of the entire section—elegy or prophecy, epilogue and all—reference may be made to Barth, *Beiträge* (1885), pp. 20–23, and the commentaries of Del. (Eng. tr. 1890) and Orelli.

XV. 1-5a. First Strophe of the Elegy.—1. However כי be explained and the lines punctuated (see phil. n.), this v. gives the cause of the alarm described in the following verses. ʿAr (Moab) and Ḳiṛ (Moab) have been taken by sudden assault; the country was hardly aware of danger till the blow had actually fallen, and its fall had been sealed. In vv.[2-4] follow scenes of the lamentation called forth by the news as it travels *northwards* through Dibon, Nebo, and Medeba, to Ḥeshbon and Eleʿaleh. —*In a night*] The suddenness with which the assault was made and the rapidity with which all was over seem to be expressed by this phrase, emphasised as it is by being placed before the vb. Cp. 17^{14} "At evening, lo! terror, before morning it is no more." —*Ar* (*of Moab*)] one of the chief places of Moab; see Nu 21^{28}, where the only (other) occurrence of the name in the form ʿAr of Moab is found. But the same place is intended by the abbreviated form ʿAr, which on one view of the construction is the form used here, in Nu 21^{15}, Dt $2^{9.\ 18.\ 29}$, and probably by ʿIr Moab in Nu 22^{36}, ʿIr and ʿAr being indistinguishable, if the text be written without the vocalic consonants. ʿAr of Moab appears to have lain on the upper waters of the Arnon (*Numbers*, p.

286), *i.e.* E. of Dibon and S. of Nebo, Medeba, Ḥeshbon and Ele'aleh. 𝔊 gives for *Ar of Moab*, as for Moab throughout the section, ἡ Μωαβεῖτις: and Buhl (*Geog.* p. 269) thinks the name covers a district—the region south of Arnon—rather than a city. —*Ḳir Moab*] is commonly identified with Ḳir-ḥeres (16[7] n.), and so with the modern Kerak, which is situated in the extreme south of Moab on a lofty spur between two ravines whose bottoms lie about 1000 feet below—a position almost impregnable in ancient warfare (Hastings, *DB*). For fuller description, with illustrations of Kerak, see A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i. 45 ff. But, as Buhl (*Geog.* 270) rightly observes, there is no convincing reason for the equation. If it is incorrect, the site of Ḳir Moab, which is mentioned here only, is quite unknown; from the northward line indicated in vv.[2-4] we might infer that it lay somewhere S. of Dibon.—**2.** Lamentation in Dibon, Nebo, and Medeba. On certain views of the wholly improbable text of 𝔐 (see phil. n.), a fourth place otherwise unknown, Bayith (EV), is mentioned.—*The daughter of Dibon hath ascended*] reading by conjecture עלתה בת דיבן (Du.) for עלה הבית ודיבן; *the daughter of Dibon* is the personified population of Dibon (1[8] n.). Dibon, mod. Dhîbân, lay about 4 miles N. of Arnon and 13 E. of the Dead Sea. "Dhîbân is usually described as lying on two hills; but there are really *three* . . . Probably . . . the ancient city comprised all three hills along with the *col* connecting them; but . . . also spread eastward over the road and the shallow wady beside it to the slopes beyond, on which are many scattered ruins." "At one period or another the town must have been as large as any in Moab: cp. the epithet Παμμεγέθης applied by Eusebius" (G. A. Smith, *PEF Qu St.*, 1905, p. 41 f.).—*The high places to weep*] before their god(s); cp. 16[12].—*Nebo*] the modern Jebel Neba, on or near which the town of the same name presumably lay, is about 18 miles due north of Dibon and 5 S.W. from Ḥeshbon. It is about 4 miles N.W. from Medeba (mod. Mâdebâ), which lies about 15 miles slightly E. of N. from Dibon. The mountain top, which is 10 miles back from, and 4000 feet above, the Dead Sea, commands a very extensive view.* Mâdebâ lies on a slight elevation rising from the Moabite plateau. Both Nebo (*Numbers*, 32[38] n.) and Medeba (*ib.* 21[30] n.) are mentioned in

* *Expositor*, Nov. 1904, pp. 322 ff.

Mesha's inscription and several times in the OT. The remains of a stone-circle, as probably its name also, is a token of the sacred character of Nebo.—**2c, 3.** The description of the mourning continues, with particular reference to the chief rites of mourners—the tonsure of the head (cp. *e.g.* Am 8^{10}, Jer 16^{6}, Lev 21^{5}), the shorn beard (cp. Jer 41^{5}), and the girding on of sackcloth (20^{2} n.). The greater rhythmical regularity of Jer $48^{37.\ 38a}$ may be due to the text of the poem being better preserved there: in particular, *all his*, viz. Moab's, *heads* is improbable; read with 𝔊 and Jer *on every head*: cp. next clause. See, further, phil. n.—*In his streets*] the pronoun (masc.) refers, rather awkwardly, to Moab (cp. Jer 48^{38}).—**4a. b.** The cry of distress raised by the news in Ḥeshbon and Eleʿaleh, situated close together in the most northern district of Moab, is heard as far as Yahaṣ. *Heshbon*, mod. Ḥesbân, famous as the city of Siḥon (Nu 21^{21-27} nn.), lay 5 miles N.E. of Nebo; *Eleʿaleh* (Nu 32^{37} n.), mod. Elʿal, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.E. of Ḥeshbon. The site of *Yahas* (Nu $21^{2.\ 3}$ n.) is unfortunately uncertain; if Mesha's statement (l. 20), that he took Yahaṣ "to add it to Dibon," really implies, as it would seem to do, that Yahaṣ lay near Dibon, the point of vv.$^{2-4}$ is that lamentation follows the news of v.^{1} as it travels northward from Arnon to Eleʿaleh and echoes back again through the whole length of this district.—**4c.** *The loins of Moab*] so 𝔊 ἡ ὀσφύς (=חֲלָצֵי), 𝔖; cp. Jer 30^{6}. This gives a better parallel to *his soul* than MT חֲלָצָיו, *the armed men*; cp. *e.g.* Nu 32^{27}. As against MT it is to be further observed that the poet deals throughout with the fate, the actions, the emotions of an entire people, not of particular classes within it. Yet, possibly, neither 𝔊 nor 𝔐 is quite correct; for this distich describing Moab's emotion at its own fate is followed in v.^{5a} by an isolated monostich expressing the poet's emotion at Moab's fate: cp. 16^{11}. Not improbably vv.$^{4c.\ d.\ 5a}$ are the expansion, due mainly to transcriptional accidents, of a distich expressing throughout the poet's emotion (cp. 16^{11}): it may have run somewhat as follows:

$^{4c.\ d}$ Wherefore my loins quiver,
^{5a} My heart crieth out for Moab.

1. כִּי] possibly affirmative (Di.), *Surely* (7^{9} n.), or interjectional (Marti), *Ah! that*; more probably causal, the causal sentence being prefixed as in 28^{15}

(BDB 473*b*). The causal sentence may extend over the whole of v.[1], כי being repeated, as is ב with the infin. rather similarly in Jg 5[2]; more probably the causal sentence ends in each line after ער and קיר respectively; so Jer. *Quia in nocte vastata est Ar, Moab conticuit; quia in nocte vastatus est Murus, Moab conticuit.* Editions of 𝔙, indeed, commonly place the comma after Moab, but Jer.'s commentary on the v. implies the punctuation given here (see Migne). Then, נדמה has a personal subject (cp. 6[4]), and 'Ar occurs, as most frequently, in its simple form (not 'Ar-Moab); קיר is unique, so also would קיר־מואב be; and if קיר חרש=קיר below, a simple abbreviation rather than a different genitival combination is perhaps more likely to occur in the same poem. Du. makes the main pause after שדד; in that case the unusual postponement of the subj. to the 2nd sentence would be due to rhythmical considerations: cp. 41[11f.].—בְּלַיְלָה] 21[11] n. Possibly here intended, though wrongly, to be cstr. (cp. G–K. 130*d*).—שדד ער] ער is acc. after the pass.; G–K. 121*a*: or the name of the city is, exceptionally, masc. (Kön. iii. 249*a*).—קיר מואב] 𝔗 כרכא דמואב=*fortress of Moab*; probably identified by 𝔗 with mod. Kerak, which in Greek writers appears as Χαρακμωβα: cp. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i. 58.

2. עלה הבית ודיבן] the least improbable translation of the text, on the supposition that 𝔐 is correct, is *Bayith and Dibon have gone up.* Of other attempts to translate, these examples may suffice: *One*, viz. Moab, *hath gone up to the* (*temple*) *house and Dibon to the high-places* (cp. Ḳi.): *the* (*royal*) *house and Dibon have gone up to the high-places* (Jer.). Modern interpreters have been unable to improve on these obviously improbable interpretations. The text is at fault. 𝔊 unfortunately is too obscure to be useful; 𝔖 ܒܝܬ ܕܝܒܢ (cp. 𝔗) apparently read no ן before דיבן and no ה before בית; בת דיבן in Jer 48[18] may be a reminiscence of the correct text עלתה בת דיבן.—הבמות] acc. of direction: G–K. 118*f*.—לַיְלִיל] for this instead of יְלִיל, see G–K. 70*c*.—ראשיו] very precariously explained as a colloquial (Ḳi.), or dialectic (Di.), variation of ראשי. Note the sing. וקן in the next clause (cp. Kön. ii. p. 356). Read ראש with Jer 48[37] and 𝔊 (*ἐπὶ πάσης κεφαλῆς*).—גרועה] the sense *to shave* (commonly expressed by גלח), found only here and in the parallel passage Jer 48[37], is common in Aramaic, whence ܓܪܝܥܐ *a barber*; ܓܪܘܥܐ *a monk*; see also Levy, *NHW*, *s.v.* גרע. Many MSS have here גרועה; but גדע, used of hewing off a limb such as an arm (cp. 𝔊 here), does not occur again in the present sense.—בחוצתיו . . . גנותיה . . . ברחבתיה] the change of gender is rather due to textual corruption than to the fact that the masc. refers to the people, the fem. to the land, of Moab (Di.). *After* גנותיה, Du., al. add מספד (cp. Jer 48[38])—precariously, for the original text of vv.[2c. 3], which may have closely resembled that of Jer, is not to be so lightly restored; the suggestion is hardly supported by the fact that 𝔊 reads *καὶ κόπτεσθε*=ספדו *before* על גנותיה; ct. *κοπετόν*=מספד in Jer 6[26]. 𝔊 may be an addition to the text under the influence of Jer 4[8] 49[3].—ירד בבכי] also doubtful, even if with Che. we substitute חָמֵר (22[4]) for ירד. 𝔊 has no equivalent for ירד. For כלה יליל ירד בבכי, Jer 𝔐 has simply כלה מכפר and Jer 𝔊 nothing. The idiom *to run down in weeping* does not occur again; elsewhere the eye *runs down tears*, or (*streams of*)

water, Jer 9^{17}, Lam 1^{16} 3^{48}.—**4a.** קולם . . . ועתוק] here the text of Is is earlier and better than in Jer 48^{34}; cp. also Jer 48^{4} השמיעו ועקה.—מואב חַלְצֵי] so 𝔗 מורוי מואב, 𝔙 *expediti Moab*; but 𝔊 ἡ ὀσφὺς τῆς Μωαβείτιδος, and similarly 𝔖. Perhaps originally מואב was absent and חַלְצֵי was intended (see above).—**4, 5.** יועץ . . . ירעה . . . וירעו] 𝔊 βοᾷ . . . γνώσεται . . . βοᾷ; 𝔙 *ululabunt . . . ululabit . . . clamabit*; 𝔖 . . . ܢܨܚܘ . . . ܢܣܥܩ; 𝔗 מצוחין . . . ימרון . . . מיללין. If יריעו was originally written defectively, both ירעו and ירעה would be most obviously derived from ירע. The meaning is in any case uncertain. There is no evidence (for Mic 4^{9} is corrupt) that הריע, regularly used of the shout of triumph, was also used of the shout of distress, which would alone be in place here (𝔙). Nor is there any other occurrence of ירע, *to quiver*, though this meaning may be inferred as the starting-point of the meanings *timidity* in certain Arabic derivatives, and *curtain* in יריעה (an object that easily shakes).—לו] dat. of reference; cp., particularly with 𝔐, 2 K 4^{27}, Jer 4^{19}.—**5.** לבי למואב] 𝔊 ἡ καρδία τῆς M. It would not be wise to change לבי (𝔐𝔖) into לבו to agree with נפשו in v.^{4c}; for probably the text of v.$^{4c.\ d}$ has suffered: see above.

5b–9a. Second Strophe of the Elegy.—V.^{5b} is preceded in 𝔐 by five words which do not constitute a sentence, appear to have no relation either to what precedes or to what follows them, are scarcely intelligible, and are probably corrupt. The first word בריחה, absent from Jer 48^{34} and rendered *in her* by 𝔊, has been variously rendered and interpreted: (1) 𝔙 *vectes eius*, *her* (*i.e.* Moab's) *bars*, which is supposed to be a metaphor for either the defences or the nobles of Moab; (2) *her fleeing* (ones), *fugitives* (MT, RVmarg.). Together with the next two words, this is supposed to mean *her defences* (extend), or *her nobles*, or *fugitives* (flee), *as far as Ṣo'ar.—Ṣo'ar*] 𝔊 Σηγώρ, and in Jer 48^{34} Σογορ. Ṣo'ar is generally supposed to have lain at the South end of the Dead Sea, and, in particular, in the verdant Ghôr eṣ-Ṣāfiye; a place called by Eusebius Ζοορα and Σιγωρ, by Jer. Zoara or Segor (*Onom.* 258^{49} 159^{24}), and by mediaeval Arabs Zughar, Ṣughar, Suḳar. Some have sought for Ṣo'ar to the N. of the Dead Sea, and identified it with Tell Shaghûr; but Shaghûr and Ṣo'ar are not philological equivalents. See, further, Dr. in *DB*, art. *Zoar*; and also Musil, *Ar. Petraea*, i. 74.—*Unto Ṣo'ar 'Eglath Shelishiyyah*] ct. *from Ṣo'ar unto Ḥoronaim 'Eglath Shelishiyyah*, Jer 48^{34}. That 'Eglath Shelishiyyah really defined both Ṣo'ar and the apparently distant *Ḥoronaim* is very improbable; but whether Is or Jer is here nearer to the original is uncertain. See, further, phil. n. 'Eglath Shelishiyyah appears to mean the third 'Eglath and to be the name of a place, which

was perhaps * identical with Γελιθων mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 4) immediately after Ὀρῶνας = *Ḥoronaim*, in a list of Alexander Jannaeus' conquests in Moab. On the very questionable supposition that these words can mean *a heifer of three years old*,† 'Eglath Shelishiyyah has been taken as an epithet expressing either the beauty and strength of hitherto unsubdued cities, or as comparing the cry of Moab (𝔊) to that of a heifer on the point of being broken in, or as alluding to the celebrated cattle-rearing in the Ghor eṣ-Ṣâfiye (Musil, *Ar. Petraea*, i. 74).—**5b. c.** *He goeth up . . . they raise*] the subject is Moab; the change from the sing. (cp. vv.$^{2b.\ 4}$ 16^{6}) to the pl. is suspicious.—*Luḥith*] *Onom.* (276$^{43f.}$) states that there is between Areopolis and Ṣo'ar a village now called Λουειθα. If this identification be accepted, Luḥith lay in Southern Moab.‡—*The way to Ḥoronaim*] Jer 48^{5} *the descent to Ḥoronaim*: cp. *go down to Ḥoronaim* (Mesha's Inscrip. l. 32). Ḥoronaim (Jer 48$^{3.\ 5.\ 34}$ ‡) clearly lay on, or at the bottom of, some descent from the Moabite plateau; the phrase "from Ṣo'ar as far as Ḥoronaim" (Jer 48^{34}) implies that it was remote from Ṣo'ar. It is not mentioned in lists of Israelite towns, whence it is commonly inferred,§ by a precarious argument from silence, that it lay south of Arnon, south even of the Wady Kerak.‖ All the other conquests of Mesha lay north of Arnon; but he mentions Ḥoronaim by itself at the end of the inscription: it *may* therefore have lain further south than the rest. From the order in which Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 4) mentions the Moabite towns —Ḥeshbon, Medeba, Lemba, Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices—it would appear that Ḥoronaim lay south of Medeba and Lemba (? = Libb, 3 hours S. of Medeba); not necessarily as far south as Arnon, but possibly somewhere on the descent from Libb to ez-Zara, which is on a "once much frequented natural road" running along the E. of the Dead Sea, and also on an important way striking eastwards up to the plateau: Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i. pp. 20 f.; cp. pp. 234 ff.—*The waters of Nimrim*] the name Nimrim may be traced to-day both

* We., *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.*, 1890, 31.

† 𝔊𝔖𝔗 (𝔙) Ḳi., EVmarg., Del.; but see phil. n.

‡ See S. R. Driver, *Exp. Times*, xxi. 495–497 (in a paper on the untrustworthiness of current maps of Palestine with regard to many ancient sites).

§ See, *e.g.*, Buhl, *Geog.* 273. ‖ See, *e.g.*, Musil (*Ar. Petraea*, i. 75).

at the S. end of the Dead Sea and to the north of it, to the S. in Moyet Numêre, and the Wâdy en-Numêre,* and to the N. in Tell-Nimrin, some 8 or 10 miles N. of the Dead Sea and 13 E. of Jordan, and in the Wâdy Nimrin.† Beth-Nimrah (Nu 32^{34} n.) is identical with Tell-Nimrin; but Eus. and Jer. (*Onom.* 143^{11} 284^{33}) connect the waters of Nimrim with Bennamerium, "North of Zoar." The question must remain open unless on other grounds it can be shown whether the writer is here referring to North or South Moab.—*Desolations*] the vb. שמם and its derivatives are commonly used of the devastation and desolation of countries, cities, etc.; its application to water is unusual. "The waters of Nimrim" may have given their name to a city situated upon them, though Me-jarkon in Jos 19^{46}, on account of the state of the text, is a precarious parallel. If the water is only, or primarily, thought of here, cp. 2 K 3^{25}, which speaks of the stopping up of the springs of the Moabites by their Israelite adversaries.—**6b–d.** Absent from Jer.—*For the grass has dried up*] this cannot, of course, give the reason for the stopping up of the waters of Nimrim. The lines are rather, if original, further parallels to the preceding three lines.—**7a** = Jer 48^{36}; **7b–16**^{5} is absent from Jer. The text of the v. is very uncertain (see phil. n.), and consequently the interpretation. Whether the v. really related the flight of the Moabites with all their substance across their southern border (Di.) into Edom (Du.), must remain altogether doubtful. On this assumption, *the Wady of the Arabs*, or *of the poplars* ‡—either translation is possible—may reasonably be identified with the Wâdy el-Aḥsā which flows into the Southern end of the Dead Sea from the S.E., forming the boundary between Edom and Moab, as it still forms that between the districts of el-Kerak and Petra (*Numbers*, p. 283). Apart from the assumption, the Wady cannot be identified; for on this assumption also rests the much favoured, but questionable, identification of the Wady here mentioned and the Wady of the Arabah (Am 6^{14}).—*He had acquired . . . their . . . they carry*] all the pronouns refer to Moab; if the text is sound, which is very doubtful, cp. for the transition from sing. to pl. v.^{5}.—**8a.**

* Seetzen, *Reise*, ii. 354; Tristram, *Moab*, 56 f.; Buhl, *Geog.* 272.

† Buhl, *Geog.* 264; Abel in *RB*, 1910, pp. 341 f.

‡ Cp. for the latter meaning the mod. Wâdy Ṣafṣâf (Tristram, *Moab*, 35, 58).

The cry of distress (cp. v.[4]) has passed through the length and breadth of Moab, and has reached, in particular, 'Eglaim and Be'er-Elim. Neither place has yet been identified; the parallel line and the context suggest that they lay at opposite extreme points of Moab: if so, Be'er-Elim is scarcely identical with Be'er in Nu 21[16], nor 'Eglaim with Αἰγαλλειμ, 8 R. miles S. of Areopolis (*Onom.* 228[61f.]).—**9a.** *The waters of Dimon*] also not identified. Dimon may be an error for Dibon, or possibly a dialectic variation, like Mecca and Becca, adopted to gain an assonance with *dam*, *blood*; Jerome, indeed, asserts that both names Dimon and Dibon were in use in his day.

5. בְּרִיחֶהָ] MT intends this to be plural; cp. G-K. 91*k*. Du. punctuates בריחוֹ=בְּרִיחֹה (cp. G-K. 91*e*), assuming that the form is sing. with collective force. Certainly a *fem.* suffix between the masculines of vv.[4c. d] and [5c] is strange. בריח, *fleeing*, occurs in 27[1], Job 26[13]; proof of the substantival use (=*fugitive*) rests on this and one other doubtful instance—43[14]. 𝔖 renders ܠܡܥܪܩ, 𝔗 למערק. There is probably some serious corruption. Was בר(י)חה a corruption of מחרנם, and מחרנים ער צער a variant of מצער ער חרנים, Jer 48[34]?—ענלת] כמו ענלה, Ki.: see G-K. 80*f*. Forms with the old fem. ending ת occur in Mesha's Inscr., *e.g.* l. 3, הבכת ואת.—שלשיה] *third*, not *three years old* (Versions), which would be משלשת (cp. Gn 15[9]).—יעערו] *possibly* an error for, or modification (G-K. 72*cc*) of, יערערו, Pilpel of ער. But the text is uncertain; 𝔊=ורעש, 𝔖=יעשו, and Jer 48[5] has שמעו.—**6.** כי מי] Jer 48[34] כי גם מי יבש.—כי] was *perhaps* not read by 𝔊.—**7.** על כן יתרה עשה ופקדתם] again very doubtful, especially the last word. Jer 48[36] reads על כן יתרת עשה אבדו (in another connection). 𝔊 renders here μὴ καὶ οὕτως μέλλει σωθῆναι. יתרה, a ἅπ. λεγ., is commonly supposed to have the same meaning as יתר, *abundance*: עשה, *to acquire*, cp. Gn 12[5]: for the cstr. of the sentence, see G-K. 155*h*.—ופקדתם] 𝔊 ἐπάξω γάρ, which in v.[9] renders כי אשית, here perhaps implies a reading ופקדתי. Jer 48[36] reads אבדו (see last n.). It is precarious to invent the meaning *store* for פקדה out of regard to this most questionable passage and Ps 109[8] (ambiguous). 𝔗 renders תחומהון, *their boundary*, 𝔙 *visitatio*—a common meaning of פקדה, but unsuitable here.—ישאום] subj. the Moabites; ם- (𝔊 αὐτήν) refers to יתרה ופקדתם (cp. Dr. 197 (1)).—**8.** ער־אגלים יללתה ובאר אלים יללתה] awkward: the fem. suffixes must refer to מואב, but ct. the masc. suffixes in v.[2] 16[6]. With MT אֶגְלַיִם, ct. 𝔊 Ἀγαλλείμ, 𝔙 *ad Gallim*. Before באר אלים, *sc.* ער (G-K. 119*hh*); Perles, Marti suggest that באר אלים is really one word, *In Arielaim* (cp. 29[1] n.).

9b–XVI. 5. Further distress is to befall Moab.—This exceedingly difficult and obscure section seems to be mainly, or entirely, a prophetic interpolation in the elegy on Moab: see above, pp. 276 ff.—The rhythm is, perhaps, predominantly, like the elegy, 4 : 4; but the text is too corrupt, or at least too

questionable, to make it worth while to discuss the rhythm in detail.

9b For I will set . . .
For the escaped of Moab a lion,
And for the remnant of . . .
16[1] . . . the ruler (?) of the land,
. . . to the mountain of the daughter of Ṣion.
2 And like birds in flight, like nestlings sent forth,
Shall the daughters of Moab be at the fords of Arnon.
3 "Bring counsel, make decision;
Spread thy shade like the night at very noon,
Conceal the outcasts, disclose not the fugitives.
4 Let the outcasts of Moab find guest-right in thy midst,
Be to them a concealment from the spoiler."
For the extortioner has come to an end, the 'spoiler' has ceased,
The treader down 'has been' consumed out of the land;
5 And a throne shall be established through loving-kindness,
And one shall sit thereon through fidelity—
In the tent of David one who judges,
And both seeks out what is right, and is swift in justice.

9b. c. The distress described in vv.[1-9a] ("the elegy"), which has already befallen Moab, does not exhaust Yahweh's judgment: further distress is in store: cp. 16[13f.]. Such appears to be the meaning of these lines and the general purport of what follows down to 16[5]; but the details are most uncertain.—*I will set*] or *put*, or *lay* (cp. *e.g.* Ex 21[22], Nu 12[11]). This is followed in 𝔊 by *upon Dimon* (v.[9a] n.), and then by a word נוספות which should mean *things added*, *additions*: the whole is supposed to mean, *I will place fresh calamities on Moab*; but neither the vb. nor the object really suggests calamity. Marti has suggested that the clause is a misplaced rubric directing that 15[9b]–16[5] is *to be added to Dimon*, i.e. that the passage was to follow

"Dimon" in 15^{9a}. 𝔊 is intelligible, *For I will bring upon Dimon Arabs*; but it may be merely a guess: it would be difficult to derive 𝔐 from 𝔊.—*For the escaped*] 4^2 n. Moab has already suffered severely; vv.$^{1-9a}$.—*A lion*] has been understood to refer to some pre-exilic king of Judah, or the regent of Jeroboam II. (Di.), or Alexander Jannaeus (Du.), or the Assyrian invader (Che.), or *lions* (cp. 2 K 17^{25}, Jer.). In so corrupt and obscure a passage it would be easier to multiply guesses than to justify them.—*The remnant of*] *the soil* (MT): 𝔐 might also mean *Admah* (𝔊 Ἀδαμή), one of the fellow cities to Sodom and Gomorrah. It would be easy to read *Edom*, if the prophecy really treats of Edom as well as Moab (16^1 n.).

XVI. 1. Text and interpretation continue most uncertain. In 𝔊 this v. continues the threatening words of Yahweh in $15^{9b, c}$—*I will send the likeness of creeping things upon the land.* 𝔐 might be a continuation of the description of Moab in 15^{1-9a}—*they have sent*, etc., or an address to some people, presumably Moabites, *send ye* (so MT).—The obj. of the vb. in 𝔐 is *the lamb of the ruler of the land*, which is commonly supposed to refer to the tribute paid in kind by Moab to the king of Israel (cp. 2 K 3^4), or Judah, as overlord of Moab. The words that follow in 𝔐 might mean (1) *from Sela' to Midbar*: Sela' is then identified by many with the great Edomite, or Nabataean, emporium, Petra, which was famous from the 4th cent. B.C., or with some place in Edom (? cp. Jg 1^{36}) less remote from Moab; Midbar may *possibly* be the proper name of a place in Moab (Nu 21^{18}): or (2) *from the rocks* of the Arnon valley (Wetzstein), or of Moab generally (Baud. cited by Di.), or of Edom (Di.), *to the wilderness*, which is supposed to mean in the direction of Judah, because Moab and Judah were separated (if an indirect way was taken) by wilderness: this would be much as though we were to speak in England of "sending seawards to Italy." It must suffice to refer to one or two of the interpretations of the whole v. built up on these uncertain details, on which see, further, phil. notes. Di. sees in the v. advice tendered by the Edomites, or by leading Moabites, to the Moabite refugees in Edom; the refugees are advised to seek the protection of the king of Ṣion, backing up their request by a present of lambs which they are to send, not by the nearer route north of the Dead Sea and across Jordan, which must be supposed closed to them, but first south over the

rocky land of Edom and then N. through the wilderness. Du. explains similarly, except that he treats שלחו as pf. and descriptive rather than imperative and hortatory. Marti, in part following 𝔊, renders *the Edomites will send* (the refugees) *like a swarm of insects on the land* to Ṣion. The assumption that Moabite refugees have fled to Edom is not supported by any clear indication of such a flight in ch. 15; and the following v., if in its right position, is distinctly unfavourable to it: for there the Moabites appear at the Arnon, far away from Edom.—**2.** The v. introduced by והיה is predictive like $15^{9b.\,c}$, like 16^{1} also, if 𝔊's text for the first word (see above) is correct. But if 𝔐 in v.[1] is correct, the predictive clauses $15^{9b.\,c}$ 16^{2} are awkwardly separated: Du. therefore places 16^{2} immediately after 15^{9}.—*In flight*] from the nest: cp. Pr 27^{8}.—*Nestlings*] קן, *a nest*, has here the transferred meaning *brood that inhabited the nest.*—*Daughters of Moab*] in Nu 25^{1} means the women of Moab; but a limited reference to women seems out of place here. 𝔊 reads *daughter*, i.e. population (10^{30}, cp. *e.g.* La 1^{15}), *of Moab.* Possibly *daughters* was a rare variant of *daughter* in such phrases (cp. ? Ezk 16^{27}): or perhaps *daughters of Moab* means the inhabitants of the several towns of Moab: cp. ? Ps $48^{12\,(11)}$.—*The fords*] or *passages*, cp. 10^{29} n. Du. gives מעברה here the unproven meaning of *banks*, and treats the whole phrase, *the banks of Arnon*, as in apposition to *daughters of Moab.* Arnon cutting through its lofty cañon formed at times the northern boundary of Moab, but at others, as here ($15^{2.\,4}$ n.), it roughly bisected the territory occupied and governed by Moab; cp. *Numbers*, p. 284.—**3 f.** The fugitive Moabites, thrust forth from their country like birds from their nest (v.[2]), now arrived in Jerusalem (v.[1]), supplicate for shelter and protection against the devastator of their land.—*Bring counsel, make decision*] these peculiar phrases may be due to corruption of the text, see phil. n. A request for counsel is a curious opening for refugees, who want rather what they go on to ask for, protection. It is disputed whether the second clause means (1) settle (quickly) whether we may remain in your country, or (2) decide the rights and the wrongs of the case between us and our enemies; perhaps the original text expressed something entirely different and more appropriate.—**3b.** Be to us a protection against the hot anger of our foes, like deep shade at high noon-

day.—**3c.** Hide us also from them, do not discover us to them. —**4.** Let us, driven out from Moab, enjoy guest-rights in thy land, and, among them, the right not to be discovered (cp. Jg 4^{20}) to those who have already devastated our country and would destroy us.—*The outcasts of Moab*] so 𝔊𝔖. MT, 𝔙 (by an obviously wrong punctuation) distort the sense of 𝔐; hence RV *my outcasts: as for Moab*, etc.: possible also, but improbable, would be the rendering *my outcasts, O Moab*; see phil. n.—Find *guest-right amongst thee*] be *gêrim* (11^{6} n.) in thy midst; the prep. is ב, *in*, not עם, *with*, as in 11^{6}.—For the personifying *sing.* obj. *thee*, cp. Jos 9^{7}, a similar sentence.—**4c. d, 5.** The various attempts, some of which are mentioned below, to explain this passage, as it stands or is arbitrarily emended, in its present connection have been so unsatisfactory as to lend considerable probability to the suggestion that it is an interpolated Messianic passage which has re-acted on the interpretation of v.$^{4a.\ b}$, turning what was an address to Ṣion (v.^{1}) into an address to Moab. Standing by itself, the passage would suggest familiar features of the Messianic age: the land of Israel no more troubled by enemies and war, 29^{20}, ch. 33, Ps $89^{20\text{-}24\ (19\text{-}23)}$, the throne of David re-established through Yahweh's loving-kindness and fidelity (cp. Ps $89^{25.\ 29f.\ 37f.}$), and occupied by a just and righteous ruler ($9^{6\ (7)}$ $11^{4f.}$ etc.). The term מלך, *king*, is not actually applied to this ruler, but the reference to *the throne* and *the tent* of David point as unmistakably to a king as does the description in $9^{1\text{-}6}$, from which the *term* מלך is also absent. It is quite unnecessary, and indeed incorrect, to see here the description of some vassal or viceroy of the king of Israel stationed in Edom (Kn.) or Moab (Di.).—*Through loving-kindness . . . through fidelity*] this translation, which refers the qualities named to God, is favoured by the analogy of Ps 89 cited above: cp. also Is 55^{3}. Others refer the *loving-kindness* to the king (Ges., Di.) who secures his throne by his humanity (cp. $11^{4.\ 5}$, Pr 16^{12} 20^{28} 29^{14}), or to his subjects (Kn.). The *fidelity* is also referred to the king by some (Ges.), while others again render differently *in security* (cp. 39^{8}, Jer 14^{13}), *i.e.* uninterruptedly (Di., Marti). Of attempts to interpret the passage as an integral and original part of the prophecy, two may be mentioned: (1) Ges. renders the pff. as prophetic pff., *For the oppression will cease*, etc., and comments, "so that we (Moabites) shall be able to return again to our country, and no longer need

to be a burden to you (Jews)," when the country of Moab is free from the foe: in v.[5] the suppliants urge as a motive for favour the blessing which such humanity would bring on the House of David; (2) Di., adopting Lagarde's conjecture and reading עד כי instead of כי, translates and interprets *until the extortioner shall have ceased . . . out of the land* of Moab, *and a throne shall be set up* for a vassal or viceroy ruling in Moab under the protecting shelter of his over-lord in Ṣion; *i.e.* the passage, together with v.[4a. b], is an insincere promise of the Moabites, in return for shelter in their hour of need, to be humble subjects of the Jews hereafter; the Jews, detecting this insincerity, refuse the request of the Moabites (v.[6]).

9b. c. נוספות לפליטת] 𝔊 Ἄραβας καὶ ἀρῶ τὸ σπέρμα: καὶ ἀρῶ=ואספתי.— **XVI. 1.** כר מושל ארץ] 𝔊 ὡς ἑρπετὰ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν=כרמש לארץ. The sing. of כר, *lamb*, occurs nowhere else; it is improbable that it is a collective. Grätz proposed מסלע מדברה.—אשבר] 𝔙 *petra deserti*: this is improbable, for note the ה *locale*; but 𝔓 may well be a corruption of some single phrase of place, מ denoting the starting-point and אל in אל הר ציון the goal.—**2.** With the certainly more or less corrupt text of vv.[1f.], cp. the more or less corrupt text of Jer 48[28].—מעברות לארנן] 𝔊 ἐπὶ τάδε, Ἀρνών, which points to nothing satisfactory. 𝔓 is a little suspicious, for (1) there is no obvious reason for the periphrasis of the gen. (G-K. 129*c*) here (𝔖𝔙, Rashi), and, indeed, 𝔗 (cp. Ḳi.) does not treat the ל as such, but takes מעברת as Hoph. part. and renders *brought across to Arnon*; (2) acc. of place, *at the fords* (G-K. 118*g*), is, as Dr. has pointed out (on 1 S 2[29]), all but confined to cases in which the acc. is followed by a noun in the genitive; the only case, except the present, cited by Dr. is 2 Ch 33[20], but ct. 𝔊 there. The ל would be best accounted for (cp. 18[1], Dt 30[13]) if we read מֵעֵבֶר ל, or, assuming that עברה was a synonym of עבר, לְמֵעֶבְרַת, *beyond Arnon*.—**3.** הביאו עצה] apparently a synonym for הבו עצה (Jg 20[7], 2 S 16[20]), *give counsel* (to others); but the analogy of the use of הביא in Ps 90[12] would rather suggest the meaning, unsuitable here, *take counsel*.—פלילה] ἅπ. λεγ., apparently meaning the office or duty of a פליל, *judge* or *umpire*. It is not clear that 𝔊 had the same text; the words which seem to correspond to הביאו עצה עשו פלילה are πλείονα (in v.[2]) βουλεύου ποιεῖτε (σκέπην). For עשו . . . הביאו, Ḳ[e]tib (𝔗), the Ḳ[e]rê (𝔖𝔙) has עשי . . . הביאי—2nd fem. sing. as in the following clauses. 𝔊 does *not* support the reading הביאו.—כליל] could be punctuated כָּלִיל, *entire*, *complete*: cp. 𝔊 διὰ παντός. But the antithesis צהרים gives probability to MT לַיִל; on ליל instead of לילה, cp. 21[11] n.—**4.** נדחי מואב] rhythmically both words go with יגורו בך, constituting together the first line of a 4 : 4 (=2 | 2 : 2 | 2) parallel distich; the balance is entirely destroyed, if מואב be taken with הוי וגו׳ (MT, RV).—הוי] in OT היה=הוה is mostly late: see Gn 27[29], Neh 6[6], Ec 2[22] 11[3] (?) †, and cp. הֲוֵא, Job 37[6]. But 𝔊 read יהיו, and לכם below instead of למו.—המץ] the following nouns being anarthrous, this was probably so too; consequently it is little worth while to labour the point that מץ, *a squeezer* (cp. מיץ, *squeezing* or *wringing*,

Pr 30^{33}), might mean *an extortioner*. Du. suggests חָמִץ (1^{17} n.). An easy emendation, if חמץ really possessed the nuance suitable here. 𝔊 *ἡ συμμαχία*; 𝔖 ; 𝔙 *pulvis*; 𝔗 מעיקא.—שר] probably an error, through haplography, for שרר: Lowth, al.; cp. 𝔗𝔖.—תמו רמס] pl. before a sing. part. used collectively: G–K. 145*d*. But in view of the singulars כלה, אפס, the pl. תמו is suspicious; for the same reason to read רֹמְסָם for רמס is unwise; the change in the similar sentence 29^{20} is not parallel, for it is occasioned by the introduction of כל.—**5.** ומהיר . . . ורוש] for ו . . . ו=*both* . . . *and*, BDB 253*a*. For רוש משפט, cp. 1^{17}.

6–12. Conclusion of the second strophe of the elegy, and the third and concluding strophe.—V.^{6} (= Jer 48^{29}) probably formed no part of the elegy; note the 1st pl. and ct. the first sing. used throughout the elegy. It is very questionable, too, whether v.^{6} formed an original part of the interpolated prediction (9^{15b}–16^{5}): unlike the interpolation, it re-appears in Jer. It is customary, indeed, to see in v.^{6} Ṣion's reply to the Moabite suppliants (see on v.^{5}), and refusal to grant them protection. This is very doubtful: (1) the words contain no actual refusal; (2) the reply is given in the 1st pl., whereas the community is addressed in the 2nd sing. in vv.$^{3b.\ 4}$. The v. is best regarded as an isolated reflection on the pride of Moab.

7. Moab's emotion at her fate; but the original text, like Jer 48^{31}, perhaps expressed the poet's emotion at Moab's fate; see phil. n., and cp. v.^{11} below, also v.^{9} and $15^{4b.\ 5}$ n.—*The raisin-cakes of Ḳir-ḥaréseth*] Jer. *the men of Ḳir-ḥeres*; cp. 𝔊 *τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Δέσεθ*. *Raisin-cakes*, i.e. cakes of dried grapes, were an article of food; see Hos 3^{1}, 2 S 6^{19}, Cant 2^{5}. *Foundations* (𝔖, Ḳi., Ges., AV) is an improbable alternative translation of אשישי. If Ḳir-ḥeres is Kerak (15^{1} n.), and its raisin-cakes rather than its inhabitants were here mentioned, it is to the point to observe that there is much vine culture, "for eating only," round Kerak in modern times (Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 415), and interesting to recall that, as Marti points out, cakes of pressed grapes and fine meal are still prepared in Cyprus for festivals—an inheritance of the Christian Church from old Phoenician custom. The allusion, like that in v.^{9}, points to autumn as the season when disaster fell on Moab.—*I moan*] 𝔚 *ye moan*; Jer 48^{31} *he moans*; by some emended to *they moan*. 𝔚 adds *utterly stricken*, which being pl. implies, if correct, a plural subject to the vb.; for it more naturally forms an attribute to the subj. of the sentence

than to *raisin-cakes*.—**8–10.** For the famous vines of Northern Moab the poet now weeps, v.[9]. They have ripened not for the Moabites to gather with the customary joy of the vintage, but for the enemy to destroy. Of these verses [8a. b] and [9b] are absent from Jer 48; while [8c. d] is found there (v.[32]) with considerable variations.—*Tracts*] cp. Dt 32[33]: other occurrences of שִׂדְמוֹת, the etymology and exact meaning of which are unknown, are in Hab 3[17], Jer 31[40] (Ḳ^{e}rê), and in two passages where the text is doubtful, 37[27], 2 K 23[4]†.—*Sibmah*] "between Ḥeshbon and Sibmah there are scarce five hundred paces" (Jer.). A site 2½ miles W.N.W. of Ḥesbân bearing the name Sûmia may give an echo of the ancient Sibmah. From Nu 32[3. 38], Jos 13[19]† we should infer that the place lay in Northern Moab though not necessarily so close to Ḥeshbon as Jerome's Subama, or the modern Sûmia.—**8b.** So famous was this vine that kings—*lords of the nations*—drank and became *smitten down* (28[1]), *i.e.* drunk, with the wine of it. Less probable is the view that the line gives the cause of the destruction of the vine; for it is doubtful whether the vb. would be suitable, the reason for specifying the lords is not obvious, and the cause of destruction would scarcely correspond to the suggestion of line a. that the vine dies for lack of water.—*Red-clusters*] שׂרוקיה: cp. שׂרק, 5[2] n. Other suggested readings here are *vine-tendrils*, or *choice plants*.—**8c. d.** These lines, translated above in the better order **d. c** (cp. Jer 48[32]), give a hyperbolical description of the size and ramifications of the celebrated vine; the site of Ya^{ʿ}zer (Nu 21[24] n.) is uncertain,* but according to Eus. it lay 15 (Roman) miles N. of Ḥeshbon (*Onom.* 264[98ff.]). Westwards the vine *stretched out*, i.e. *extended to*, or perhaps rather *across*, the Dead Sea, the N.E. corner of which lies about 16 miles in a straight line from Ḥeshbon and some 4000 feet below it. Eastwards the vine extends till the cultivated land passes into the vast Syrian desert.—**9.** *I weep with the weeping of Ya^{ʿ}zer*] the poet joins his tears (cp. 22[4] n., La 1[16]) to those of Ya^{ʿ}zer; but why he singles out Ya^{ʿ}zer is not clear, unless, indeed, we could believe that he was himself a man of Ya^{ʿ}zer (cp. Du.), and therefore a Moabite.—*Ḥeshbon and* [*Ele^{ʿ}aleh*] 15[4] n.—*Thy grapes . . . thy grape-gathering*] *Ḳîṣēk . . . ḳeṣîrēk*; for the sake of the alliteration the writer appears to use the wide term *ḳêṣ*, *summer fruits* (28[4]), instead of *^{ʿ}anābim*, *grapes*,

* See S. R. Driver, *Exp. Times*, xxi. 562 f.

and *ḳᵉṣîrēk, cutting, harvest*, instead of *bᵉṣîrēk, vintage*: Jer 48^{33} preserves, or substitutes, *bᵉṣîrēk.*—*Shouting hath fallen*] הידד is the joyous shouting of the grape treaders, Jer 25^{30}. Not you, but the enemy will shout with joy over your grapes, and over yourselves who will become their vintage; all this may be suggested by the context and the predicate. But the reading of Jer, *the spoiler* (שדד), may be correct. 𝔊 differs from both, but is wrong.—**10.** No joy of the vintage, no wine for use: the general sense is clear: the text is in considerable disorder, see phil. n.—*None is left*] lit. *it has been caused to cease* (cp. 𝔊); 𝔐, *I have caused* (*it*) *to cease*, the subj. being Yahweh; cp. 15^{9}, but between vv.^{9} and ^{11}, where the first persons cannot refer to Yahweh, the reading of 𝔐 is most improbable. Even the passive is doubtful; שבת, *it has ceased*, may be the true text.—**11.** = Jer 48^{36} the poet's emotion; here as in v.^{9} the first person is certain; ct. $15^{4b.\ 5}$ 16^{7}. The second line has perhaps lost a clause of two words, supplied in the translation, comparing the inward emotion to the resounding of flutes; cp. Jer.—*My bowels are sounding*] *i.e.* my compassion is stirred: cp. 63^{15}, Jer 31^{20}; for other instances of *bowels* as a term for the seat of deep emotions, see Jer 4^{19}, Ca 5^{4}; and of the vb. המה, *to sound, murmur*, of the organs of emotion, intelligence, and the like, see Jer 4^{19} (לב), Ps 42^{6} (נפש).—**12.** No attendance in the sanctuary, no prayer will avail Moab. The v. is absent from Jer, and introduces a religious turn not found in the verses common to Is and Jer; not improbably it was added to the elegy over Moab by the same hand that added 15^{9b}–16^{5}; note the common use of והיה here and in 16^{2}. In its present form the v. is unrhythmical. It may be rendered, *And it shall come to pass, when Moab shall have appeared, when he shall have wearied himself on the high place and shall* (or, *then he shall*) *enter into his sanctuary to pray, he shall not prevail*; but either *when he shall have appeared* or *when he shall have wearied himself*, should probably be omitted as due to dittography; in the former case the inconsistency with 15^{2}, where Moab is depicted as being actually and already on the high places, which might doubtless be attributed to the carelessness of the interpolater, disappears. For the wearisome practices of the heathen, cp. 47^{13}, 1 K $18^{26ff.}$.

6. נא מאד] looks suspiciously like a dittograph of נאן מאב. In Jer. the ἅπ. λεγ. נא is replaced by נאה.—נאותו ונאונו ועברתו] one of the first two words is not

represented in 𝔊: the last was misread בערתי. Jer 48[29] reads גבהו וגאונו וגאותו, but v.[30] contains עברתו (immediately before ולא כן בדיו).—לא כן] treated by many as a compound noun, the *untruth* (*of his pratings*); but it is questionable whether such combinations as לא אדם in 31[8] (G–K. 152*a* footnote) were ever so completely treated as a single word that they could be used in the construct. לא כן is predicative; cp. 𝔊.—**7.** לכן ייליל מואב למואב כלה ייליל] the repeated ייליל (so 𝔊) is probably an error (cp. 11[5] n., 26[7] n.): Jer 48[21] reads על כן יהנה; 𝔊 here μελετήσεις=תהגה: read אהגה; others conjecture הגו (ת dittographic from חרשת) or יהגו.—אך נכאים] not in Jer. 𝔊 καὶ οὐκ ἐντραπήσῃ. If the text is correct, for נכאים, implying נכא=נכה, cp. רוח נכאה, Pr 15[13] 17[22], and the Niph. of the vb. Job 30[8]†; אך, *utterly*, as in 19[11]; see BDB, *s.v.*—**8–10.** Most of the ten or eleven lines in these verses are certainly of four accents; but vv.[8a. 9b] at present are of six. Possibly שרמות חשבון and חשבון ואלעלה are glosses: note that the 2nd *sing.* fem. suffixes in v.[9] refer naturally to the sing. נפן שבמה and not to the pl. חשבון ואלעלה.—**8.** אמלל] the *sing. after* the fem. *pl.* שרמות would be abnormal in spite of Hab 3[17] and G–K. 145*o*; on the other hand, if שרמות ח be omitted (see last n.), the sing. masc. *before* the fem. נפן would be normal (G–K. 145*o*): cp. 2[17] 9[18] 14[11] etc.: yet ct. אמללה נפן, 24[7].—שרוקיה] 𝔊 τὰς ἀμπέλους αὐτῆς; rather *red-clusters* (cp. שֹׂרֵק of the colour of horses in Zec 1[8]), whence the שרק (5[2]) vine receives its name.—**9.** אריוך] an error for ארויך with retention of the final radical י (G–K. 75*dd*); on the form, see Sta. 634*e*: Kön. i. 589 f.; in 𝔊 the penultimate letter must have been י.—כי] Jer 48[32] om.—הידד] Jer שדד: 𝔊 here καὶ πάντα.—**10.** ונאספף] sing. *before* a compound subj.; G–K. 145*o*; Jer ונאספה; G–K. 146*f*, *g*.—מן הברמל] Jer מכרמל, which carries us back half-way to מכרם(י)ך, the reading of Is 𝔊AQT (ἐκ τῶν ἀμπελώνων σου), and probably the original text. The clause is followed in Jer by ומארץ מואב, which is a fairly obvious gloss explaining that the whole country and not only the garden land will grieve. In 𝔙 there follows ובכרמים לא ירנן, which looks at first more likely to be original, but the first word is probably merely a corrupt variant of מכרמיך, and לא ירנן is an explanation of the following לא ירעע after that corrupt reading had arisen. We thus explain the absence of ומארץ מואב from Is and of ובכרמים לא ירנן from Jer.—יִרָּנֵן . . . יִרְעָע] cp. Zeph 3[14]; but the forms are probably no original part of the text: see preceding and following notes. As they stand they are impersonal passives: G–K. 144*k*. 𝔊 may have read ירננו.—לא ירעע יין ביקבים לא ירדך הדרך הידד השבתי] Jer 48[33] ויין מיקבים השבתי לא ירדך הידד הידד לא הידד; Is 𝔊 καὶ οὐ μὴ πατήσουσιν οἶνον εἰς τὰ ὑπολήνια, πέπαυται γάρ=לא ירדכו יין ביקבים השבת, which is probably the original text or quite close to it: note that it is a line of four accents equally divided by the caesura. The overlined words in 𝔙 are amplifications,

partly due to glosses and partly due to dittography. In Is 𝔐, moreover, ירעץ is a corruption of (ו)ירכ, for 𝔊's πατήσουσιν corresponds to this and not to ירך below (note the order in 𝔊). Perhaps מיקבים (Jer 𝔐) is preferable to Is 𝔐𝔊 ביקבים; with השבת מ, cp. the use of the Niph. in 17^3 and of the Hiph. in Lv 26^6, Jer 36^{29}.—לא ירך הדרך] cstr. as $28^{4.\ 24}$: cp. G-K. 144*e*.—**12.** Ew. treated the whole v. as a protasis, and supplied from Jer 48^{13} as an apodosis ובש מואב מכמש מבמחו: so Che. *SBOT*; but this is improbable, since v.[12] is absent from Jer.—הבמה] 𝔊 pl.; cp. הבמות, 15^2 𝔐 (not 𝔊).—ולא יוכל] *he shall meet with no success*: for the absolute use of the vb., cp. Ps 21^{12}, Jer 5^{22} 20^{11}.

13, 14. A Prose Appendix (cp. $21^{16f.}$) **to the foregoing Oracle of Moab,** probably by a later hand (see above). In three brief years all will be fulfilled: Moab, as yet still honoured and numerous, will become despised and almost exterminated.—**13.** *The word which Yahweh spoke*] this description suits the interpolated section 15^{9b}–16^5; for the speaker in 15^{9b} is Yahweh, but the speaker throughout the parts common to Jer and Is is not.—*In time past*] the phrase מאז may refer to a past falling within the speaker's own mature life (2 S 15^{34}), or to a more remote past (Ps 93^2, Pr 8^{22}). In 44^8, as here, it refers to old prophecies.—*As the years of a hireling*] years strictly reckoned; the hireling works no longer than he must. Du. explains differently: it will only be necessary to hire the mercenaries (שכיר as in Jer 46^{21}) for the usual period of 3 years, and sees an allusion to the use by Alexander Jannaeus of mercenary troops.—*The glory of Moab*] cp. the glory of Assyria, 10^{16}; of Kedar, 21^{16}.—**14.** דבר יהוה] 𝔊 λέγω.—מעט מזער] 10^{25} 29^{17}†.

XVII. 1–11. *The coming Destruction of Syria and Ephraim.*

The text is faulty; but there can be little doubt that the poem consisted mainly if not exclusively of distichs of balanced and, generally, parallel lines. But the length of line varies in different distichs; vv.[4b. c. 11a. b] are clear instances of 3 : 3, which was probably the most frequent rhythm, and v.[6c. d] of a longer distich, probably 4 : 4.

The original poem contains three equal or nearly equal strophes; the first and second each consists of 8 lines and an additional line containing a concluding formula; the second, like the third, strophe contains also an opening formula: the third strophe contained 10 lines, unless we reject two as intrusive.

Vv.[7f.] appear to be an addition to the poem (see comm.), and are placed at the end of, and separated from, the poem itself in the following translation.

1.

[1] Lo! Damascus is about to be removed from being a city,
And it shall become ∧ a ruin [2] 'forsaken for ever';
Flocks shall possess 'her cities,'
And lie down, with none to terrify (them) away.
[3] And Ephraim shall lose (her) fortress,
And the sovereignty [shall be taken away] from Damascus;
And the remainder of Aram . . .
Like the glory of the sons of Israel shall they be—
Is the Oracle of Yahweh of Hosts.

2.

[4] And it shall come to pass in that day,
The glory of Jacob shall be diminished,
And the fat of his flesh shall become lean;
[5] And it shall be as when a reaper gathereth standing corn,
And his arm reaps off the ears ∧ ∧;
Or [6b] as when an olive-tree is struck,
[6a] And there remains thereon something to glean—
[6c] Two or three berries on the uppermost branch,
Four or five on the boughs of the fruit tree—
Is the oracle of Yahweh, God of Israel.

3.

[9] In that day
'Thy' cities shall become forsaken (ruins),
Like the forsaken (ruins) of 'the Amorites and Hivites,'
Which they forsook before the children of Israel, and it shall become a desolation.
[10] Because thou forgattest the God of thy salvation,
And didst not remember the Rock, thy Refuge,
Therefore (though) thou plantest plantations of Adonis,
And puttest in (vine-)cuttings of an alien (god),
[11] (And though) on the day thou plantest, thou make (it) grow,
And (though) on the morrow thou make thy seed blossom—
The harvest has fled (?) in the day of sickness (?),
And incurable pain . . .

7 In that day shall man regard his Maker,
And his eyes shall look towards the Holy One of Israel;
8 And he shall not regard the ^ work of his hands
Nor look upon what his fingers have wrought. ^ ^

The first strophe is devoted mainly to the fate of Syria, but incidentally also to that of Ephraim. Syria is to lose its independence: Damascus, the capital, and other cities are to be reduced to perpetual desolation. The last two strophes are devoted exclusively to Ephraim, *i.e.* the Northern kingdom of Israel: in strophe 2 the almost total depopulation of Ephraim is depicted under three figures: strophe 3 dwells on the inutility in the day of disaster of those cults to which Ephraim had devoted itself. In vv.[7f.] the point of the last strophe is universalised: all mankind will be convinced in the coming day of the inutility of works of men's hands, and will turn instead to the Holy One of Israel, who is also Maker of mankind.

The poem was composed before the Fall of Damascus (732 B.C.), and, as we may infer from the coupling of Ephraim and Damascus, after the formation of the Syro-Ephraimitish alliance (ch. 7), which took place about 736 B.C.

The predictions were in large part fulfilled: Reṣon (7[1] n.) was the last native sovereign of Damascus; he was slain by Tiglath-pileser (2 K 16[9]), who was not in the West after 732 B.C., and with him "the sovereignty was taken away from Damascus" (v.[5]), which became an Assyrian province (*KAT*[3] 135). Though less complete and lasting than Isaiah expected (for Damascus never actually became an uninhabited spot), the devastation of Damascus and the neighbouring country in 732 B.C. was great. Tiglath-pileser speaks of cutting down numberless gardens and plantations, carrying off many captives with their property, and wasting 591 cities of 16 districts of the land of Damascus: see his *Annals*, ll. 203–209. The full fate of Ephraim was not simultaneous, as Isaiah seems to have expected it to be, with that of Damascus: Samaria survived till 722 B.C.: then the fall of the city was followed by such extensive deportations of the Israelite population as go far to justify the terms of vv.[4-6]: see 2 K 17 and Sargon's annals.

1. *The Oracle of Damascus*] 13[1] n. The title is taken from

the first important word only, and so ignores the main subject of the piece—Ephraim.

1–3. The fate of Damascus.—On the emendations adopted in the translation, see phil. n.—**1.** *Is about to be removed*] immediately: not present tense *is taken away* (EV), nor in v.[2] *are forsaken*: those renderings are, indeed, grammatically legitimate (7^{14} n.), but unsuitable here.—**2.** *Flocks shall possess*] 5^{17} n.—*Her cities*] *i.e.* the towns of the country dependent on Damascus: cp. Jer 34^{1} 49^{13} 51^{43}. 𝔓 (not 𝔊) reads *the cities of ʿAroʿer*; this strange phrase, which is really due to corruption of the text, has been explained, unsatisfactorily, in various ways: (1) the two cities of the name of ʿAroʿer, one on the northern edge of the defile of the Arnon (16^{2} n.: cp. Nu 32^{34} n.), the other near Rabbath-Ammon (Jos 13^{25}); (2) the cities dependent on the more northern (which is, however, the less important) of the two ʿAroʿers; both (1) and (2) are hazardously understood to mean the country E. of Jordan: both ʿAroʿers are remote from Damascus; (3) Di. gives ʿAroʿer an appellative force, so that the phrase means *the ruined cities*: feeble and improbable.—**3.** *Fortress*] perhaps Samaria * the capital, or, giving מבצר a collective force, all the *fortresses* † of the Northern kingdom are intended; but on either of these interpretations this line anticipates v.[9]. More probably Damascus ‡ is meant; owing to its geographical situation, Damascus first invited the attack of the Assyrians coming E., and so formed a bulwark or fortress of Ephraim. On this interpretation the line, in common with the rest of v.[3], threatens Damascus, while at the same time together with the following words, *like the glory of the children of Israel* (cp. v.[4]), they form a transition to vv.[4-6. 9-11] which threaten Ephraim exclusively.—*The sovereignty*] see above.

1. והיתה . . . מוסר . . . הנה] fut. instans (Dr. § 135 (2)), followed by the pf. with waw conv. (*ib.* § 113). The change from מוסר (Du. מוסרה) to והיתה is strange, unless דמשק is acc. to מוסר (cp. *e.g.* Ps 87^{3}; G–K. 121*b*).—מעיר] a poetical breviloquence for מהיות עיר: cp. 7^{8} 52^{14}; BDB 583*a*.—**1, 2.** והיתה כעי מפלה עובות ערי ערער] 𝔊 *καὶ ἔσται εἰς πτῶσιν καταλελιμμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* = והיתה מפלה עובת עדי עד(ל). The non-form מעי in 𝔓 is a scribal error later than 𝔊: not, however, for לעי (Di.), but through dittography of [ר]מעי. For the rest, 𝔊 is near the original text: read עֲזֻבַת עַד (ל)מפלה והיתה, which balances the preceding

* Ges., Hitz., Che. (*SBOT*), Whitehouse. † (𝔊), Del.
‡ Jer., Eichh., Ew., Di., Du., Skinner, Marti.

parallel line, and then עריה as subj. of תהיינה; with עֻזֶּבֶת עִר cp. חֶרֶת עולם, Jer 20^{17b}, and see Kön. iii. 336*q*. The detection of עריה is due to Lag. and Du.—מַפָּלָה] here †, but מַפֵּלָה, 23^{13} 25^{2} †.—**3.** If the poem showed any other trace of the 3 : 2 rhythm, the text of 𝔐 down to מרמשק need awaken no suspicion; the remainder too, could, of course, be construed, שאר ארם being *casus pendens* before יהיו (RVmarg.) rather than a clause coupled with מרמשק (RV); but however taken it would be rhythmically quite unlike the rest of the poem, and also lacking in parallelism. The first and third lines seem to be correct; each of the intervening clauses has probably lost a word: after מרמשק perhaps תַּעֲבֹר, *shall pass away*, or יִשָּׂא (cp. 8^{4}), has dropped out. 𝔊 paraphrases throughout, and on the whole remarkably well: it is doubtful whether it read differently except כְּכבוד for כבוד and perhaps תהיו for יהיו. Du. proposes יאבד for ככבוד; but it is hazardous to claim 𝔊 for this, for *οὐ γὰρ σὺ βελτίων εἶ* is probably a paraphrase of ככבוד, and *καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν* at the end of the v. a subsequent addition to 𝔊.

4–6. The fate of Ephraim.—4. The nation is personified (cp. 1^{5} n.) as a man whose *glory*, i.e. reputation among his neighbours, will become slight (through lack of children: cp. Hos 9^{11-16}; ct. Ps 127), and whose once well-nourished body will become lean (cp. 10^{16}). Or possibly, with the precarious support of 10^{16}, we might render *his glory . . . will become impoverished* (cp. adj. דל), *i.e.* Jacob will exchange the outward marks in dress, etc., of a prosperous man for the garb of a pauper. *Glory* is not, as in 5^{13} (n.), *dignitaries*, *the nobility*; for this would make Jacob the literal nation in v.^{4a}, the personified nation in v.^{4b}.—**5, 6.** The point of these verses is clear: compared with what the population was before, the survivors in the Northern kingdom will be as few as the ears of corn left uncut, or dropped by the reapers, or as the olive berries still left on a tree after it has been beaten (נקף, 24^{13}, cp. 10^{34}; חבט, Dt 24^{20}) with poles to bring down the crop. But in 𝔐 these comparisons are awkwardly expressed. V.$^{5a.\ b}$ alone sufficiently suggests the figure from corn harvest: still it may have been followed by a distich completing the figure by reference to the few ears left for gleaners: cp. the completion of the figure of the olive crop. But v.^{5c} (left untranslated above), which is rhythmically defective, instead of completing the figure, starts off as if it were a fresh figure, *And it shall be as a gleaner of ears of corn in the vale of Rephaim*, a fruitful vale in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (Jos 15^{8}). These words are probably either a gloss (Marti) or a mutilated distich. In v.^{6} the difficulties are even more serious; עללות means the gleaning of grapes, or olives, not the gleaning of grain.

which is expressed by לקט (so v.^{5b}); consequently v.^{6a} is no proper continuation of v.^{5c}; and בו, *therein*, or *thereof*, cannot refer to the vale of Rephaim. RV is thus doubly misleading, for *gleaning* in English without any qualification suggests gleaning of grain. Further, in 𝔐 the figure of the olives, which is the real parallel to v.$^{5a.\ b}$, can refer directly to Jacob only if בו, meaning *of him* (1^{3} n.), resumes the distant יעקב of v.^{4}; otherwise it is a comparison within a comparison. For Marti's emendation adopted above, which avoids these improbabilities, see phil. n.—*Reaps off the ears*] in reaping, the stalks of corn were reaped near the top, so that little more than the ears were cut off: see *EBi.*, *Agriculture*, § 7, with illustrations.—**6.** *Two* (or) *three* . . . *four* (or) *five*] an indefinite but trivial number: cp. 2 K 9^{32}, Hos 6^{2}, Jer 36^{23}, and see G–K. 134*s*.—*The fruit tree*] *hap-poriyyah*, with a punning reference to the popular etymology of Ephraim; Gn 49^{24}, Hos 13^{15}.

5. קציר] *harvest*, would be superfluous before קמה: either קציר also meant *harvester*, or קָצַר must be read.—יקצר . . . זרעו] one of the rare instances of זרע being masc. (G–K. 122*n*; Kön. 249*d*); or an instance of the "double subject" (G–K. 144*l*, *m*).—**5, 6.** Against the present text, see Comm. כמלקט שבלים בעמק רפאים is a gloss or mutilated distich: then by transposition read רפאים—והיה כנקף זית ונשאר בו עללות] 𝔊 στερεᾷ: ct. 14^{9} 26^{19}. Che. rather precariously reads אבירים on the authority of 𝔊.—עללות] possibly, as in NH (see Levy), this meant not only *gleaning*, but *berries* picked after the crop had been gathered (cp. AV): then גרגרים in the next line may be a gloss: its omission assimilates lines 6b. c and gives a better balance.—אמיר] v.^{9}, Gn 49^{21}, both doubtful: in Gen. the meaning *upper branch*, *crown*, would be suitable: for evidence that the root implied height, see BDB 55*b*.—בסעיפה פריה] read בסעפי הפריה: it is not a case of the anticipative suffix (G–K. 131*n*).

7, 8. Mankind will reject their idols and turn to the God of Israel, the Maker of all men.—The insertion of this passage, with its universal outlook, between vv.$^{1-6}$ and $^{9-11}$, which are strictly limited in their outlook to Damascus and Ephraim, may be due to an interpolator; as an alternative it might be held that the verses are a misplaced *conclusion* to the poem: they would stand less awkwardly after v.^{11}. The ideas rather suggest a relatively late writer: cp., with the thought of Yahweh as Maker, 51^{13} 54^{5}; of the idols as man made, 44$^{9-20}$. On the other hand, the wide outlook has its parallel in Is (2$^{10.\ 11.\ 17}$, cp. perhaps 2^{20} 30^{22}, Hos 8^{14}); cp., further, 1^{29}; and note קדוש ישראל (1^{4} n. 12^{6} n.) and על (22^{4}) שעה (31^{1}).

8. *The work of his hands . . . what his fingers have made*] these parallel and synonymous expressions mean idols: cp. 2^{8} 31^{7} 37^{19}, Hos 14^{4}, Mic 5^{12}, Dt 4^{28}. An early annotator, whose notes have crept into the text, destroying the rhythm and spoiling the style, erroneously understood by the first term *the* (multiplicity of) *altars* condemned by Dt., and by the second, less erroneously but too specifically, *the Asherim*, i.e. the wooden pillars which stood beside the old Canaanite altars, but which were forbidden in the worship of Yahweh (cp. Ex 34^{13}, Jg 6^{25}, Dt 16^{21}), and *the ḥammanim* (27^{9}, Lv 26^{30}, Ezk $6^{4.6}$, 2 Ch 14^{4} $34^{4.7}$†, ct. 2 K 23), which were objects, probably of stone or metal, associated with heathen altars, and perhaps a special form of *maṣṣebah* (19^{19} n.). The rendering *sun-images* (RV), which suggests that these objects were specially or exclusively used in the worship of the sun, rests on a questionable derivation from the late Hebrew word חַמָּה, *sun*: see Moore in *EBi.* 2976; G. A. Cooke, *NSI*, p. 104; Ges–B. *s.v.*; L. B. Paton, art. "Baal," in *Encyc. of Rel. and Ethics*, especially pp. 287 f.

8. והאשרים והחמנים] either the first waw is the *waw explicativum* that is often found in glosses (Haupt in *SBOT*), or the two waws = *both . . . and* (BDB, 253*a*).—חמן] cp. in Palm. לשמש . . . חמנא דנה ועלתא דה, *this ḥamman and this altar . . . to Shamash*—Cooke, *NSI*, no. 136 (A.D. 85): cp. Lidz. *Eph.* ii. p. 280 (A.D. 108). In the frequent Punic epithet בעלחמן, חמן may be attributive (cp. עברחמן) rather than the cult object in the gen.

9–11. Ephraim in the hour of calamity will get no help from her heathen cults. — **9.** *Thy cities shall be abandoned*] so 𝔊; 𝔙 has instead *the cities in which he finds refuge*, or *asylum*; with מעוז, *asylum*, cp. העיזו, 10^{31} n. 𝔊, with its transition from the 3rd pers. of vv.[4-6] to the 2nd pers. of address at the beginning of the strophe, is preferable to 𝔙, where the same transition does not take place till v.[10].—*Forsaken* (*ruins*) *of the Amorites and the Hivites*] cp. 𝔊; this may be correct, though the reference to Hivites, who apparently formed a rather insignificant part of the old Canaanitish population, is a little suspicious; for Amorites, cp. Am $2^{9f.}$. 𝔙 is supposed to mean, *like the forsaken* (*ruins*) *of the wood and the mountain top*; for a defence of this, see Del. 𝔊 supplies, what 𝔙 does not, a personal antecedent for the following words, *which they forsook* (so far 𝔙 only; 𝔊 om.) *from before the children of Israel* —a prosaic clause, and probably an annotation.—*And it shall*

become a desolation] these words, too, are rhythmically suspicious, and the context does not explain the subject: they may be a further gloss (Du.), or perhaps a fragment of another distich.—**10a. b.** To the ideas and expressions of these lines many parallels may be found in Deut. and later literature; see, *e.g.*, Dt $8^{11\text{-}19}$ 32^{18}; and for *the God of thy salvation*, Ps 18^{41} (‖ "my rock") 25^{5} 27^{9} 62^{7}; for the *Rock thy Refuge*, see Ps 31^{3}, and compare the similar combinations in Ps 62^{8} 89^{27} 95^{1} 94^{22}. On account of this late ring about the v., and the generality of the charge against Ephraim, Marti thinks the lines are a glossator's attempt to assign the cause for Ephraim's fate.—*Adonis-plantations . . .* (*vine-*) *cuttings of an alien* (*god*)] the adj. זר, *alien* (1^{8} n.), appears to be an abbreviation here for the full phrase *alien god* (Ps 44^{21} 81^{10}), cp. אחר, *another* = *another god*, in Ps 16^{4}. This parallelism suggests that נעמנים in the previous line refers to some deity, though direct proof that Tammuz (Ezk 8^{14}), known to the Greek as Adonis (אדון), was known in Syria by the name or epithet Naʿaman is not forthcoming. But whatever be the exact explanation of נעמנים, there is little doubt that the prophet is alluding to a custom similar to, if not in all respects identical with, the gardens of Adonis described by Greek writers. These gardens "were baskets or pots filled with earth, in which wheat, barley, lettuce, pease, and various kinds of flowers were sown and tended for eight days. . . . Fostered by the sun's heat, the plants shot up rapidly, but having no root, withered as rapidly away. . . . These gardens are most naturally interpreted as representatives of Adonis or manifestations of his powers. . . . The rapid growth of the wheat and barley in the garden of Adonis was intended to make the corn shoot up."* Some think that the prominent part taken by women in these rites accounts for Israel being here addressed in the 2nd pers. fem. The point of the prophet seems to be: you may resort to foreign gods, they will leave you helpless in the day of calamity; you may plant these symbols of fertility and bring them without difficulty to leaf and blossom, but the harvest you wish to secure thereby will never come. The text of the last two lines is uncertain and the exact meaning doubtful (see phil. n.): if the day of calamity is there described as *the day of sickness and incurable*

* Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2], ii. 120, 121; see, further, the authors cited by him, and in *EBi.*, art. "Adonis"; Che. *SBOT*, p. 146 (with illustration).

pain, Du. may be right in inferring that the women used the plants of Adonis, or their produce, as magical cures.

9. ערי מעוז] 𝔊 *αἱ πόλεις σου ἐγκαταλελιμμέναι*=עריך עזבת. Cond. proposes ערי מעוך, *thy strong cities*—possible, but *not* the reading of 𝔊.—כעזבת] 𝔊 *ὃν τρόπον κατέλιπον οἱ Ἀμορραῖοι καὶ οἱ Εὐαῖοι ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ*=כעזובת האמרי והחוי כפני בני יש׳; 𝔊 either neglects, or more probably did not read, אשר עובו, a phrase which may have been inserted between the date of 𝔊 and the transposition and corruption of האמרי והחוי into החרש והאמיר.—**10.** נטעי נעמנים] if this is a "double" pl. (G-K. 124*q*) of נטע נעמן, meaning *plantations of Naʿaman* (cp. Gk. *κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος*), it is a unique instance of the genitive being a proper name. 𝔊 paraphrases both נעמנים here and זר in the next line by *ἄπιστον*, probably detecting in each case a reference to false worship.—זורענו] the suffix is supposed to refer to the place of planting, which may be understood from, but is not mentioned in, the context. More probably the ו should go with ביום in v.[11] and תורען (G-K. 47*o*), or תורעי, 2nd fem., like the neighbouring vbs., was originally read here.—**11.** תשגשני should be Pilpel of שוג or שגג; שׂוּג, שׂגג, and שׂוּג do not occur elsewhere in Heb., and שגג, *to wander*, with which 𝔊 connects it, yields no sense. Ges., Di., RV, BDB connect the present form with סוג (Ca 7[3]†—common in Aramaic), *to fence about*: Ḳi., Ibn Ezra, AV, Du., Marti give it the meaning *to cause to grow*, cp. שׂגא, שׂגה, *to grow, grow great*.—נד] 𝔊 (*εἰς*), 𝔗 *perhaps* read עד, which is hardly right; but see Ges-B. MT (AV, RVmarg.) נֶד, *a heap* (of water, Ex 15[8], Jos 3[13. 16], Ps 33[7] 78[13]†, is very improbable; נַד, 3rd pf. of נדד, *to flee away* (cp. 21[15] 22[3]), is more probable; but even this is doubtful.—ביום נחלה] *the day of inheritance* (AVmarg.) would be the most obvious rendering, but in the context an unsuitable meaning. 𝔖, Ḳi., Ibn Ezra, and most modern commentators render *in the day of sickness*, taking נחלה, Niph. Part. of חלה, as elliptical for מכה נחלה (Jer 14[17]), or as itself substantival (cp. נחרצה, 10[23] n.).—ובאב אנוש] 𝔊 *καὶ ὡς πατὴρ ἀνθρώπου κληρώσῃ τοῖς υἱοῖς σου*: this perhaps rests on a longer text than 𝔐. 𝔙 in v.[11c. d] is doubtful; see the preceding notes, and note that the rhythm is questionable. Cp. Jer 30[15] אנוש מכאבך.

XVII. 12–14.—*The roar of the peoples stilled.*

The opening interjection הוי stands by itself (see p. 89): the first five words of v.[13] (omitted in the translation) are a dittograph (with one slight variant) of the last five words of v.[12]; כבירים has accidentally shifted from v.[12c] to [d]: in v.[14a] makkeph לעת־ערב; v.[13a] is short in 𝔐, but יהוה should be added; and [13d] is a short concluding line unless ל be original (see phil. n.) and לבזזינו be read as two accents. The little poem consisted of 3 : 3 distichs, two distichs making a strophe.

Ah!

12 The booming of many peoples!
Like the booming of seas they boom!
And the roar of mighty nations!
As with the roar of waters do they roar! ∧ ∧ ∧

[13] But [Yahweh] shall rebuke him,
And he shall flee far away and be pursued—
Like chaff of the mountains before the wind,
And as the whirling (dust) before the tempest.

[14] At eventide—lo! terror,
Ere morning he shall be no more.
This (shall be) the lot of them that spoil us,
And the portion of them that plunder us.

The poem describes a future that unfolds itself to its prophetic author; under the figure of a stormy sea, suggested perhaps by the ancient myth of the conflict between the primeval flood and the Creator, the first strophe depicts the onset of a vast army; the army's goal is not stated, we may pretty safely assume that Jerusalem was in the poet's mind. The second strophe predicts the scattering and flight of this menacing power; this is to be the result of the rebuke of One who, in the present text, is unnamed; unquestionably Yahweh is intended. The third strophe dwells on the suddenness and completeness with which the peril will pass, yet in its closing distich alludes to the spoliation and plunder to which the poet's countrymen (the Jews) are subject as he writes.

Thus the poem seems to imply an invasion (of Judah), and the writer's conviction that worse is yet to threaten, but at the last moment, and suddenly, by the will of Yahweh, to be averted.

The poem is thus the prophetic anticipation of such a course of events as is attributed in ch. 36 f. (cp. especially $37^{36f.}$) to Sennacherib's campaign against Palestine, and in particular Judah, in 701. It is therefore assigned to Isaiah, and referred to that date by many scholars; by others with much less reason to other periods of Isaiah's activity — to 735 (Hitz., Del.) or *c.* 723 (Che. *Introd.*).

Since Assyria is not mentioned, it is, of course, possible that this poem, like Ps 46, was not actually written at the time of Sennacherib's campaign, but is merely reminiscent of the story of that campaign, and predictive of a similar issue out of like dangers in some later age.

Mainly on the ground of the reference to "many nations" (v.[12]), Sta. (*ZATW*, 1883, p. 16) and Marti consider the poem to be later than the age of Isaiah, and to refer, like 5^{30} $10^{33f.}$, Jl

4^{14}, Ps 46, to the fruitless assault of the nations of the world on Jerusalem. But it may be questioned whether this view so well accounts for the transition from the plurality of nations in v.[12] to the singular in vv.[13-14b], as the more commonly accepted explanation that the nations of v.[12] are the many diverse peoples that composed the Assyrian army, and that the singular of v.[13f.], as in 5^{25-29} 10^{5} etc., is Assyria itself; in v.[14c. d] the plural is distributive, the Assyrians, rather than a resumption of the plurals, *nations*, *peoples*, in v.[12].

The arguments against the Isaianic authorship are inconclusive; those in favour of it are as strong as from the nature of the case could be expected.

The question has been much discussed whether 17^{12-14} is (*a*) an independent poem or (Lowth, Eich., Che., Marti) fragment, or (*b*) the conclusion of 17^{1-11} (Del. al.), or (*c*) the introductory strophe of a poem completed in ch. 18 (Ges., Ew., Di., Du., Cond.). Against c. is the fact that 17^{14} certainly reads like the end of a poem (cp. Jg 5^{31}), as is admitted by Ges., and that 18^{1}, with its apostrophe to a land not contemplated in 17^{12-14}, is best taken as independent. The similar outlook in $17^{13f.}$ and 18^{3-6} does not prove that both passages formed part of the same poem; and even if 18^{6} calls for an explanation of the pronoun *they*, 17^{14} supplies it very ill. Far less probable is the view that 17^{12-14} is the conclusion of 17^{1-11}; not only is the strophic structure of the two pieces apparently different, but no satisfactory connection can be established.

12. Cp. 13^{4} of the tumultuous onset of the Medes against Babylon, and Jl 4^{14} of the final and fruitless assault of the nations on Jerusalem. With the present comparison of an army to threatening waters, cp. 8^{7}.—**13.** *Yahweh*] since the word is emphatic it can scarcely be supplied in thought, but must have fallen out of the text.—*Him*] Assyria: cp. for the use of the singular, 5^{26-29}.—For the power of Yahweh's rebuke, which is but a special form of the power of His word (9^{7} n.), see Ps 9^{6} 76^{7} 104^{7} 106^{9}.—*Like chaff of the mountains*] chaff winnowed on the lofty and windy places which were chosen by preference for winnowing. For the figure, see especially 29^{5}.—*Whirling* (*dust*)] גלגל parallel here to מץ as in Ps 83^{14} to קש.—**14.** Suddenly all is over: cp. especially $37^{36f.}$, also Ps 30^{6}, Job 27^{19}.

12. ימים] pl. as in Gn 1^{10} (P), Dn 11^{45}, and poetry of all periods, *e.g.* Jg 5^{17}, Gn 49^{13}, Ezk 27^{4}, Ps 78^{27}.—יהמיון] for the radical ' and the ending ין, see G-K. 75*u* and 47*m*. See also 31^{3}, and in late passages 21^{12} 26^{11} 33^{7} 41^{5}.—ושאון לאמים כשאון מים כבירים ישאון] symmetry of structure and rhythm with v.[12a b.] is obtained by transposing כבירים and placing it after לאמים; a trace of this

reading is perhaps to be found in 𝔊 *καὶ νῶτος ἐθνῶν πολλῶν ὡς ὕδωρ ἠχήσει.* —13. ישאון . . . לאמים] 𝔖 omits; the words are dittographic.—ונער בו] both the shortness of the line and the need for direct reference to יהוה indicate some loss in the text.—כמץ הרים] Cond. suggests הורים in place of הרים: cp. 𝔊 *ὡς χνοῦν ἀχύρου λικμώντων*, and note ורה = *λικμᾶν*, 30^{22} 41^{16} etc. Others omit הרים altogether on the ground of metre (Kit., Box); but if רדף be taken with ונם מכרחק, as it should be, the metrical objection falls to the ground.—14. לעת ערב והנה] cp. בחלמי והנה, Gn 40^{9}; but this use of ו except with the "consecutives" is more or less uncommon (BDB 254*b* bot.). 𝔊 *πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ ἔσται*, *possibly* והיה instead of והנה.—ואיננו] 𝔊 and some Heb. MSS ואיננו: then cp. last n. —לבוזיכו] the ל, if not dittographic from גורל, was perhaps deliberately preferred for rhythmical reasons.

XVIII.–XX.—*Egypt and Ethiopia.*

In these chapters several prophecies dealing with Cush and Miṣraim (Introd. §§ 68 f.), *i.e.*, on the usual interpretation of these terms, with Ethiopia and Egypt, are here grouped together. One of these was derived from the "Book of Oracles" on foreign nations (see 19^{1}), the rest probably from different sources (Introd. § 34).

XVIII.—*The Dismissal of the (Ethiopian) Envoys.*

Special Literature:—H. Winckler, *Das Land Kuš u. Jes.* 18 in *AT Untersuchungen*, 146–156; Stade, *de Isaiae vatic. Aeth*, 1873.

Vv.$^{3-6}$ consist of distichs of lines parallel in sense (except v.$^{4a.\ b}$), and balanced in rhythm (except v.$^{6a.\ b}$ which is 4 : 2, and $^{6c.\ d}$ which is most easily read as 3 : 4). The length of the balanced distichs is mostly 3 : 3, but it is 2 : 2 in v.$^{3a.\ b}$ and 4 : 4 in vv.$^{4c.\ d.\ 5a.\ b}$. In vv.$^{1.\ 2}$ both rhythm and parallelism have probably been disturbed by textual corruption; v.$^{2a.\ b}$ is 3 : 3; v.$^{2c.\ g}$ look at present like isolated *stichoi*; what intervenes between ^{2c} and ^{g} is perhaps an expansion of a distich; for suggestions with regard to $^{1b.\ 2c.\ g}$ see below. In vv.$^{3-6}$ two distichs form a strophe.

[1] Ah! land of the whirring (?) of wings,
Which is beyond the rivers of Cush!
[2] Which sendeth envoys (?) on the sea,
And ∧ vessels of papyrus on the face of the water.

Go, ye fleet messengers,
To a nation tall (?) and of polished appearance (?),
To a people terrible . . .
A nation mighty (?) and down-treading,
Whose land rivers dissect (?).

[3] All ye inhabitants of the world,
And dwellers on earth,
When a mountain-signal is raised, see!
When the trumpet is blown, hearken!

[4] For thus hath Yahweh said to me,
I will be quiet and look forth in my abode,
Like the dazzling heat above the light,
Like a cloud of night-mist in 'time' of harvest.

[5] For before the harvest, when the blossom is over,
And the seed-berry becomes a ripening grape;
The branches shall be cut off with pruning-knives,
And the tendrils removed, cut away.

[6] They shall be abandoned one and all to the carrion birds of the mountains,
And to the beasts of the land;
And the carrion birds shall summer upon them,
And all the beasts of the land shall winter upon them.

An obscure and difficult poem, obscure too, if, as Marti has argued, it is rather a combination of different short poems (vv.[1. 2. 4]; [3]; [5. 6]—the last being the misplaced conclusion of 17^{1-11}).

The poem opens with an apostrophe to a land (v.[1]) which has sent (or, is sending) envoys by water, v.[2a. b]. V.[2c-g] contains words addressed to these envoys, bidding them depart to a people some of whose national characteristics, such as their might and their power to inspire terror, are particularised, and whose land is described as dissected (?) by rivers. V.[3] is a warning, addressed to the world at large, to give heed when signals of war shall appear. In v.[4], the poet claims to have received a revelation that Yahweh will watch immovable, unseen, unshaken. V.[5], under the figure of a grape-crop ripening to the vintage, predicts calamity and destruction, which in v.[6] are more literally described—certain people, unnamed, will perish and lie long unburied, a prey to carrion birds and beasts.

Not to speak here of difficulties of connection between the parts (see below on vv.[3] and [5]), the poem yields no clear and unambiguous answer to the following questions among others which are yet necessarily raised by it:—1. What is the land

addressed in v.[1]? 2. Who delivers to the envoys the message recorded in v.[2]? 3. Who, or what, is figured forth by the ripening crops of v.[5]? 4. Who are the people that are to lie unburied?

V.[1b] seems to distinguish the land apostrophised in v.[1a] from the land of Cush as one more remote from the Jewish writer: nevertheless it is customary to identify "the land beyond the rivers of Cush" with the land of Cush itself. Further, with the exception of Winckler,*—who at one time regarded Cush as Kash, *i.e.* Southern Babylonia, a land of canals, swamps, and reed-thickets, and infested with insects,—most writers identify Cush with "Ethiopia," with the country, that is to say, which the Egyptians called K'š and Kš.

If we disregard v.[1b] as being a gloss, or rendered unintelligible through corruption, we may perhaps infer from the description in v.[2b. d-f] (see notes) that the unnamed land apostrophised is Ethiopia, and see in vv.[1. 2] some trace of "wonder at the mysterious country and of regard for its people who by their advance against Egypt had won [from *c.* 712 B.C. onwards] a place among the leading powers of their time" (A. Alt, *Israel u. Egypten*, p. 83). V.[2g] is less favourable to this identification.

As to the second question: the general tenor of the message in v.[2c-g] is against the view, implied by the insertion of *saying* in EV, that it is addressed to the envoys by those who despatched them; it rather contains the words in which the poet himself bids the (Ethiopian) envoys depart from Jerusalem and return home. Yet the use of the word *Go*, rather than *return*, makes it particularly difficult for the reader to seize the dramatic movement of the poem. Did some such line as "Return to your place, ye envoys," originally precede, and form the parallel to, the now isolated line, [2c]?

Questions 3 and 4 may be answered together; if v.[2] is the courteous refusal on the part of the Jews of help from Ethiopia, vv.[5f.] are best regarded as a prediction of the overthrow of the Assyrians. Still this interpretation is anything but obvious, and would remain so even if 17[12-14] were the opening verses of the poem (see p. 305). If 18[5f.] stood after 17[11] (Marti), the reference would suit the Ephraimites equally well. Another alternative (Jer.), that the people who are to perish are the people

* *ATUntersuchungen*, 146 ff.; but see later, *KAT*[3] 271 n. 1.

of the land apostrophised in v.[1], has in its favour that these are the only people yet mentioned in the poem, but against it that the tone of vv.[1f.] scarcely suggests such a conclusion.

If the poem refers to an Ethiopian embassy to Jerusalem, it was written not earlier than the foundation of the Ethiopian dynasty by Sabako about 712 B.C. (Introd. § 71), and may, with most probability, be assigned to the year 702 B.C.

1. *Ah!*] simply exclamatory: cp. 55[1], Zec 2[10f. (6f.)], Jer 47[6]; ct. 1[4] 5[8] 10[5] 17[12].—*Land of the whirring of wings*] or *land of winged locusts*, are the safest renderings of 𝔐. "Merchants will have brought home the usual travellers' tales of the wealth of the distant country in insects, in order to maintain a high price for the wares brought thence and to frighten rivals away" (Du.). But on this or any such interpretation the polite address to the envoys (v.[2]) begins with an offensive apostrophe—O insect-infested land! Ges. interprets *wings* as meaning *armies* (cp. 8[8]?); Che. in *SBOT* (Eng. tr.), p. 160, with more ingenuity than probability, combines both meanings: "the flies of Ethiopia, with the metallic clang of their wings, are a symbol of the swarming and warlike population of that country." Other translations that have been proposed are (1) *land of winged*, i.e. swift, *boats*:* this is philologically ill-supported, and anticipates v.[2]; (2) *land of the shadow of both sides*; this has been supposed to mean either (*a*) the land over which shadow is cast by mountains on both sides of it, to wit, the mountains which flank the Nile valley on the E. and the W.; or (*b*) the land where objects at noon-day sometimes cast a shadow to the N. and sometimes to the S. This phenomenon was indeed observed some centuries later (Strabo, ii. 5. 37), but it is highly improbable that it is alluded to in the present obscure phrase. The text may be corrupt; as it stands it seems to be unintelligible: the interpretations cited here and others that have been offered are either philologically unsound or, in the context, of doubtful fitness; see, further, phil. n.—*Which is beyond the river of Cush*] cp. "from beyond the rivers of Cush they shall bring tribute," Zeph 3[10]; in Zeph. a vague term for a remote region is in place:

* Ew.; cp. 𝔊, 𝔗, Ḳi.; the comment of the last is, "he describes the land as צלצל כנפים on account of the number of boats in it. For when their sails are spread, they resemble wings, and the boats move by means of them as birds fly by means of their wings. And the sails cast a shadow (צל)."

not so here; the country in question is one which has sent envoys who are now in Jerusalem. Cush is the Egyptian K'š or Kš. The Egyptian government district of Kš extended from Elephantine at the first cataract to the fourth cataract just above Napata.* At Napata the Ethiopian dynasty which Sabako, about 712 B.C., established over Egypt had its capital, and from Napata any Ethiopian embassy would presumably have come. But from Elephantine to Napata, and indeed for some distance further south, the country is a country not of rivers, but of a single River, the Nile. Some way south of Napata, at about 18° and 15° North respectively, the Nile is joined by important affluents from the S.E. Though the Egyptian province of Kš did not extend so far south, the name Kš may have covered this remoter country, and *the rivers of Cush* may be the Nile and one or both of these affluents. A land *beyond* these rivers should naturally be a land more remote; and if we should be right in treating the Nile and its first affluent as the rivers of Cush, the *land beyond* should be the district of Meroe; in his description of Moses' campaign southwards against the Ethiopians Jos. (*Ant.* II. 10^2) describes this district as "encompassed by the Nile quite round, and the other rivers Astapus and Astaboras made it a very difficult thing for such as attempted to pass over them," *i.e.* to Josephus, Meroe lay beyond the rivers. But historical difficulties would beset this interpretation: it was not until after the overthrow of the Ethiopian dynasty towards the middle of the 7th century B.C. that the Ethiopians appear to have moved their capital to Meroe,† and at no time after this is there any probability of an Ethiopian embassy to Jerusalem. Earlier interpreters endeavoured to escape some of the difficulties of the phrase by illegitimate translations, substituting *on this side of*, or *along the side of*, for *beyond*: thus Jer. and among modern commentators Hitz., see in the country intended not Ethiopia, but Egypt. But most modern interpreters, except Winckler as cited on p. 306, rest content with assuming that a country can be described as lying beyond its own rivers, although that country is a country of a single river, or at least has no second river until its remotest parts are reached. Even if

* See Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 136, 255, 325, and *Ancient Records*, ii. 1020, 1025; W. Max Müller in *EBi*, *s.v. Ethiopia*.

† Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 560 f.

the *plural* נהרי could mean not *the rivers*, but *the* (great) *river* (Haupt in *SBOT*), *lying beyond the river of Cush* would still be a strange way of describing Cush itself, for Cush is the narrow strip of fertile soil on *both* sides of the Nile. A phrase so difficult of interpretation in the context seems little more likely to be due to a glossator (Du., al.) than to the author of the poem: but if v.^{1b} is a gloss, the 2nd line of the original opening distich of the poem perhaps survives in the now isolated line ^{2g} (Che., Marti).—**2.** *Envoys*] צירים; so 57^{9} (as here after שלח), Jer 49^{14} = Ob^{1} (followed by ח(ו)שלי), Pr 13^{17} (‖ מלאך: cp. v.^{2} here) 25^{13} (ציר נאמן לשלחיו). *Possibly* צירים is an error for ציים (Wi.), *galleys* (33^{21}), which would be a more exact parallel to *vessels of papyrus* in the next line (𝔊, not 𝔐).—*The sea*] probably here and in 19^{5}, Nah 3^{8}, *the sea* means the Nile, though this is disputed by Wi. So in mod. Arabic the Nile is called *El-baḥr*, *the sea*. Perhaps the Euphrates also is once or twice called *the sea* in the OT: 21^{1}, Jer 51^{36}?.—*And vessels*] cp. 𝔊 (see phil. n.); 𝔐 *and in vessels*; if *envoys* is rightly read in the previous line, perhaps *in vessels* was the original reading here. But the parallelism of *on the sea* and *on the face of the waters* suggests that v.^{2b} was parallel and not complementary to ^{2a}.—*Vessels of papyrus*] boats that were light and, therefore, swift, suitable for the Nile, but not for the open sea; cp. the synonymous expression אניות אבה, Job 9^{26} and see *EBi.* 4478. The word גמא, *papyrus*, or *rush* (35^{7}, Ex 2^{3}, Job 8^{11}†), does not *necessarily* point to Egypt, for see 35^{7}, but it entirely fits in with the theory that the envoys come from the Nile valley.

2c–g. Isaiah bids the Ethiopian envoys depart; Judah cannot accept the alliance they have come to proffer. This interpretation * assumes great compression, not to say obscurity, but it is preferable to the alternative that makes the words an address of the Ethiopians to their envoys as they set out on their mission to the Jews.† The *nation*, or *people*, to whom the envoys are bidden return (or go) are described in lines d. e. f. by a series of epithets; of these epithets the meaning of one only is clear and unambiguous; but since *a terrible nation* is in the context a complimentary epithet, we may assume that the others are of like character. Probably line d. describes characteristic

* Adopted by Ew., Del., Du., Che., Marti, Whitehouse.
† 𝔗, Jer., Rashi, Ḳi., AV, RV.

and admired features of the people, e. its fame, and f. its conquering might. *Tall* is an unparalleled meaning of ממישך, *inferred** from meanings which would more usually be conveyed by the words *drawn*, *drawn along*, as, *e.g.*, a waggon (5^{18}), or *prolonged* (cp. Ps 36^{11}). Ges. infers the meaning *strong*, and refers to other guesses. Hitz., as an alternative to *polished*, suggests (*whose days are*) *prolonged*: cp. "the long-lived Ethiopians," Herod. iii. 17, cp. 23. Ḳi., keeping nearer to the normal meaning, understood the epithet to refer to the Jews dragged away by the nations of the world: hence AV *scattered*, RVmarg. *dragged away*. *Of polished appearance*,† is an unparalleled meaning of מורט, which would more commonly mean *with hair plucked out* (cp. 50^{6}), or *scoured*, *polished* (of bronze utensils, 1 K 7^{45}). RV *smooth*, embodies an interpretation given by Del., "polished especially by depilation and, therefore, not marred by a disfiguring growth of hair"; but the numerous derivatives from the root מרט in Heb., Arabic, and Syriac refer to an undesirable removal or absence of hair. If the meanings of ממישך and מורט given above are approximately correct, we may compare 45^{14} and Herodotus' (iii. 20) description of the Ethiopians as "the tallest and most beautiful of men." There is no reason why the Hebrews should not have admired the burnished copper colour of the Ethiopians, for even Jer 13^{23} need not be interpreted as though the ancient Hebrew shared the modern white man's objection to colour.—*Terrible*] *far and wide*, or *from its beginning onward*, are renderings proposed for the words מן הוא והלאה that follow *terrible*. Possibly they are a corruption of a second epithet meaning *famous*, or something similar: see phil. n.—*Mighty*] uncertain (see phil. n.), but RV *that measures out*, viz. in allotting the lands which it has conquered, is not more probable. — *Down-treading*] *down-trodden* (cp. AV, RVmarg.) would be also possible, if the epithets were not complimentary; see above.—*Whose land the rivers divide*] and render fruitful seems to be the suggestion; but the meaning of the vb. is uncertain: see phil. n. Ethiopia is divided by a single river, the Nile: see above on v.^{1b}. Omitting *land*, Marti places this line, *which the rivers divide*, immediately after ^{1a}.

3. A warning addressed not in particular to the envoys (v.^{2})

* 𝔊, Koppe, Ew., Del., Di., Che., Du., Marti.
† Hitz., Che., Di., Du., Marti.

or their countrymen, but to the world at large. Yahweh is about to manifest His might to the nations: when the signals are given, let all men give heed. Possibly the v. is the work of an eschatological supplementer (Marti) to whom the embassy of v.[2] was of no importance, and who had no particular interest in the land from which it came; note that חבל, frequent in later literature, never occurs elsewhere in Isaiah: cp. 13^{11} n. For the raising of *the signal*, see 5^{26} 13^{2}, Jer 51^{27}; for the blowing of *the trumpet*, Jer 4^{5} 51^{27}.—*Mountain-signal*] *mountain* is required neither by the parallelism nor by the rhythm, and should perhaps be omitted: see phil. n.

4. Go away: we need no human alliance; *for* Yahweh has assured me of His purpose: He is sufficient. Such seems to be the connection. In real life it would have been inconvenient to leave unexpressed what most concerned the Ethiopians, viz. the refusal of their alliance; but the poem is not a précis of Isaiah's interview with them; it was written not for them, but for his countrymen.—**4a.** So 8^{11}.—**4b–d.** *I will be quiet and look forth*] the two verbs might be freely rendered *untroubled I will watch.* The clause expresses not unconcerned inactivity, but observation free from anxiety as to the issue. It is true the verb שקט may be used of God's inactivity, so Ps 83^{2}: cp. Jer $47^{6f.}$, Is 62^{1}; but it is also used to express freedom from annoyance or care; see Ezk 16^{42}, Ru 3^{18}, and, especially, the uses of the Niphil in reference to men in 7^{4} 30^{15} 32^{17}. The vb. הביט, *look forth*, is used of the divine observation of the world and its inhabitants and needs; so Ps $33^{13f.}$ 80^{15}, La 5^{1}, Is 63^{15}.—The world may be in turmoil, but Yahweh undisturbed keeps watch, in readiness for action in His *sure abode* which cannot be shaken—"ut Judaei putant, in Templo; ut nos, in coelestibis" (Jer.). Whatever the reference, and Jerome was probably right, the term (מכון) is significant, and is inadequately represented by *dwelling-place* (RV): it is a place which is firmly fixed, which endures and cannot be shaken: cp. the use of the vb. in Ps $93^{1f.}$, and see 2^{2} n.—*Like the dazzling heat above the light*] this line contains, like the next, a comparison rather than, as many * have supposed, a note of time (see phil. n.). But neither the translation nor the point of comparison is free from ambiguity. צחה readily expresses both the ideas of glow and of dazzle; cp. "a glowing

* *e.g.* Ges., Del.

wind," Jer 4^{11}, a "dazzling" (white) skin, Ca 5^{10} (adj.), La 4^{7} (vb.). *Above the light*, is but one possible rendering of עלי אור; others are, *at time of light* (cp. the use of על in Jer 8^{18}, and see BDB 754*b*); or, *on the ground of, on account of, light* (Di.: cp. BDB 754*a*). The word אור, *light*, means, once at least (Job 31^{26}), specifically *the sun*; yet the phrase can scarcely mean *at mid-day* (𝔊), for in Neh 8^{3} אור is contrasted with mid-day as the light of the earlier part of the day. If the clause is temporal, it means *when it is (sun-)light, in sunshine*, a specification that adds little to the idea of dazzling heat. Possibly, therefore, Du. is right in supposing that the dazzling heat is defined as that which seems to be above the sun, not proceeding from it, but belonging to another sphere, and regarded by many people as the region of the highest gods.—*Like a cloud of night-mist*] a comparison from the night, as was the last from the day. The word *cloud*, עב, elsewhere expresses clouds as the source of rain (5^{6}), or as high in the sky (14^{14}, Job 20^{6}), or as moving swiftly across the sky (60^{8}). The טל *in time* (𝔊), *or heat* (𝔖), *of harvest*, is not the atmospheric moisture condensed by the cooling of the ground, *i.e.* dew proper, which forms during spring and autumn in Palestine, but the night mist, or rain, which is an invaluable feature of the hot season from May, and especially from August, to October. The westerly winds bring much moisture from the Mediterranean, and this condenses under the action of the cool night air into something like a Scotch mist; see Che. in *EBi.* 1094 f. (on the basis of Neil, *Palestine Explored*, 129–151). To the Hebrews this moisture, which might be sufficient to drench the hair of those out in it (Ca 5^{2}), seemed to descend from heaven (Gn 27^{28}, Dt 33^{28}) by night (Nu 11^{9}, Jg 6^{37-40}), returning thither early in the morning (Ex $16^{13f.}$, Hos 6^{4}); what, then, is the point of the comparison? Do the figures enforce the stillness, or the watchfulness, or the fostering care of Yahweh? (1) Di. remarks—just as in the harvest season, glowing heat by day and heavy dew by night, both necessary for the ripening of the crops, continue constant over the country, so will God remain unmoved, undisturbed, though still ripening the plans of the Assyrians. (2) Marti sees in the glowing motionless heat, and in the lofty clouds driven by no wind, out of sight but pouring down the dew in harvest, altogether admirable figures for the unseen but all-seeing God, exalted far above

all that is human, undisturbed by the movements of the world, but carrying through His will. Like heat and dew-cloud, Yahweh can remain quiet while events in Asia excite the famous, powerful, and distant people of Ethiopia; even so should Yahweh's people remain quiet, confiding in Him. More than this is not told the Ethiopians, nor needs to be said to the Jews, who should know that in quietness lies their deliverance (7^{4-9} 28^{16} 30^{15}).

5. If וכרת should be rendered *then he shall cut away*, Yahweh being the subject, the words of Yahweh in v.[4] are here continued by the explanation of the prophet, cp. Am 3^{1-8}. If the subject be indefinite, *then one will cut away*, or *then will be cut away*, vv.[5] and [6], like v.[4], may be the words of Yahweh, though even in this case that is not very probable. If Marti's theory, that vv.[5. 6] originally followed 17^{8-11}, were correct, the words would not be Yahweh's, and the indefinite construction would be appropriate enough. Neither the indefinite subj. nor the unexpressed subj. implying Yahweh seems altogether satisfactory, if v.[5] is the direct continuation of v.[4]. If, however, the connection be original, the line of thought must be somewhat as follows: Yahweh quietly watches (v.[4]) the ripening vintage of the Assyrian plans, because he has determined just before the crop is ripe to slash the vine to pieces (v.[5]), *i.e.* (v.[6]) Yahweh permits the advance of the Assyrians, but just as they expect to gain the object of their invasion He will destroy them; one and all will lie unburied in the land they have invaded: cp. 17^{12-14} 14^{24-27} $36^{36f.}$.—*Before the harvest*] קציר is here used of the vintage; so probably 17^{11} (cp. 17^{10}), and certainly 16^{9} (ct. Jer 48^{33}). In v.[4] the word appears to have its usual meaning of grain-*harvest*; in any case the harvest of v.[5] is not the same as the harvest of v.[4], which is generally the harvest of any year, and introduced merely to complete a figure. This verbal coincidence combined with difference of sense is somewhat awkward; on the other hand, if as 5^{26-29} became separated from 9^{7}–10^{4}, so $18^{5f.}$ became separated from 17^{1-11}, the verbal connection may have led an editor to attach the fragment to 18^{4}.—*Ripening grapes*] the בסר is a fully formed but immature and sour grape, as the use of the term in the proverb (Jer 31^{29}) sufficiently shows.—

6. The invaders will fall in such numbers that carrion birds and beasts will feed on them year in year out; cp. Ezk $39^{11ff.}$.—

Carrion birds of the mountains] The phrase does not recur; cp. Ezk 39[4] "on the mountains of Israel . . . shalt thou fall to the carrion birds." 𝔊 *birds of heaven*; cp. 1 S 17[44. 46], Jer 7[33].

7. A prose appendix, probably added to the poem by a later hand. In the age to come the people described in v.[2d-g] will bring tribute to Yahweh in Ṣion; cp. Ps 68[30] 72[10] 76[12], Zeph 3[10]. —*From a people*] so 𝔊; cp. the next clause in 𝔊 and 𝔙. Owing to the obvious loss of מ before the first עם, the text of 𝔐 makes the tribute consist of the people themselves! Cp. RV.—*The place of the name of the Yahweh*] *i.e.* the place where Yahweh causes His name to dwell, where He manifests Himself, where all acceptable offerings must be brought; Dt 12[5. 11].

There is a remarkable difference in 𝔊's rendering of the matter common to this v. and v.[2]. This may be due to the fact that v.[7] was rendered by a later hand, and added to the translation of the main body of the chapter, which may have been translated before 𝔐 contained v.[7]. Yet it is to be observed that v.[7] contains the transliteration *σαβαώθ*, which is a striking characteristic of the Greek version of the entire book (Introd. § 21).

1. צְלְצַל בנפים] צְלְצַל may be cstr. of a form צְלְצָל, or (Stade, § 241) of the form צְלָצַל (Dt 28[42] †), which out of pause would be צְלָצַל (see G–K. 29*q*; Driver on 1 S 15[23]). צְלָצַל in Dt 28[42] denotes an insect, apparently of the locust kind; (cp. Ges–B. *s.v.*). Hence the translation *winged locusts* (?) is obvious; yet in the parallel expression צפור כנף, *winged birds*, the *sing.* of כנף is used. No instance of צלצל = *whirring*, *buzzing*, is found; but it is in no way venturesome to assume the meaning, for the root צלל = صلّ = صَلْصَلَ, particularly in reduplicated derivatives, expresses the idea of a noise; so صلّ, صلصل expresses the emission of noise when, *e.g.*, iron is struck by iron, as a helmet by swords, or the tinkling of bells; צלצלים צלצלין, صَلْصَال, are *cymbals*, so called from their clanging sound; צְלָצַל, a whirring insect, prob. the *locust* (?); צְלָצַל, the harpoon, which *whizzes* through the air; صَلْصَل is the name of a bird (see Lane, and BDB, *s.vv.*). For the root צלל = ظلّ = טלל, the meanings *shadow*, *to cast a shadow*, and so forth, are, of course, very well established; but reduplicated forms from this root are rarer, though one such seems to be the NH צלצל, which denotes some overshadowing object smaller than a סֻכָּה (Levy, iv. 195). Di., indeed, divides צלצל into צל צל, which should mean *many shadows* rather than *twofold shadow* (cp. G–K. 123*c*); בנפים then becomes a somewhat awkward acc. instead of a gen. For the meaning *boats*, Ew. appeals to ظَلْظَل, which in the Ḳâmûs is interpreted سفن,

boats; but Lane suggests that this is an error for سعن, *umbracula*: this seems probable, and in any case the meaning *boats* is rare and derivative in Arabic, and, therefore, a poor support for such a meaning in Hebrew. So also 𝔊's rendering *οὐαὶ γῆς πλοίων πτέρυγες* leaves it very doubtful whether צלצל had this meaning: and 𝔗, which is very paraphrastic, is still more inconclusive. Che. (*SBOT*, p. 104) obtains *winged vessels* by reading כלי כנפים instead of צלצל כ'.—[מעבר לנהרי כוש *beyond the rivers of Cush*: cp. Dt 30^{13} מעבר לים, *beyond the sea*; מעבר לירדן, *beyond Jordan* (Nu 22^{1} and often). The sense *beyond, region beyond*, is the *only* meaning in such geographical expressions that is justified by usage; see BDB, *s.v.* עבר (p. 719). That מעבר could also mean exactly the opposite, viz. *on this side*, was formerly assumed by some scholars; see Vitr., Hitz. Even the neutral sense, *on the side of, along*, adopted here by Grotius (*ad flumina Ethiopiæ*) and Ew. (*längs den Strömen*), cannot be admitted; the idioms in which עבר is taken to mean *side* (BDB, *s.v.* עבר 2) are different in character. To express *along*, Hebrew employed a phrase with יד, especially על יד, *e.g.*, Nu 13^{29}; see BDB.—נהרי כוש] Haupt's contention (in *SBOT*, p. 108 f.), that this means *the Great River of Cush*, is abstractly possible, but quite improbable. The well-established uses of the amplificative plural are of a somewhat different character: its use here would create an awkward and unnecessary ambiguity; and all of Haupt's parallels are capable of satisfactory explanations as ordinary plurals. That the great river Euphrates by itself is intended by the נהרות of Ps 137^{1} is altogether improbable, since the Euphrates is so regularly הנהר הגדול, or simply הנהר; and again it is unlikely that in 7^{18} 19^{6} 37^{25} יארים (which in Ex 7^{19} must mean the Nile arms) means the Nile stream, single and undivided. That triple-peaked Hermon is not only called Hermon, but once the Hermons (Ps 42^{7}), is natural enough and no real parallel to the single undivided stream of either the Euphrates or the Nile being called *the rivers*.—**2.** ובכלי] 𝔊 *καὶ ἐπιστολάς* = וכלי; this, or בכלי, seems preferable to 𝔐. 𝔊's unique rendering of כלי by *ἐπ.* was probably suggested by the parallel clause: in Job 9^{26} 𝔊 also fails to render *ships of papyrus*.—מורט] part. Hoph. of מרט with suppression of the preformative מ (G–K. 52*s*).

The form might also come from the root ירט, ورط; but this yields no more probable sense in the context. Whether 𝔊 (*ξένον*?) read מורט is uncertain; but 𝔗 בזיזא, 𝔖 ܟܨܒܐ, 𝔙 *dilaceratum*, may be free renderings of מורט.—מן הוא והלאה has been commonly treated here as a conj. = מאשר, and the whole phrase rendered *from where it is and onwards*, i.e. far and near; or *from where it was and onwards*, i.e. from the beginning of its history. Doubtful: but if מן הוא = מאשר הוא = מהיותו, cp. מעודי, Gn 48^{15}; with והלאה, cp. 1 S 18^{9} מהיום ההוא והלאה; for הוא embracing the pred. in itself (BDB 216*a*), cp. the very similar, but doubtful, מיכי הוא, Nah 2^{9}. Not improbably the text is corrupt, מן הוא being a corrupt dittograph of סנורא[ע], and והלאה a corrupt second epithet, perhaps ומהלל: this would restore a line of 3 accents.—קורקו] if the makkeph be omitted, the form (cp. G–K. 84*o*, *p*) *perhaps* means *might*: cp. Ar. قوّة with that sense. Improbable alternatives are (*nation of*, i.e. using, or subjected to) *measuring line* (*upon*) *measuring*

line; or (*nation of*, i.e. given over to) *line* (*upon*) *line* (cp. 28^{10}), *i.e.* rites and superstitions (Vitr.; cp. Del.). Aq. *ὑπομένον*, Jer. *exspectantem* connected קו with קוה, *to hope*; ct. Ⓖ *ἀνέλπιστον*.—בוז†] *possibly* a parallel root to חוץ *to cleave*: cp. גמא, Aram. ܓܡܐ. Others (cp. AV) have treated it as parallel to בוז, *to plunder*. It is not clear that the word was read by Ⓖ.—**3.** כנשא] 1^{14} n.—נם הרים] the force of the gen., if it means a signal *on* the mountains, is curious and not quite explained by G–K. 128*q*, *x*. Perhaps הרים (Hiph. Inf. of רום) is a misplaced variant (cp. 49^{22} 62^{10}) of נשא.—**4.** כעב טל . . . כחם צח] before an infin. and, rarely, before a verbal noun, כ denotes time (BDB 454*b*): but it is never a temporal conjunction; the rendering *when there is clear heat* (RVmarg.) is therefore questionable. בחם] ⅁𝔖𝔗=ביום.—**5.** וְהַתְז] if correct, a pausal form (G–K. 29*q*) of וְהָתַז, Hiph. pf. of an otherwise unknown root תוז, or (cp. G–K. 67*v*) תיז. Pointed וְהָתֵז it might be Hiph. of נתז, which in NH means *to strike off the head* (of a man or animal). For the asyndeton הסיר התז, cp. G–K. 121*g*.

XIX.—*The Oracle of Egypt.*

The ch. consists of (*a*) a poem or poetical fragments, vv.$^{1\text{-}14}$ or ^{15}; (*b*) a prose section, vv.$^{16\text{-}25}$. The attempts of Lowth, Ges., and recently Cond., to represent vv.$^{16\text{-}25}$ as poetry, are unsuccessful.

The poem conceives Yahweh as about to visit Egypt in person, and to punish it by bringing about civil war, the dominion of a 'hard lord,' and the complete destruction of the entire country by the drying up of the Nile. Vv.$^{16f.}$ also speak of a plan of Yahweh to punish Egypt, terrifying them by means of Judah. But vv.$^{18\text{-}25}$ are in an entirely different tone: here the expectation is that Egypt and (though this point comes out rather allusively) Assyria also will be converted to Yahweh.

Vv.$^{1\text{-}15.\ 16f.\ 18\text{-}25}$ succeed one another, but it cannot be said that there is any real transition from the theme of vv.$^{1\text{-}15}$ to the very different theme of vv.$^{18\text{-}25}$; certainly no such transition exists in vv.$^{16f.}$ which bring us no nearer than vv.$^{1\text{-}15}$ to vv.$^{18\text{-}25}$.

Probably the original oracle extended down to v.^{14} or ^{15} only; the remainder of the chapter, like chs. 18 and 20, were subsequently added to this 'oracle' as dealing also with the Nile valley.

1–15.

The following translation contains 42 lines, distributed as follows: 1 monostich, v.^{4c}; 3 tristichs, vv.$^{2.\ 8.\ 14}$; 16 distichs. Possibly vv.^{2} and ^{8} were originally distichs and have been expanded by the incorporation of glosses, viz. v.^{2b} and in v.^{14} בכל מעשהו and בקיאו.

In vv.[5-10] the rhythm is 3 : 3, except, if the text be sound, so far as v.[7c] (two accents) and [8c] are concerned.

In vv.[1-4. 11-15] distichs 3 : 3 scarcely occur; v.[13a. b] might certainly be so read, and v.[2] if it ended with אחיו; but scarcely v.[12a] or [12b]. The dominant rhythm is 4 : 4; but conspicuous exceptions to this are due to the lines of two accents in vv.[1b. 3b]; moreover, in vv.[3c. d. 4a. b. 11a. b] the lines balance one another very ill. In v.[12b] צבאות might be omitted.

Parallelism more or less complete marks most of the distichs. Absence of parallelism and conspicuous rhythmical irregularity coincide in vv.[1a. b. 15].

[1] Behold Yahweh is riding upon a swift cloud,
And he will come to Egypt,
And the idols of Egypt will tremble at his presence,
And the heart of Egypt will melt within him.
[2] "And I will spur on Egypt against Egypt, and they shall fight,
Every man against his brother, and every man against his neighbour,
City against city, and kingdom against kingdom.
[3] And the spirit of Egypt within him shall be emptied out,
And his plan will I confound;
And they will go to inquire of the idols and the mutterers,
Of the ghosts and of the familiar spirits;
[4] And I will deliver (?) the Egyptians into the hand of a hard lord,
And a mighty king shall have dominion over them":
Is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh of Hosts.

[5] And water shall be dried up from the sea,
And the river shall be parched up and dry;
[6] And the river-branches shall stink (?), having dwindled (?),
And the (Nile-)arms of Egypt shall be parched up.
Reeds and rushes moulder,
[7] 'And all the sedge-grass' on the brink (?) of the Nile 'shall shrivel away (?).'
And all that is sown by the Nile shall dry up,
It is driven away and is no more.
[8] And the fishermen shall mourn and lament,
All they that cast hook in the Nile,
And they that spread nets on the water have languished.

8. 9 And they that work flax are ashamed,
'The (women) that comb' and the (men) that weave
'have grown pale.'
10 And those of her who 'do textile work' shall continue
crushed,
All who earn wages (?) shall be vexed in soul.

11 Utterly foolish are the princes of Ṣo'an,
Pharaoh's wisest plan-makers are (makers of) a witless
plan!
How can ye say to Pharaoh,
"A son of the wise am I, a son of ancient kings"?
12 Where, then, are thy wise men that they may tell thee,
And make known (to thee) what Yahweh of Hosts
hath planned against Egypt?
13 Befooled are the princes of Ṣo'an, deluded the princes of
Memphis,
And the chiefs of her tribes have led Egypt astray.
14 Yahweh hath mingled within 'them' the spirit of distortion,
And they have led Egypt astray in all her works,
As a drunkard goeth astray in his vomit.
15 And there shall be no work for Egypt,
Which head or tail, palm-branch or reed, can perform.

It has been questioned whether this poem is a unity: many have suspected that vv.5-10 are from one poem, vv.1-4. 11-15 from another; Marti holds both vv.5-10 and 11-15 to be later additions to 1-4. Exegesis (see below on 5-10 *ad init.*) and rhythmical differences (see above) give some justification for the suspicion.

In vv.1-4 the writer appears to have certain definite historical circumstances in view: he is doubtless predicting, yet he appears to live at a time when there had already ceased to be any effective central government in Egypt, but when (yet see Dr. *LOT* 215) some soldier or monarch had already made a name for himself, and seemed likely to make Egypt subject to him. Unfortunately such circumstances, though they existed in the time of Isaiah, were recurrent in the history of Egypt; and until it is possible to fix the date of the prophecy on independent grounds, the identification of the "hard lord" of v.4 must remain a matter of guesswork.

Many guesses have been made; it is not even agreed that the hard lord is a foreigner, though this would seem to be the intention of the poet. On the assumption that the poem is the work of Isaiah, interpreters have identified "the hard lord" with the Ethiopian Piankhi (Stade, *De Is. Vat. Aeth.*, 1873: withdrawn, *ATTheol.* 226), or Tirhakah (Corn.), or one of the Assyrian kings (Ḳi., Ibn Ezr.), whether Sargon (Hitz., Driver in *LOT*[6] 215, tentatively), or Sennacherib (W. R. Smith, *Prophets*[2], 333). Many have identified the hard lord with Psammetichos I. (663–609 B.C.), who established his rule over the (contending) nomes, or kingdoms, by the help of foreign mercenaries; see Herod. ii. 147–154: Diod. Sic. i. 66; and, for the history of the period in the light of most recent evidence, Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, c. xxvi. This view was taken, according to Ges., by Grotius "and most of the best interpreters since"; by himself too, but with an attempt, which later knowledge has shown to be impossible, to throw back the rise of Psammetichos to the lifetime of Isaiah; by Del. also, who, however, considers the poem a detailed prophecy of Isaiah and not, as Eichhorn had already argued, the work of a contemporary of Psammetichos. This view has been recently revived by Steuernagel (*Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1909, pp. 8–12), who argues that among the mercenaries employed by Psammetichos were Jews supplied by Manasseh, for which he was condemned in Dt 17[16]; that when the poet says Yahweh will fight against Egypt, he means these Jewish mercenaries will be employed against Egypt; and that some of these mercenaries were the founders of the Jewish community at Elephantine the existence of which has been brought to light by recent discoveries; see Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, 1906; Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*, 1907. Descending later, we may find a suitable "hard lord" in Cambyses, at whose invasion the Jewish temple at Elephantine was spared, though the Egyptian temples were destroyed (Sachau's *Papyrus*, i. 13 f.); "it is most natural to explain 19[4] as referring to the mad fury of Cambyses," and "at any rate probable that 19[1f.] was written sometime between" 525 "(final defeat of Psamtik III. by Cambyses) and 485 (reconquest of Egypt by Xerxes)": so Cheyne, *Introd.* 117. Still later Artaxerxes Ochus, by his cruel treatment of Egypt in 343 B.C., at the end of a period of internal strife (see on v.[2]), would fit the rôle: so Du., Marti. Finally, Kennett (pp. 53 f.) finds in Antiochus Epiphanes (עז פנים, Dn 8[23]) the "hard lord" of this poem.

If vv.[11-15] are of a piece with vv.[1-4], we must seek a period of origin for both when (1) there was a Pharaoh, and (2) Ṣoʿan (Tanis) and Memphis were of importance: (2) determines nothing, for Ṣoʿan and Memphis were important at any period that could be considered for this poem (see on v.[11]): (1) should probably exclude the period of Persian (525–404, 343–332 B.C.) and Greek (332–31 B.C.) dominion,* but scarcely perhaps the period immediately preceding Psammetichos I. (so Alt, *Israel u. Aegypten*,

* Yet see Kennett, p. 54 n. 1.

p. 90), or the similar period of decentralisation before the establishment of the Ethiopian dynasty (712 B.C.).

It is difficult, as the divergence of views cited above must suffice to indicate, to give the poem any secure place in Isaiah's literary and prophetic career. As an example of attempts so to place it, we may cite W. R. Smith (*Prophets*, 333): "While Isaiah does not cease to concentrate his chief attention on Israel . . . the largeness of the historical issues involved in the downfall of the supreme world-power carries the prophetic vision far beyond the narrow limits of Judah . . . and so when Babylon had fallen (23^{13}) and Sennacherib at length began his destroying march upon the western provinces, Isaiah followed his progress with absorbing interest. First, he announces the speedy discomfiture of the Arab tribes ($21^{13f.}$). . . . And next . . . the stroke shall fall on the proud city of Tyre (ch. 23). . . . And still the career of the destroyer has not reached its end, 'Behold Yahweh . . . cometh unto Egypt'" (ch. 19). Yet it is questionable whether this assumed period does real justice to v.[2]: Smith evades the point by making the advent of Sennacherib dissolve the government of Pharaoh and set free the intestine jealousies of the Egyptian nomes (p. 335); but this is contrary to the order of events predicted in the poem.

In the style and ideas there is nothing that positively supports an Isaianic origin, for the occurrence of some words and phrases used by Isaiah and collected by Cheyne (*Introd.* 112) cannot do so. On the other hand, there are usages and ideas which favour, if they do not absolutely require, a post-exilic rather than a pre-exilic date. The frequent and inelegant repetition of Egypt (5 times in vv.[1-4], 4 times in vv.[12-15]) may, indeed, tell more against Isaianic authorship than in favour of any particular date, for we cannot safely assume that there were no inelegant writers before the Exile. Ew. (*Propheten*, p. 480), while recognising peculiarities, was content to attribute its "duller colour" and "deadened fire," of which he was conscious, to the advanced age at which this "the last writing of Isaiah" was written; cp. Skinner, p. 145. Many of the peculiarities of vocabulary or style collected by Cheyne (pp. 111 f.) are entirely inconclusive as to date, and among these מצור (37^{25} n.) should be included. Others are textually doubtful (see below on האוניח, v.[6]; ערות, [7]), but others have late Hebrew or Aramaic affinities; see notes below on נשת, v.[5]; קמל, v.[6]; אגמי נפיש, v.[9].

Very significant is the use of רוח in v.[3]; see n. there; and the structure of v.[12] (n.) is noticeable. Possible, but not absolutely certain, implications of v.[2] (see note on *And come*) and v.[3b] would also indicate a late date.

If more were known of the circumstances and outlook of the Jews at the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, we might be able with some probability to assign the poem to that period.

1–4. Civil War and the "hard lord."—Yahweh is about to descend in judgment on Egypt: He will give over the country to civil war (v.[2]) and the domination of a cruel and mighty king (v.[4]). So both civil war and foreign invasion figure in the prophecy of Ephraim's fall (9^{7-10} 5^{26-29}).

1. At Yahweh's advent in Egypt, gods and people will tremble.—*Yahweh is riding*] He will make a swift descent, riding through heaven (cp. Dt 33^{26}) *on a cloud*-chariot: cp. Ps $18^{10f.\ (9f.)}$ $68^{34\ (33)}$ for similar conceptions; the idea of Yahweh's cloud-chariot is elaborated in Ezk 1. 10. $11^{22f.}$.—*Will come*] the vb. is used of Yahweh's advent to judgment (*e.g.* Ps 96^{13}). For Yahweh's advent in person to the land which He is about to punish, cp. Jer 49^{38} and ct. Is $9^{7\ (8)}$; whether such a representation any more than that in Am $9^{2f.}$ is necessarily inconsistent with the idea of Omnipresence (Jer 23^{24}, Ps 139), and, even if so, whether it is necessarily inconsistent with Isaiah's conceptions (cp. 6^{4}), may be doubted. By reason of Yahweh's presence (7^{2} 63^{19}), *the idols* (2^{8} n.) will *tremble* (6^{4} 7^{2}) with fear, and *the heart of Egypt*—the people personified (1^{5} n.)—*will melt* (13^{7}), *i.e.* their courage will vanish (cp. Dt 20^{8}, 2 S 17^{10}).—**2–4.** Yahweh speaks: in 𝔊 the first person begins in v.[3]. 𝔐 is preferable.—*I will spur on*] 9^{10} phil. n.—**2b.** Cp. 3^{5}. *City against city and kingdom against kingdom*] the two clauses are almost synonymous: the "kingdoms" are the nomes (𝔊) of Egypt. The form of the prophecy in this v. would be best accounted for if it was written in a period when there was no effective central government and no strong Pharaoh (v.[11]) able to control the monarchs. Such a period was that which preceded the establishment of the Ethiopian Dynasty, *c.* 712 B.C. (Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 547 f.): another such followed the fall of the same dynasty (*ib.* 565 ff.). So, too, the period between 404, when the Egyptians recovered their independence of the Persians, and 342 B.C. was "filled with internal discord.

Three dynasties (from Tanis, Mendes, and Sebennytus) and at least nine kings . . . are mentioned" (W. Max Müller in *EBi.* 1247).—**3.** Timorous in v.[1], fratricidally courageous, or at least pugnacious, in v.[2], the Egyptians are now pictured as witless and perplexed. The various pictures are unrelated: there is no psychological development from v. to v.—*The spirit within him shall be emptied out*] Egypt is personified, as in v.[1]. The phrase means the Egyptians will lose their wits; cp. the parallel line. The use of רוח is significant: רוח is here an essential and permanent part of the personality. Originally רוח denoted an invading spirit temporarily taking possession of a man, and was thus distinguished from the נפש, or personal soul, which could not be separated from a man without leaving him dead or unconscious. This distinction is largely maintained in pre-exilic literature, but became increasingly obscured later: "*ruach* is not used of the breath-soul in man in any pre-exilic document," nor is it "used with psychical predicates in any pre-exilic passage, though from the Exile onwards this usage becomes frequent, whilst in Psalms and Proverbs the term is practically employed as a synonym of *nephesh* and 'heart' to denote the inner life in general. . . . By the time of Ezekiel, we find that *ruach* has come to denote the normal breath-soul, as the principle of life in man (Ezk $37^{5.6.8}$) . . . from this point onwards we find *ruach* following a line of development similar to that of *nephesh*, with which it is used in parallelism (*e.g.* Is 26^{9})." *—**3c. d.** In their perplexity the Egyptians will turn for counsel to their idols and to the spirits of the dead; but they will get no help: their idols are as frightened (v.[1]) as themselves. It seems unnecessary to regard the consultation of the gods as a proof of the senselessness of the Egyptians, and consequently to see in this trait an indication of a dogmatic and unsympathetic monotheism (Du.). There is nothing specifically Egyptian in the forms of divination mentioned: for the first term *idols*, see 2^{8}, for *the ghosts* and *the familiar spirits*, 8^{19}; the second term אטים occurs here only; the Arabic ﺃﻃ means "to emit a moaning or creaking sound"; *mutterers* is but a third term for the dead, who give their responses with a thin and low voice (8^{19} 29^{4}).—**4.** Even if the writer had some

* H. W. Robinson in *Mansfield College Essays*, 270–273.

definite individual in his mind whom he expected to subdue Egypt, the adjectives by which he describes him tell us little, unless, which is unlikely, he intends some native Egyptian who had gained a reputation for severity. Any conqueror would *ipso facto* be *mighty*: any foreign ruler as the imposer of hard, *i.e.* foreign, service would from the point of view of the conquered, especially in expectation, be *a hard lord*. For various guesses at identification, see p. 321. The phraseology in some respects resembles that of the curse of Eshmun'azar on the individuals who should tamper with his tomb: "May the holy gods deliver them up (יסגרם) to a noble prince (אדר מ]מלכ[ת את), who shall rule over them" (*CIS* i. 3^9 = Cooke, *NSI*, p. 30).

2. וסככתי] 𝔊 καὶ ἐπεγερθήσονται.—ונבקה] G–K. 67*dd*.—אבלע] 13^{12} n.—**4.** וסכרתי] unless this is an error for ומכרתי (Ezk 30^{12}), the root סכר (in OT Gn 8^2, Ps 63^{12}), سكر, Assyr. *sikêru*, meaning *to dam up* water, *shut up* the mouth or ears and the like, developed also the meaning *to deliver up*: cp. the Hebrew development of the similar root סגר (BDB, *s.v.*).—אדנים קשה] pl. of majesty (G–K. 124*i*) with sing. adj. (G–K. 124*g*). 𝔊𝔖𝔈 render by a pl.—האדון] 𝔊 om.

5–10. The Nile is to dry up.—Between vv.$^{1-4}$ and $^{11-15}$, which prophesy political disaster, comes this prediction that the Nile and the Nile-streams will run dry; that all vegetation dependent on them will wither away; and that all classes of people directly or indirectly dependent on the Nile or the vegetation promoted by it will be distressed. The sequence within these verses is natural and good, but as between vv.$^{5-10}$ and $^{1-4}$ it is as poor as within vv.$^{1-4}$ (see above); for in spite of the fact (see Ges.) that changes of Moḥammedan dynasties have occasionally coincided with a *low* Nile (far more than which is intended here), the *drying up* of the Nile is no natural sequence to the accession of a hard lord: either might well be conceived as a judgment from Yahweh, but they go ill together: the combination in Ezk 30^{10-12} of the slaughter of the Egyptians by Nebuchadnezzar's troops and the drying up of the Nile is less unnatural, for no picture is there suggested of Nebuchadnezzar becoming the ruler of the unpeopled desert: ct. still further Ezk 32^{12-15}, where the waters flow on in a country desolated and depopulated by the sword.

5. *The sea*] the Nile; 18^2 n.—**5b** is = Job 14^{11b}; and line

a. is but a variant of Job 14^{11a}.—*The river*] the main stream of the Nile: ct. 7^{20} n.—**6.** *River-branches*] the artificial conduits made from the Nile for purposes of irrigation; so נהרות is used of the canals of Babylon, Ps 137^{1}, and נהר of a particular canal, Ezk $1^{1.3}$, Ezr 8^{31}.—*The (Nile-)arms*] the branches into which the Nile divides in the Delta may be specially intended, though יארים is not limited to these: 7^{19} n. If יאר is a loan-word from Egyptian (*'iotr*, *'io'r*, *water-course*), and not an old Semitic word (see Ges–B. *s.v.*), it may at first have meant specifically streams of Egypt; but any such limitation of meaning was lost later (see Dn $12^{5.7}$), and then the addition *of Egypt* (cp. 7^{18} 37^{25}) was not superfluous; cp. *river* (יאר) *of Egypt* in Am 8^{8} 9^{5}—probably late passages.—**6c–7.** In four lines of which **7a** certainly, and **7c** possibly, are corrupt, the rotting and withering of the vegetation are described.—**7a.** Very uncertain; see phil. n. *Meadows* (RV) is a very *conjectural* rendering of ערות, which should mean *bare places*.—*All that is sown*] † מזרע may mean either *all land that is sown*, or *all seed that is sown*.—**8.** In the dry river-bed no fish can live. This would deeply affect the whole of the poorer classes, who largely fed on the abundant fish supply of the Nile: Nu 11^{5} (n.).—*Shall mourn and lament*] cp. 3^{26}; to separate the vbs. (RV) destroys the 3 : 3 rhythm.—**9.** The distress of the flax-workers. Much flax was grown in Egypt, and the growth and preparation of it formed an important industry. Failure of water meant failure of the crop. Two processes in the manufacture of flax are here particularly referred to: (1) the combing of the stalks whereby the poorer fibres, which were used for tow, were separated from the better fibres, which were used for (2) weaving into material. Cp. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 138 f.—*They that work in flax . . . the women that comb*] so omitting a single letter. 𝔊 apparently means *they that work in combed flax*, i.e. those that work the superior fibres of the plant into material; the adjective distinguishes them from another class who may have made the tow into wicks; but it is questionable whether this distinction is probable here: hence, and on rhythmical grounds, the emended text in this and the next clause is preferable, yet perhaps not quite correct, for the distribution of the work between women and men cannot be satisfactorily explained.—*The men that weave have grown pale*] the vb. (חורו) ‖ to "are ashamed," as in 29^{22}†.

For the conjectural reading חורו, 𝔐 has חורי, which is conjectured to have the same meaning as חור, *white stuff*, *linen* or *cotton*, Est 1^6 8^{15}: 𝔐 might then be rendered *weavers of white stuff*.—**10.** The distress of another set, or two sets, of people is here described: unfortunately the text or meaning of the terms is uncertain. A generalising conclusion would not be inappropriate; but whether the terms mean *the foundations* (cp. Ps 11^3) and *workers for hire* respectively, and therefore either (*a*) the entire population—the leading classes on whom the state rests, and the rank and file who work for hire, or (*b*) the entire proletariat, the two terms being regarded as synonymous, is very doubtful. Possibly v.[10] continues the description of the flax-workers begun in v.[9]. An allusion to the "makers of dams" (RVmarg.) would be belated. See, further, phil. n.—

5. ונשתו] MT Niph.†; Kal, 41^{17}, Jer 51^{30}†.—**6.** והאזניחו] an error for והזניחו (G–K. 53*p*) rather than a unique instance of a denominative formed from an elative (Ew. *Heb. Gr.* 126*b*); but corruption of the text may go deeper; for the meaning *stink*, which occurs nowhere else in OT, we may, indeed, compare נזח; *to stink*; but the versions do not recognise the meaning, the parallel does not secure it, and "stinking" would be more in place after the rotting of the reeds (v.[6b]).—דללו] doubtful: note (*a*) for דללו †, 38^{14}, Job 28^4 have דלו; see G–K. 67*aa*, *cc*; (*b*) 𝔊𝔖𝔗 all prefix ו, and 𝔊 seems to have read the word as a second noun; (*c*) neither דלל, vb., nor דל, adj., is elsewhere used of water. The prevalence of the 3 : 3 rhythm in vv.[5–10] suggests that דללו, or whatever it stands for, went with v.[6a], not with v.[6b].—קמלו, Is 33^9 †; cp. ܩܡܠ, *to be mouldy*.—**7.** ערות על יאר על פי יאר] the absence of a vb., the variations of the versions, the unsuitability of ערות, which means if anything *bare places* (not *meadows*), the dissimilarity of the neighbouring lines, all point to textual corruption. יאור and על פי יאור look like variants. פי is difficult; the mouth of the Nile is scarcely a place likely to be chosen in illustration of fruitfulness, and the suggestion that פי here means *banks* (Du.), a meaning which would be appropriate, rests on the precarious argument that as *lip* means one bank (*e.g.* Gn 41^3), *mouth* means both banks: the analogy of such expressions as the mouth of a well, a sack, and so forth, shows that, naturally enough, mouth stood for openings, not for what surrounded or enclosed an opening. 𝔊 has καὶ τὸ ἄχι τὸ χλωρὸν πᾶν τὸ κύκλῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. For ערות, 𝔖 has ܒܨܒܐ, *pond-weed*, and 𝔗, apparently, וייבש. Marti (followed in the translation above) emends tentatively ועבש כל אחו על פי יאור: for עבש, see Jl 1^{17} (?).—מורע] is best rendered *seed* (cp. מאכל from אכל), if נזך is said of מורע; otherwise *sown place*, *land sown* is preferable.—נזך ואיננו] 𝔊 ἀνεμόφθορον, reading שְׁדֵף and omitting ואיננו, which might be overlooked before ואנו. The line, over-short even in 𝔐, is perhaps corrupt.—**8.** משליכי ביאור] 5^{11} n. —אמללו] if taken, as commonly, with what precedes, spoils the parallelism; if with v.[9] it is otiose; possibly its presence here is not unconnected with

corruption in vv.[9b, 10].—**9.** פשתים שריקות] פשתים is probably masc.; it is plural of פשת (Gezer Calendar Inscription, *PEF Qu St.*, 1909, pp. 2, 5), not, of course, of the *nomen unitatis* פשתה (Di.). If פשתים is masc., שריקות certainly does not go with it. In any case there are other considerations (see above) against taking שריקות with [9b]; either שריקות is itself a *nomen agentis*, or, more probably, an original שרקות part. pl. fem. has been wrongly written *plene*.—חורי] see comm. above; if a vb. were not more probable here than a noun, we might restore חור, treating the י as dittograph of the following ו. 𝔊 renders *τὴν βύσσον*.—**10.** שחתיה] there is nothing in what immediately precedes for a 3rd fem. sing. suff. to refer to; both the word and the suffix cause difficulty; the comparison with Ps 11[3] was made by Ḳi. and Ibn Ezra. The renderings of the versions are, 𝔊 *οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι αὐτά*; 𝔖 omits; 𝔗 אתר בית שתי מחא, *the place where they weave textures*; 𝔙 *irrigua eius*. 𝔗, and probably 𝔊 too, connect the word with a root שחה, *to weave*, which is used in Aram., and whence the Heb. noun שתי, *warp*, is derived; punctuate in this case שֹׁתֶיהָ, or, since the masc. מדכאם follows, read שֹׁתֶיהָ, which, if the meaning were not entirely unsuitable, might also be rendered *those who drink it*.—עשי שָׂכָר] if the phrase had anything to do with *hire* (commonly שָׂכָר), it should rather mean *those who actually obtain wages*, than *those who work for them* (cp. Pr 11[18]), though it is true the former meaning would be less suitable here; the latter meaning is expressed by שכיר. 𝔊𝔖 render שכר by *strong drink* (שֵׁכָר). 𝔗𝔙, Rashi, Ḳi., Ibn Ezra, AV, RVmarg. render שכר, assumed to be an orthographic variation of סכר, by *dams*, or *sluices*; cp. the use of the vb. in Gn 8[2]. This meaning is probably intended by MT; but it is altogether improbable; for (*a*) it would return to the fishermen, who have already been fully dealt with in v.[8]; (*b*) it was suggested to the earlier interpreters by an impossible view of אגמי נפש, which they took to mean *pools of soul(s)* (i.e. *fish* !), in apposition to שכר. אגמי is rather an adj., occurring here only, meaning *troubled*, *depressed*; cp. with the harder guttural ענמה נפשי, Jb 30[25]; both forms occur with this sense in the Rabbinic writings—Hebrew or Aramaic; see Levy, *NHB* iii. 618, i. 21, and *Chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 8, ii. 222, though the form with א is commonly, or always, merely a variant of the form with ע. Cp., further, Assyr. *agâmu*, *to be vexed*; أجم, *to loathe*; كمد, *to be depressed*.

11–15. The futility of the wise men.—The wise men of Egypt, princes of the old and famous cities of Tanis and Memphis (v.[13]), are proved foolish by the event: they gave advice and formed plans, which Yahweh frustrates (v.[3]), but they never discerned Yahweh's plan (v.[12]), which is carried out. Consequently deceived by Yahweh (v.[14a]), they delude themselves and their country (v.[13f.]), and Egypt achieves nothing.

11. *Ṣo'an*] RV Zoan. Heb. Ṣo'an and Gk. Τάνις are both transliterations of Egyptian Ṣ'nt (Coptic Dja(a)nē), the name of the capital of the 14th nome of Lower Egypt.* The city was

* W. Max Müller in *EBi.*, *s.v. Zoan.*

situated in the Delta, on one of the Eastern arms of the Nile near its mouth, and was thus one of the nearest of the great Egyptian cities to Palestine. It was an important city, as excavations have shown, as early as the 12th (*c.* 2000–1788 B.C.; Breasted), and probably as early as the 6th (*c.* 2625–2475) dynasty. The 21st dynasty (*c.* 1090–945) sprang from Ṣo'an; so also, according to Manetho, did the 23rd (*c.* 745–718 B.C.); but this is doubtful (Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, 535). Egyptian records show that Ṣo'an was a residence of Egyptian kings as early as Ramses II. (13th cent.), and that it was, probably, the Egyptian residence of the kings of the Ethiopian dynasty (*c.* 712–666). Stelae of Ramses II., Osorkon II. (*c.* 874–853), and Tirhakah (*c.* 691–666) have been found there; and the temple of Amon at Ṣo'an made a considerable contribution to Nitocris in 654 B.C.; see Breasted, *Ancient Records* (references in v. p. 58). The Greek geographers still speak of Ṣo'an as a "great city" (Strabo, xvii. 1, 20); it survives to-day as a small fishing hamlet, Ṣân. Its importance attracted the attention not only of Isaiah (30^4) in the 8th, but also of Ezek (30^{14}) in the 6th cent. Other OT references are Nu 13^{22} (n.), Ps $78^{12.\ 43}$.—**IIb** is parallel in sense to v.^{11a}, but the text or construction is uncertain: see phil. n.—**IIc. d.** The poet dramatically asks these Egyptian counsellors how, being really devoid of wit and wisdom, they have the effrontery to remind their king that they are, each one of them, by right of descent men of wisdom and rank. Professions, including those of the priests and wise men, were largely hereditary among the Egyptians. — **12.** "The structure of v.^{12} is a favourite one since Jeremiah's time (cp. Jer 2^{28}, Dt $32^{37f.}$, Is $47^{12f.}$)": Che. *Introd.* p. 112. The Pharaoh is now addressed: if he has any wise counsellors they could tell him what Yahweh is about to do to Egypt; but no such counsellors are to be found in Egypt, or among the priests of the Egyptian gods. From the point of view of late Jewish thought the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of all wisdom: those who fear Him, alone know His plans. Cp. $47^{12f.}$.—*Memphis*] Heb. RV *Noph* (see phil. n.). Memphis occupied a site at the southern end of the Delta, about 10 m. S. of Cairo. Till the 18th dynasty (*c.* 1580–1350 B.C.) Memphis was the most important city of Egypt; at that time it yielded first place to Thebes, but maintained undisputed the claim to be the second

city of the Empire. Stormed by the Ethiopians in the 8th cent., by the Assyrians in the 7th, by Cambyses in the 6th, it does not appear to have suffered any considerable depopulation, and, outliving Thebes, continued to be populous under the Ptolemies and second only to Alexandria.* The other references to Memphis in the OT are Hos 9^6, Jer 2^{16} 44^1 $46^{14.\ 19}$, Ezk $30^{13\text{-}16(?)}$; in Ezk 30^{13} (if not also in Jer 46^{19}) Memphis seems to be regarded by the Hebrew writer as the most important city in Egypt, and, as here, it is mentioned in close connection with Ṣo'an (Ezk 30^{14}).—**13b.** *The chiefs of her tribes*] cp. Jg 20^2, 1 Ś 14^{38}, Zec 10^4 for the use of פנה, lit. *a corner-stone*. The phrase is best taken as subj. of the sentence and synonymous with *princes* in the preceding line: see, further, phil. n. The *tribes* of the Egyptians may be the inhabitants of the several nomes. There is no good ground for giving the word the sense of *castes*, and then making the whole phrase mean *the chief*, i.e. the priestly, *caste*.—**14.** Yahweh is the cause of the folly that precedes the fall of Egypt; He allows a spirit to possess them that distorts their judgment.—*Within them*] so : the pronoun refers to the princes or advisers mentioned in the last v.; these with judgment warped, so that they see nothing right, lead the whole nation to its doom. 𝔊 reads *within her*; if this is right the suffix refers to Egypt as a whole: possessed by the spirit of distortion, the people are led on by their leaders to their doom. —*The spirit of distortion*] cp. "the spirit of deep sleep," 29^{10}, "the spirit of falsehood" in the prophets of Yahweh (1 K 22^{23}), "the evil spirit" that terrified Saul (1 S 16^{14}), all alike performing Yahweh's purpose. The *distortion* (עועים) which the spirit was to achieve was distortion of mind or judgment: cp. the distorted or perverted mind (לב נעוה) which produces the opposite of wisdom, Pr 12^8. In all that they undertake, the Egyptians have no more power to go straight than a drunken man; for the figure, cp. 28^7, Job 12^{24}.—**15.** Expresses awkwardly much the same idea: neither high nor low (9^{18} n.) will achieve anything.

11b. חכמי יעצי פרעה עצה נבערה] the line seems at least one word too long; is עצה intrusive, and נבערה an error for נבערו? The construction of 𝔊, in spite of such partial analogies as אני תפלה (Ps 109^4; cp. Dr. § 109 (2)), or the usage of עצה, is abnormal; we may treat חכמי יעצי פרעה as a *casus pendens* and עצה as resumptive, but if we render *the wisest of Pharaoh's counsellors—a*

* Based on W. M. Müller in *EBi. s.v. Neph.*

witless council are they, we place on עצה, *counsel*, or *plan*, a sense which it bears nowhere else; again, if we render *the wisest*, etc.—*witless is* (*their*) *counsel* (𝔊 and virtually RV), we assume a most improbable ellipse of the pronoun (עצה for עצתם) which cannot be defended by reference to Ps 9⁷, for that is a corrupt passage. For the superlative force of חכמי יעצי, cp. G–K. 133*h*.—אני . . . תאמרו] the pl. is distributed: cp. Jer 2²⁷.—**12.** ויֵדְעוּ] 𝔖𝔗 MT; preferable is וְיֵדְעִי (𝔊𝔉); cp. 47¹³.—**13.** והתעו] many MSS and the versions והתעו. —פנת שבטיה] 𝔊 *κατὰ φυλάς*. פנת was probably intended to be read as a pl. (𝔗); if sing. (MT) and subj. of התעו, it has a collective force (G–K. 145*b*, *c*). For the order vb., obj., subj., see Dr. § 208 (4): it emphasises the subj. rather unexpectedly here, where the subj. seems to be merely parallel to the unemphasised subjects of v.¹³ᵃ.—**14.** מסך בקרבה רוח] in 5²² and elsewhere מסך is used of liquids, and means *to mix*. Ges., al., suggest that it has here lost its full force, and, like the Gk. *κεράννυμι* in Apoc 14¹⁰, for example, means merely *to prepare*: cp. 𝔗 רמא ביניהון רוח. In 29¹⁰ the phrase used of רוח is נסך, in 𝔙+על, but see n. there; Du. proposes נסך here. For בקרבה, בקרבם should perhaps be read: cp. 𝔗𝔊, and see comm.—[עעים] see 21³ 24¹ nn., and BDB, *s.v.* עוה, i. 𝔊𝔖 connect with √עוה, غوى (BDB, עוה, ii.; cp. Dr. on 1 S 20³⁰), *to err from the way*.—[מעשהו] read מַעֲשֵׂיהָ; note the pl. in 𝔊𝔗𝔖, and the 3rd *fem.* suffix in שבטיה, v.¹³ᵇ.—**15.** [לא יהיה למצרים] for the use of היה, cp. 7⁷. ל may mean *for*, and denote the source—no work shall be performed by Egypt.

16 f. Judah a terror to Egypt.—Egypt will tremble at the impending judgment of Yahweh, and will shudder at the mere mention of the land of Judah.—**16.** *In that day*] so vv.¹⁸· ¹⁹· ²¹· ²³· ²⁴.—*Egypt*] personified and construed with the masc. sing. as in vv.¹·³: ct. v.¹³ (fem. sing.), vv.²¹ᶠ· (masc. pl.).—*Shall be like women*] Nah 3¹³; Ges. compares Xerxes' speech at the battle of Salamis *οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες* (Herod. viii. 88).—*And shall tremble*] חרד of women, 32¹¹; of a city, 10²⁹.—*And be in dread*] unlike Israel (12²), secure in Yahweh's help. The *vb.* פחד repeated in v.¹⁷ is a favourite with late writers. The noun occurs in Is 2¹⁰.—*Because of the swinging of the hand of Yahweh*] cp. 11¹⁵ and phil. n. on 10³², also 30³². The meaning may be that the Jews (cp. v.¹⁷), by the help of Yahweh, will overwhelm, or spoil, the Egyptians; cp. "battles of swinging," 30³², and for the idea Ex 14²⁵, Zec 2¹³ ⁽⁹⁾, 2 Ch 14¹³ᶠ·; or the writer may have had in mind some other miraculous intervention of Yahweh, cp. 11¹⁵. —**17.** *And the land of Judah will become a terror* (see phil. n.) *to Egypt*, either because Yahweh's conquering hosts will pour down from Judah on Egypt (see last n.), or because, dreading Yahweh, Egypt will dread his residence also (Di., Marti). Moreover, *whoever mentions it*, viz. the land of Judah, *to him*, i.e.

Egypt, *will be in dread.*—**17b.** The cast of sentence monotonously repeats v.[16b].—*The plan of Yahweh*] verbally a connecting link with vv.[1-15], see v.[12]; the writer may have in mind what Ps 2[7] calls Yahweh's *decree*, according to which Israel was to treat with severity all nations which failed to serve them. Other terrors planned by Yahweh for those who do not submit to Israel are mentioned with specific reference to Egypt in Zec 14[12-19].

16. אשר הוא מניף] more effective than יניף. The use of the expressed subj. with the part. is normal (Dr. § 135 (6)) at all periods: cp. *e.g.* Ex 5[6] (JE).—**17.** לחגא] ἅπ. λεγ., 𝔊 φόβητρον, 𝔗 לרחלא; cp. 𝔖𝔙. The ending א is an Aramaising equivalent of ה (G–K. 80*h*): the root is חגג; cp. יחגו וינועו כשכור, Ps 107[27]; if this means (BDB) *to reel* (as from festival excess), such a derivative meaning may well be late; in any case the sense required for the noun here is only paralleled within the OT by the sense of the vb. in the late Psalm passage.—כל אשר יזכיר אתה אליו יפחד] awkward, and really rather pointless however construed. For the translation above, cp. הזכיר with acc. of the thing and אל of the pers. in Gn 40[14]. Less probable is the rendering *every one* (i.e. every Egyptian) *to whom one mentions it is in dread*; but *whenever one mentions it to him, he* (Egypt) *is in dread*, would give excellent sense, if 1 S 2[13] proved that כל אשר could mean *whenever*. Improbable is the rendering *whosoever makes mention of it, to him he turneth in dread* (פחד אל, as Jer 36[16]).

18–25.—*Jewish Colonies in Egypt. The Conversion of Egypt. The Religious Triple Alliance of Egypt, Assyria, and Israel.*

The unity of the section has been questioned, v.[18] or [18b] or [23-25] having been by various writers suspected of being interpolations. The somewhat disjointed character of the section, marked off by many repetitions of *In that day*, gives some ground for such suspicions. But, as the commentary that follows must be left to show, it is by no means difficult to interpret the several parts as coherent.

Neither style nor ideas admit the probability that vv.[18-25] were written by Isaiah: note on the one hand the constant repetition of *Egypt* and *in that day*, and the absence of anything characteristic of Isaiah: on the other, the prominence given to the ritual element in religion, vv.[19. 21. 23].

The style does not point conclusively to any definite date, though it is just such as a late writer familiar with the Scriptures might have written.

The determination of date rests in the first place on the question whether the entire section is prophecy, or whether it is

in part history clothed as prophecy. In the former case it seems easier to account for the prophecy of an altar (or rather in this case altars), and a *maṣṣebah* or *maṣṣebahs* to be erected in Egypt (v.[19]) before the publication of Deuteronomy (ch. 12; 16[22]) than after; though the idea is not easily associated with pre-exilic prophecy. If the reference is to a particular altar and *maṣṣebah* already existing, no known facts explain the reference to the *maṣṣebah*, and the only known fact which might explain the allusion to the altar is the Temple at Leontopolis erected about 160 B.C.* It is altogether improbable that the exiled high priest Onias had no sympathisers in Judah: and it is possible that one of these, dealing not with an idea, but accepting the *fact* of a temple in Egypt, saw in its erection the realisation of what had long ago been pre-determined by Yahweh as a means of bringing Egypt to Himself. What those, who had driven Onias to Egypt, had intended for evil, God had intended for good, to bring much people to Himself (cp. Gn 50[20]).

18. The "City of Righteousness" in Egypt.—There will be five cities in Egypt speaking Hebrew and acknowledging Yahweh: one of these will be distinguished from the rest, possibly as being the legitimate seat of Jewish worship in Egypt: in this case the reference would be to Leontopolis, where from about 160 B.C.–73 A.D. there stood a temple built by the Jewish refugee Onias IV., after the model of the Temple at Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3, *War.* i. 1[1], vii. 10[2-4]).

The specific reference to Leontopolis, or the Temple of Onias, has been recognised alike by many who see in this v. a prophecy written in the 8th cent. B.C., and by many who regard it as a piece of history clothed in the form of prophecy, and forming the prelude to actual prophecy in vv.[20-25], just as on a larger scale history clothed as prophecy forms the prelude to actual prophecy in Dn 7. Others question the specific reference (see more fully below).

In another respect affecting the general sense of the v. interpreters have differed: some see here a prophecy that a few Egyptian cities, as the firstfruits of the whole land (vv.[24f.]), will become converted to the Jewish religion, and in proof of their conversion speak Hebrew (so Del.): others, with greater

* An historical reference to both the erection and destruction of this temple given in the form of prophecy is found in Orac. Sibyl. v. 488–510.

probability, understand the five cities to be Jewish colonies in Egypt.

Five cities] the writer may well mean five definite cities, though these need not necessarily be Heliopolis, Leontopolis, Migdol, Daphnae, Memphis (Hitz.). Others treat *five* as a round number: so that the meaning is among the 18,000 to 30,000 cities or townships of Egypt, as they were computed at different times (Herod. ii. 177; Diod. i. 31), *a few cities* will speak Hebrew. The least hazardous parallels to such a use of five are 1 S 17^{40} 21^{3}, for there as here the use of any number is *unnecessary*, unless *five* were meant strictly. Many of the instances cited by Ges. *ad loc.* and König in *DB* iii. 564^{a} are obviously not to the point; for instance, Benjamin's fivefold gift (Gn 43^{34} 45^{22}), five fleeing before a hundred (Lv 26^{8}, cp. 1 Co 14^{19}), five sparrows for two farthings (Lk 12^{6}).— *Will be speaking the language of Canaan*] *i.e.* Hebrew; the five cities will be Hebrew-speaking; Hebrew, not Egyptian, Greek (or ? Aramaic) will be in these cities the regular language of intercourse. Coupled as this clause is with the next, *and swear* allegiance (cp. 45^{23}, 2 Ch 15^{11}) *to Yahweh of hosts* (𝔊 *to the name of Yahweh*), *the language* (lit. *lip*; cp. Gn $11^{1.\ 6.\ 7.\ 9}$, Ps 81^{6}) *of Canaan* can scarcely mean anything but Hebrew; yet why this is not expressed by *speaking Jewish*, as in 36^{11} (cp. 36^{13}), is not clear, and is, indeed, strange, for in Neh 13^{24} Ashdodite and Jewish (*i.e.* Hebrew), though both languages of Canaan, are sharply distinguished.—*One of them shall be called*] one of these five cities will be distinguished from the rest by its peculiar character or function: the idiom *to be called* (נאמר ל, 4^{3} n. 32^{5} 62^{4}, cp. 1^{26} n.), expresses an actual quality possessed, or function exercised, not a mere name to express which a different idiom would be used (Gn 10^{25}, Ex 1^{15} 18^{3}, Nu 11^{26}, Ru 1^{4}, 2 S 4^{2}); and אחת, *one*, can scarcely here mean *each*; for in cases where *one* seems to have such a meaning (*e.g.* Nu 7^{3}, 2 K 15^{20}; BDB 25*b*) the distributive idea is suggested by repetition, or by a distributive preposition, or by the context. Unfortunately what this city was to be called is uncertain; there are various readings, and the interpretation of the variants is ambiguous. But the context, in the light of what has been already said, allows us to affirm: 1. that the name must be of favourable import, 2. that it must not be merely the actual name of some city, insignificant in the

context and serving merely to identify the city intended: the writer's purpose is not to disclose the actual name of one of the five cities, leaving the remaining four unnamed, but to indicate some essential peculiarity of this one city; 3. the name must not by implication speak unfavourably of the other four, for they, as well as it, are obviously cities of Yahweh's approval. Many theories which have been suggested may be immediately dismissed as violating one or other of these conditions. The readings with the most probable translation attached in each case are as follows:

(*a*) Πόλις ασεδεκ, 𝔊 (variant ασεδ ἡλίου, א) = עיר הצדק (1[26]), *City of righteousness*. This reading, since it contains a transliteration, certainly goes back to a Hebrew text.

(*b*) עיר ההרס, *City of Destruction*: so most Heb. MSS, Syr. ܣ, 𝔗 (see under (*c*)), and possibly Aq. and Theod. who transliterate αρες; but this might also = החרס (cp. Jg 8[13] 𝔊).

(*c*) עיר החרס, *City of the Sun*: so some Heb. MSS, Symm. (πόλις) ἡλίου, Jer. *civitas solis*. 𝔗 appears to combine (*b*) and (*c*): it renders קרתא בית שמש דעתידה למחרב, *City of the house* (i.e. temple) *of the sun which is about to be destroyed*.

The oldest attestation, that of 𝔊, say *c.* 150 B.C., is in favour of (*a*); but the readings (*b*) and (*c*) both go back at least to the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. If any of these readings be the original one, the choice lies between (*a*) and (*c*), and must really fall on (*a*)—*City of Righteousness*; the name recalls 1[26], and means that one of these cities will be the Egyptian Jerusalem. But Jerusalem to the writer is not, as in Isaiah's ideal, the city of just or right government, it is the city of just or correct worship, the place where *sacrifices of righteousness* (Ps 51[21]), *i.e.* legitimate sacrifice, can be offered. Thus interpreted the name satisfies all the conditions of the context—it is of favourable import, it is not an actual proper name, it does not by implication reflect on the other cities: only one of them could be the Egyptian Jerusalem, the city of correct worship, all of them might have been cities of righteousness in any wider sense of that term.

The reading עיר ההרס can only mean, as 𝔗 correctly understood it, *city of destruction*, i.e. *doomed to destruction* (Ḳi., Rashi, and most moderns). To avoid this meaning, impossible in the context, Secker suggested the artificial interpretation *city of the destruction* (of heathen altars, etc.): so Del., Orelli, and Che. (in *PI*, but not later). The claims of the reading ההרס to originality

may therefore be rejected decisively on two grounds: (*a*) the meaning is impossible in the context; (*b*) reasons for the origin of the reading are obvious: it is certain (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3) that v.[19] and the neighbouring verses * were early understood to refer to the temple at Leontopolis, and that this temple provoked the displeasure of the Palestinian Jews; some Palestinian scribe substituted for a reading agreeable to the context a reading that expressed his feelings with regard to the schismatic temple. The reading of a few MSS עיר ההרם, *city devoted* (to destruction), if it had any serious claims to consideration, would be dismissed on the same grounds. The theory (Du., Marti) that הרם means *lion*, because هراس and هِرِس, derived from هرس, *to be voracious*, are used as epithets of a lion, would be philologically most hazardous; and it is out of harmony with the context, for עיר ההרם then becomes a mere proper name—Leontopolis.

The reading עיר החרם has been generally interpreted *City of the Sun*, חרם occurring once certainly in OT (Job 9^{7}, not Jg 14^{18}) as a synonym of שמש. It is assumed by some that עיר החרם is here an equivalent, synonymous in meaning with the Greek Ἡλίου πόλις (𝔊's regular rendering of the Heb. און), of the Egyptian city On. The meaning then is—one of those cities is On, Heliopolis. This is probably the correct interpretation of the reading; but it does not satisfy the requirements of the context, though quite good enough for a scribe aware that the passage was supposed to refer to the temple of Onias in Leontopolis, which was situated in the nome of Heliopolis. But why, if the original writer merely meant this, did he not say On (as in Gn $41^{45.\ 50}$ 46^{20}, Ezk 30^{17}), or at least עיר השמש (cp. ? Jer 43^{13}, 𝔓 not 𝔊)?

If, however, we suppose that עיר החרם means, indeed, *city of the sun*, but was not used here as a mere translation of the Egyptian name of the nome, what quality of the city was it intended to express? Certainly not that it was to be a city distinguished by the worship of the sun! yet this would be the obvious force of the phrase (cp. עיר יהוה, 60^{14}). Unless some more suitable meaning can be discovered than hitherto, this interpretation at least, if not the reading itself, must be dismissed.

But חרם has been otherwise explained as meaning (1) *potsherd(s)*—Jerome, as an alternative meaning to *sun*: חרם is NH orthography for חרש; (2) *deliverance*, so Ges. on the strength of the Arabic حرس, *to rescue*. But neither meaning gives anything unique for a single city as against the five. Jerome, indeed, takes it as forming a proper name—Ostracine: but this on other grounds is to be dismissed.

Whether הרם or חרם is the earlier reading it is difficult to say. For though הרם as a noun occurs nowhere else, yet the vb. is very common; and it is easier to account for the substitution of this word of sinister meaning than for הרם with its neutral meaning; חרם, too, is very rare, and unless similarity of form to הרם suggested the choice of the rare word, we should naturally expect a scribe, who was substituting a mere place name for a complimentary epithet, to select the common term שמש.

* In section 1, Jos. makes Onias cite part of v.[19] and add, "and many other such things did he (Isaiah) prophesy relating to that place."

It would be extremely hazardous to seek indirect support for the priority of חרם by assuming, on the ground of the reading *ασεδ ἡλίου* in 𝔊, that 𝔊's Hebrew text read חסר (Che., Burkitt, cited by Ottley, p. 201 ; *EBi.* 2018). The reading of א is conflate ; cp. the interpretation of *Ασεδεκ* by *δικαιοσύνη ἡλίου* (Lag. *Onom.* 187[39]). It would be extremely strange if a mere accidental addition of *ἐκ* to an original *ασεδ* should have given the exact transliteration of הצדק. Finally, עיר החסר will not stand as the original reading, for such a quality would attach to all five cities equally.

Against the originality of החרם is the fact that neither an Egyptian scribe would have had any compelling reason to substitute הצדק, nor a Palestinian to substitute ההרס. If a word of neutral significance had stood here originally, it would have been likely to maintain its place. The textual facts are best, if not completely, accounted for by assuming that the chronological order of the readings is הצדק, ההרס, החרם.

19–22. An altar and a maṣṣebah will be erected to Yahweh in Egypt (v.[19]), reminding Him that He has worshippers there; when, therefore, His Jewish worshippers (scarcely His Egyptian worshippers: Skinner) are oppressed and cry to Him, He will send and deliver them (v.[20]); He will, thereafter, make Himself known to the Egyptians, and they, coming to know Him, will also serve Him with sacrifice and offering, and pay their vows to Him (v.[21]). Thenceforward, being Yahweh's worshippers (and people, v.[25]), Yahweh will treat them as He had treated Israel in the past, smiting them, indeed, to discipline them, but also, and as often as they turn to Him, hearing their prayer and healing them.

Since it is only after the erection of the altar to Yahweh (v.[19]) that the Egyptians come to know Yahweh (v.[21]), the writer cannot mean that the Egyptians themselves erected this altar: he thinks of aliens resident in Egypt, viz. Jews (cp. v.[18]). Attempts have been made to avoid this conclusion: Del. virtually inserts *all* twice over in v.[21], so as to create an antithesis that does not exist in the text: v.[18f.], according to Del., asserts that Yahweh reveals Himself first to a few cities in Egypt, and then (v.[21]) "extends knowledge of Himself to the whole of Egypt, and throughout all Egypt there arises the knowledge of God." Cond. rearranges the verses in this order: [16f. 22. 21. 18-20. 23f.], which removes one *hysteron proteron* only to create another, for it makes the Egyptians offer sacrifices to Yahweh before they erect the altar.

19. *An altar in the midst of the land . . . and a maṣṣebah at its border*] Ges. suggests that the terms are to be taken collect-

ively and the parallelism (cp. 11^{12} 18^{6}) interpreted thus: There will be altars and *maṣṣebahs* from the centre of the land to its circumference. This would have more probability if there were more parallelism and poetical style in the section, and if the one city (of righteousness) in v.[18] did not make a reference to a single altar in that city natural. Che. (*Introd.* 106) overrides the reference to a definite altar even more boldly and with much less probability; what is meant is, he claims, "neither more nor less than this, that the regular worship of Yahweh should be set up in Egypt. Synagogues were, of course, just as much a 'sign' and a 'witness' (v.[20]) as literal altars, and the spiritual sacrifices . . . of prayer and obedience were infinitely more acceptable than mere animal sacrifices (זבח and מנחה are mentioned to preserve the illusion of Isaianic authorship; cp. $1^{11.\ 13}$)." It is safer to conclude that the altar is a real and definite altar; and so with the *maṣṣebah*. In this case the altar and *maṣṣebah* to which the writer refers were remote from one another, one being in the centre, the other at the extremity of the country; and it is not necessary to assume that the *maṣṣebah* was one connected with an altar or with worship, and consequently an object such as the Deuteronomic Law condemned (Dt 16^{22}, cp. 1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 17^{10} 18^{4} 23^{14}). We cannot safely argue that even the Deuteronomic school and H (Lv 26^{1}) would have condemned commemorative * *maṣṣebahs*, or steles, such as are mentioned in Gn 31^{45} 35^{20}, 2 S 18^{18}, and such as still exist bearing Phoenician inscriptions, for example the "marble obelisk, about 5 ft. high, terminating in a pyramidal or gabled top," found at Kition and dedicated to the memory of a certain Eshmun-adoni; see Cooke, *NSI*, p. 60 = *CIS* i. 44 (with illustration in Table VIII.). As according to Gn 31^{45} a *maṣṣebah* marked the boundary between the Aramaeans and Hebrews in Gilead, so according to this passage a *maṣṣebah* is to mark, or rather already marks, the boundary of Egypt. May we surmise that at some place, such as Daphnae, on the North-eastern boundary of Egypt, one of the five cities of v.[18], perhaps, and connected by the Jews of the time with the Exodus, there stood

* Even "commemorative monuments" were condemned by Abd el-Wahhab, the founder of the Wahhabis (Hogarth, *Penetration of Arabia*, 73); and similar extremes are familiar expressions of the reforming spirit. But idealists, such as this writer was, need not share all the extreme views of reformers of religious practice.

an inscribed obelisk celebrating Yahweh's deeds? If this were prophecy, it would be easy to understand a prediction that Egypt, like Canaan, should have its own place of sacrifice (cp. Mal 1^{11}); but a prediction that there should be a *maṣṣebah* at the boundary would be rather insignificant, if not positively meaningless. On the other hand, if such a *maṣṣebah* as we have surmised actually existed, it might still find mention along with the altar. The altar, if not ideal and the subject of prophecy, but really existing at the time when these words were written, is most readily understood of the altar at Leontopolis (cp. v.[18] n.). Leontopolis occupied the site of Tell-el-Yehudiyyeh; this place has been excavated and the remains of the Jewish temple laid bare.* This place lies north of Memphis, but at the southern end of the Delta, and therefore quite strictly in *the midst of the land*. It is certain that the priests of Leontopolis in the 1st cent. A.D. applied this passage to their temple. Onias, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 3^{1}), in making his petition, which was granted, to build a temple at Leontopolis, wrote to Ptolemy and Cleopatra as follows: "I pray you grant me leave to build a temple to Almighty God, after the pattern of that in Jerusalem. . . . on behalf both of myself and my wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony with one another, for the prophet Isaiah prophesied, 'There shall be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God.'" We cannot, of course, assume that Josephus had the correspondence of Onias and Ptolemy before him: he is rather in this form giving the regular apology of the priesthood of Leontopolis for their temple. An allusion to the altar and temple of the Jewish colony at Elephantine, built before 525 B.C. and destroyed in 411 B.C., has been suspected by Steuernagel (*ThSK*, 1909, pp. 8–12); but (1) Elephantine lay not "in the midst of the land," but on the southern frontier, as Ezekiel was well aware (Ezk 30^{6} 29^{10}); (2) we have no evidence, and it is improbable, that Elephantine made any such claim to a distinctive position among Jewish cities in Egypt as is made in vv.[18-20a].—

20. The existence of the altar in the centre and the *maṣṣebah*, or inscribed obelisk, on the frontier of Egypt, will serve Yahweh as reminders; for this kind of אות, unlike that in 7^{14}, cp. Ex 13^{9}, Gn $9^{11ff.}$; thus the rainbow is a sign, אות, which reminds Yahweh

* W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (1906), pp. 19–27.

of His oath not to destroy the earth by a flood; so when He sees the altar and *maṣṣebah* in Egypt, He is reminded of His people there; and therefore [20b] *when they cry* to Him *because of oppressors* (Jg 2^{18}), *that He may send them a deliverer* as of old (Jg $3^{9.\ 18}$), *He will intervene*, lit. *contend*, or *conduct His case* (cp. especially Ps $74^{22f.}$), *and deliver them.* Others render (but see phil. n.), *when they cry to Him . . . He sends them a deliverer, and He* (the deliverer) *contends for them and delivers them*, or *when they cry, etc., He sends them a deliverer and a champion, and he delivers them*; and some who render thus think that reference to actual historical events still continues; but if so, the identity of the deliverer is obscurer far than that of the altar. More probably the transition to prediction which has certainly taken place in v.[21] has already taken place in v.[20].—**21.** By delivering His people in Egypt—whether because in delivering them He delivers the Egyptians also is not clear—Yahweh makes Himself known to the Egyptians (cp. Ezk 38^{23}); but not merely with the result, on which Ezekiel lays so much stress, that they realise that Yahweh is Yahweh, *i.e.* realise all His might and power; this writer looks forward to a conversion of Egypt to the Jewish religion, which could be summed up as a "knowledge of Yahweh." The Egyptians *will know Yahweh* (cp. 1^{3} 11^{2} n.); but the knowledge, or religion, of Yahweh, for this writer (ct. 11^{2} 1^{3}), manifests itself in ritual (cp. v.[19]; ct. $1^{11ff.}$), and therefore the converted Egyptians will give proof of their conversion by offering sacrifice to Yahweh; they will participate in the service of the altar (in Leontopolis?).—**22.** Become Yahweh's people (cp.[25]), Egypt will experience that goodness of Yahweh's which shows itself in fatherly chastisement, and "leads to repentance" and healing. —*Smiting and healing*] cp. Hos 6^{1}. *As often as they return* from the evil ways to which, like Israel, Yahweh's first people, they will be prone, *He will let Himself be entreated of them*; they will pray to be healed, *and He will heal them.*

23–25. The triple alliance of Egypt, Assyria, Israel. These three powers, blessed of Yahweh, will be a source of blessing in the whole world. The conversion of Egypt, which must precede this, has been dwelt on in v.[21f.]; that of Assyria is merely, but certainly, implied. The co-operation of Assyria and Egypt implies, too, a general state of peace which enters into many a prophetic picture of the ideal future; what is

remarkable here, and almost unparalleled, is the co-ordination of Egypt and Assyria with Israel; they are not to be subjects of Israel, and in virtue of so being, objects of Yahweh's regard; they are to be as directly related to Yahweh as Israel itself. This unlimited universalism, this entire elimination of racial prerogative to the favour of Yahweh, was too catholic a thought to be immediately and generally accepted; 𝔊 misses the point of the equal co-ordination of the three nations by rendering in v.[23] "Egypt shall serve Assyria," and reduces v.[25] to a mere reference to the Jews at home and in the Diaspora, rendering, *Blessed is my people which is in Egypt, and which is in Assyria and the land, my inheritance, Israel*; cp. 𝔖 and even 𝔙. 𝔗 likewise paraphrases away the great idea as follows: "Blessed is my people whom I brought out of Egypt, whom because they sinned before me I exiled to Assyria; but when they repented they were called my people and my inheritance, Israel."

23. There will be easy communication by means of a *highway* (11[16] 40[3]) which Assyrians and Egyptians will use equally for friendly passage to one another's country.—*Assyria*] if the verses were written before the last decade of the 7th cent., this refers to the Assyrian Empire; if later, to one of the Empires which succeeded to the command of the Euphrates valley—the Persian or the Seleucid; see 11[16] 10[24] n.—*The Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians*] grammatically the sentence is ambiguous: it might equally well, and even more obviously, mean *the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians*; but a subjection of Egypt to Assyria is incompatible with the entire outlook of the verses, with the co-ordination of Egypt and Assyria (Egypt being mentioned first) in the next v., and the repetition of exactly the same phrase (ct. 𝔊) for the passage of Assyria to Egypt and Egypt to Assyria. The service in which Egypt and Assyria are to co-operate is (ritual) service to Yahweh; cp., of Egypt, v.[21].—24. *A blessing in the midst of the earth* 25 *which Yahweh of Hosts hath blessed, saying*] so, following 𝔊 in reading ברכה for ברכו, which cannot be satisfactorily explained (see phil. n.). For ברכה, *a blessing*, cf. Gn 12[2].—*My people*] Egypt, in Ex 3[7] and often elsewhere of Israel.—*The work of my hands*] the term used of Assyria was in itself of the widest importance once the belief in Yahweh as Creator had developed; note, however, the use of the term in reference to Israel in 60[21] 64[7].—*My inheritance*] of

Israel as often: so 47^{6}, where it stands in parallelism with *my people*, also meaning Israel.

20. והיה] the subj. is the entire sense of v.[19] (cp. Kön. iii. 323*c*), *i.e.* the existence in Egypt of מובח and מצבה; 3rd m. sing. as in Gn 1^{11} etc. 17^{11}. Less probable is the view that the following sentence כי יצעקו וגו׳ is the subj.—לאות ולעד] 𝔊 *εἰς σημεῖον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*.—וישלח] *that he may send*: this is the normal force of simple waw with the impf. (Dr. § 62); and again, the normal apodosis to a sentence beginning with כי and an impf. begins with waw consec. and the pf. (וְרָב here); the waw with the impf. is in such cases very rare (Dr. § 136*β*, cp. § 125). Moreover, the subj. of ורב and והצילם is quite naturally Yahweh on the view here taken, less naturally מושיע on the other. MT וְרָב means רב to be taken as a part.: so 𝔗𝔖𝔙 (𝔊 ambiguous); but after מושיע this is very otiose; on the other hand, in the light of Ps 74^{22} ורב, *then he will intervene*, is effective enough.—**22.** ונעתר . . . ושבו] for the hypothetical force of the double waw conv. with pf., see Dr. § 149. For the Niph. of עתר+ל of those whose supplication is permitted and granted, cp. Gn 25^{21}, Ezr 8^{23}.—**21.** ועבדו ובח ומנחה] 𝔊 *καὶ ποιήσουσιν θυσίας*. But עבר is rather a technical term meaning *to discharge a* (religious) *service* or *duty*: cp. Ex 13^{5}; and v.[23] below. With the acc. of the material used in the service, cp. Ex 10^{26}.—**25.** אשר ברכו] 𝔊 *ἣν εὐλόγησεν*, whence we may read אֲשֶׁר בֵּרְכָהּ, the suffix referring to ארץ. Retaining MT, some explain *wherewith* (or *because*) *Yahweh hath blessed him*, i.e. Israel, or distributively, each one of the three—all awkward and improbable.

XX.—*Miṣraim and Cush* (*Egypt and Ethiopia*) *are to be taken captive by Assyria.*

For three years, including the year of the capture of Ashdod by the Assyrians, Isaiah by command of Yahweh went about "naked" (*i.e.* half-clad) and barefoot, like a captive, as a portent that Miṣraim and Cush, on whom the Palestinian states at this time relied for help against Assyria, would, so far from giving help, themselves be taken captive by Assyria.

Sargon's inscriptions (see below) enable us to date the capture of Ashdod; it took place in 711 B.C. These inscriptions also state directly that Judah was drawn into the revolt, and into the appeal to Pir'u, king of Muṣur, for help against Assyria. Isaiah's conduct was directed, though unsuccessfully, towards keeping Hezekiah and Judah out of an anti-Assyrian alliance with the neighbouring states.

The date is particularly significant if, as has commonly been assumed, Miṣraim and Cush are here, as usually in the OT, Egypt and Ethiopia (18^{1} n.) respectively. For the siege of

Ashdod falls a year, or perhaps as much as three years, after Sabako, in establishing the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt, had re-established a strong central government in the Nile valley. Isaiah, in this case, is affirming that the new government in Egypt, though it may be stronger, will nevertheless bring no strength to the Palestinian states against Assyria. His expectation that Assyria would take captive and carry into exile the people of Egypt and Ethiopia was not fulfilled; it was a full generation after the capture of Ashdod before an Assyrian army even entered Egypt. But it is obvious that Isaiah was right in expecting that the Palestinian states would receive no effective aid from outside; it is not said whether the appeal to Muṣur for help met with any response; but it is directly stated that the king of Meluḫḫa, identified* by most scholars (not Winckler) with Ethiopia, delivered over the leader of the Ashdodites, who had fled to his kingdom for refuge, to the Assyrians.

But the identification of the Miṣraim Cush of Is 20 and the Muṣur and Meluḫḫa of the Assyrian inscriptions, relating the revolt of Ashdod, with Egypt and Ethiopia, formerly accepted by himself,† so far as Muṣur = Egypt is concerned, has been most recently denied by Winckler, who now ‡ regards all three terms, Muṣur (Miṣraim), Meluḫḫa, Cush, as districts of Arabia. Alt (*Israel u. Aegypten*, 68 ff.) adopts an intermediate position, holding that Pir'u, king of Muṣur, to whom the Ashdodites and their Jewish and other allies appealed for help, was an Arabian ruler, but the king of Meluḫḫa who delivered up Yamani to Assyria was Sabako the king of Ethiopia (and Egypt).

It will be convenient to gather here the details of the affair of Ashdod given in Sargon's inscriptions (ed. Winckler, 1889)—Annals, 215–228; Great inscriptions (*Prunkinschrift*), 90–112 (*KB* ii. 65 f.), and a Clay Prism (ed. Winckler, 186–189). In the Annals (l. 208) the date is given as the 11th year of Sargon, *i.e.* 711 B.C.; in the Clay Prism (l. 1) as the 9th year. The latter date may be due to a different mode of reckoning, or more probably it is the date of the earliest treasonable proceedings in Ashdod, while

* See, particularly, E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten u. ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906), where the identification Meluḫḫa = Ethiopia, is re-argued at length against Winckler.

† *ATUntersuchungen* (1892), 143 f.

‡ *KAT*[3] 70 ff. (where references will be found to his earlier arguments); *Die jüngsten Kämpfer wider den Panbabylonismus* (1907), 29 ff.

711 is the date of the fall of the city (*KAT* 370 ff.). Note the three years' duration of Isaiah's portent. The course of events was as follows: Azuri, king of Ashdod, determined to withhold his tribute to Assyria, and invited the kings of his region to join him in his anti-Assyrian policy. Sargon punished this conduct by deposing Azuri and making Azuri's brother Aḫimiti king in his place. The Ashdodites refused to accept the Assyrian nominee, and set up against him one, Yamani by name, who had no right by descent to the throne, and who was, perhaps (*KAT* 370 n.), an adventurer from Cyprus (Yamna) or Arabia (Yemen). Yamani fortified Ashdod, and (at his instigation) the Ashdodites, in common with other Assyrian vassal-states "situated on the sea" (a-ši-bu-ut tam-tim), viz. the Philistine cities, Judah, Edom, Moab, brought presents to and sought, whether successfully or not is not stated, alliance with Pir'u, king of Muṣur (Pharaoh, king of Egypt, or פרע, king of a district in Arabia?). "Quick as lightning" Sargon('s army) marched from beyond Tigris on Ashdod. At the first news of his approach Yamani fled *a-na i-te-e mât mu-uṣ-ri ša pa-at mât me-luḫ-ḫa*, i.e. according to different interpretations, *to the boundary* (or, *in the direction*) *of Muṣur, which is on the side of* (or, *belongs to the territory of*) *Meluḫḫa*. Sargon's army captured and spoiled Ashdod, Gimti, and Ashdodimmu, and Sargon made Ashdod the seat of an Assyrian governor. The king of Meluḫḫa, whose capital was very remote from Assyria, and whose fathers had not sent messengers or paid tribute to Assyria, alarmed by Sargon's exploits, sent Yamani bound to Assyria.

The chapter is probably in the main derived from an early biography of the prophet—not from the autobiography from which chs. 6–8 are drawn; for in v.[3] as well as in v.[2] Isaiah (the son of Amoṣ, v.[2] as in the titles 1[1] 2[1] 13[1]) is referred to in the 3rd person. In form the ch. consists of two divine oracles, v.[2b] and vv.[3-6], separated from one another in time by three years, and a brief introduction, vv.[1. 2b], defining the occasion of the oracles. The awkwardness and ambiguity of vv.[1-3a] (see notes below) may be due to subsequent amplification of the extract from the biography, possibly by the insertion of v.[2], or to abbreviation (cp. ch. 7). Both introduction and oracles seem to be in prose (Che., Du., Cond., Box). The attempt to represent the oracles as poetical in structure (Lowth, Skinner) is not successful.

1. *In the year*] 711 B.C.: see above.—*That the Tartan*] 2 K 8[17] †. In Assyr. *turtānu*, *tartānu*, is the name of the officer, or officers—for as early as Sargon's time there seem to have been two—who ranked in the Assyrian army next after the king; see Johns in *EBi. s.v. Tartan*; E. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum* (1910), pp. 60–63.—*Came to Ashdod*] mod. Esdud,

about 33 miles almost due E. of Jerusalem and 2 or 3 miles from the coast.—*When Sargon, king of Assyria*] from 722–705 B.C.—*Sent him, and he fought against* (7[1] n.) *Ashdod, and took it*] all this fell within a single year. The Hebrew narrative means that the Tartan, and not Sargon in person, conducted the operations against Ashdod. Sargon in his inscription says, "I marched on Ashdod . . . I besieged, I conquered (it)" (Annals, 224 f.); but this seems to be merely a case of a king recording the events of his reign as his own personal exploits. —**2.** *At that time Yahweh spake*] or *Yahweh had spoken*, are equally legitimate renderings (Dr. § 7. 16); neither expresses well what appears to be meant, viz., that three years before the capture of Ashdod, Yahweh bade Isaiah go barefoot. If we date the oracle of v.[2], directing Isaiah to go barefoot, in the year of the capture of Ashdod, then in v.[3], *Yahweh said to me*, means really *Yahweh said to me three years later*. The v. is an awkward parenthesis, perhaps an insertion (Marti); but if so, an insertion based on a fuller narrative and not merely elicited from this passage, for v.[3] does not suggest the curious reference to the prophet's sackcloth.—*By the hand of Isaiah*] 𝔊 *to* (πρός) *Isaiah*. Later writers, particularly P and Ch., are specially fond of the phrase, *Yahweh spake by the hand of* such and such a prophet: see, *e.g.*, Hag 1[1. 3], Lv 10[11], 2 Ch 10[15]; and for some twenty instances in P, see Carpenter and Harford, *The Hexateuch*, i. 219, no. 180. Earlier examples of the usage are, *e.g.*, 1 K 12[15] 17[16] (cp. Hos 12[11], 1 S 28[15. 17]). Its occurrence here is extraordinary, for the communication concerns the prophet alone, and is not to be passed on to some one else.—*Saying, Go and untie the sackcloth from about thy loins*] except in a few passages where it means *a sack* (of grain, etc.), שק always denotes an article of dress worn in mourning, or as a token of distress. Consequently, "to untie some one's sackcloth" is a figurative expression meaning to cause, or give to, any one joy (Ps 30[12]). In the present passage שק certainly seems to require, and has commonly received, another interpretation; it is said to be a distinctive but regular dress of the prophet, and is compared with the "hairy garment" of the prophets, who are slightingly referred to in Zec 13[4], or the camel's-hair raiment of John the Baptist, or the sheepskin, or the like, which, it is precariously argued, was Elijah's official dress; cp. 2 K 1[8] and 𝔊's μηλωτὴ for אדרת

in 1 K $19^{13.19}$, 2 K $1^{8.12f.}$.—*Half-clad*] wearing the inner garment only instead of the two which constituted the normal attire; so Mic 1^{8} and, perhaps, Ezk $18^{7.16}$, Is 58^{7}. The Hebrew words עירם, ערם no doubt commonly meant absolutely naked (Gn $3^{7.10f.}$); but, like γυμνός, *nudus*, they had also the meaning of half-clad; even in this condition Isaiah would have exposed himself during these years to jeers and contempt (cp. 2 S $6^{14.20}$). It is only incidentally from the following oracle that we learn the duration of Isaiah's conduct; yet the last half of v.^{3} would stand far more naturally in v.^{2}; and it is not improbable that the original biography ran, ^{2b} *And he did so, going half-clad and barefoot* ^{3b} *for three years as a sign and a portent* (8^{18}) *against Miṣraim and Cush.*—**3, 4.** The meaning of Isaiah's conduct: *And Yahweh said, As my servant* (cp. Am 3^{7}) *Isaiah has gone half-clad and barefoot . . . so the king of Assyria will drive away the captives of Miṣraim and the exiles of Cush, young and old, half-clad and barefoot.* This explanation of Isaiah's conduct is only given three years after it had begun; what had happened in the interval? Had Isaiah given no explanation to questions which his conduct must almost certainly have invoked? Did he himself attach no significance to conduct which he had practised at the express direction of God (v.^{2})? We may suppose that at first he explained it differently, making it perhaps significant of the exile that awaited Ashdod and Judah if they trusted in Miṣraim and Cush; and that the first point of the second oracle is that not only will these countries give no help to the Palestinian states, but will themselves become the captives of Assyria.—*With buttocks laid bare*] cp. 2 S 10^{4}. The clause, which re-enforces *half-clad and barefoot* as a description of the captives, may be an addition to the text.—*The genitalia of Miṣraim*] so the clause must be translated; it is probably a note giving a more seemly expression which was to be substituted (so 𝔊) for *buttocks* in the text. RV, *to the shame of Egypt*, places on ערוה an unknown and improbable meaning, and produces a very trite conclusion.—For the custom of stripping captives, see 2 Ch 28^{15} (cp. Is 47^{2}, 2 S 10^{4}): Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs illustrate it: see, *e.g.* Breasted, *History of Egypt*, fig. 119.

5, 6. The effect which the captivity of Cush and Miṣraim is to have on the Philistines and their Palestinian allies; *And they*

shall be dismayed (8^{9} n.) *and ashamed because of Cush their hope* (מבטם), to whom they looked (הביט, $22^{8.11}$) as a source of strength for help, *and because of Miṣraim* of whom they had made *their boast*, as being with all its irresistible might on their side; [6] *and the inhabitants of this coast* of Palestine *shall say in that day*, *Behold thus is our hope* become *whither we fled for help to deliver ourselves from the king of Assyria; how then can we be saved?* The subject of the vbs. in v.[5] has to be gathered from the suffixes in מבטם, תפארתם; it is not more explicitly stated till v.[6]; Marti accounts for this awkwardness by assuming that v.[5] is a gloss, Du. with more probability by assuming that the original biography has been abbreviated at this point.—*The inhabitants of the coast*] Sargon, not unnaturally, at a distance of 400 miles, groups together the inhabitants of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab as *those that inhabit the coast*; but it is strange for a resident in Jerusalem to use, if he does so, the phrase so comprehensively: in $23^{2.6}$ "the inhabitants of the coast" are, naturally enough, the Phoenicians; and in Zeph 2^{5} "the inhabitants of the region of the sea" are the Philistines. Possibly we have again some awkwardness due to abbreviation. —*How then shall we escape*] the pron. is emphatic (cp. 2 K 10^{4}); it refers to that part of the inhabitants of the coast who had not previously fled.

1. וילחם . . . בשנת בא] וילחם may carry on the infin., *In the year the Tartan came . . . and fought* (Dr. §§ 117 f.), then the whole of v.[1] is a definition of the year in which something took place; this something, if v.[2] were absent, would naturally be Yahweh's speech in v.[3] (ויאמר: cp. Dr. § 127β): at present v.[2] intervenes most awkwardly; בעת ההיא would not be a normal way of introducing what happened at the time defined by בשנת וגו׳, even if there were any probability that the oracle of v.[2] was communicated in 711 B.C., and that of vv.[2ff.] three years later. *In the year the Tartan came*, etc., *he fought . . . and took*, would be a possible translation of v.[1], but it would be rather pointless.—**2.** השק] with the art. (cp. 2 S 21^{10}, 2 K 6^{30}), but נעלך. שק, *sackcloth*, with suffix, only occurs in late passages—Est 4^{4}, Ps 30^{12}.—ערום] usage (see above) must determine the degree of exposure implied by this word, whether it be rightly derived from עור (Ew., Ges., Sta., as cited with approval in BDB; and see especially Schwally, *ZATW*, 1891, pp. 175 f.), or ערם (Kön. ii. 120; Barth, *NB* 41 f.).—**3.** שלש שנים] on the possibility that these and the following words originally stood in the narrative (cp. v.[1]) rather than in the oracle, where they have nothing corresponding to them in the correlative sentence beginning with כן, see above. If they are in place here they are acc. of duration (G–K. 118*k*), qualifying הלך, *walked for three years*. The position of the words, not to

discuss other reasons, is against the alternatives: (1) *Walked* (being thus) *a sign for three years* (Del.); (2) *in the third year a sign*, etc., *i.e.* a sign of what is to happen three years hence—probably intended by accentuation of MT.—4. גלות . . . שבי] abstract for concrete. 𝔊 omits גלות; for the punctuation גָּלוּת, see G-K. 95*l*.—עורם ויחף] acc. of the state in the sing. after plurals: cp. Job 24[10], see G-K 118*o*.—וְחַשּׂוּפֵי] MT treats the word as a sing. (G-K. 87*s*); וְחַשּׂוּפֵי was intended.

XXI.

The chapter consists of three poems (*a*) vv.[1-10]; (*b*) vv.[11f.]; (*c*) vv.[13-15]; and a prose note, v.[15].

The poems are correctly distinguished from one another by titles characteristic of chs. 13–23 (see 13[1] n.) prefixed to them. Not improbably the poems are the work of a single writer, and were composed in Palestine shortly after the middle of the 6th century B.C. "Common to all three are (*a*) the obscure oracular utterance . . . , (*b*) the strongly marked visionary element in the writer's experience, and (*c*) a certain readiness of sympathy with the foreign nations concerned in the predictions" (Skinner); also (*d*) the dominance of a rhythm produced by the succession of lines, or clauses, of two accents is common to vv.[1-10] and [11f.]

A date between 549 and 538 B.C. best satisfies the historical situation presupposed in vv.[1-10]; the language in vv.[11-15] points to a date considerably later than Isaiah's.

XXI. 1–10.—*A vision of the approaching fall of Babylon* (*before the Persians*).

Special Literature: — P. Kleinert in *ThSK*, 1877, pp. 174–179; H. Winckler, *AT Untersuchungen*, pp. 120–125; T. K. Cheyne, *Introduction* pp. 121–131; S. R. Driver, *Isaiah: his Life and Times*,[2] pp. 216–219.

The lines, or portions of lines marked off by | (cp. p. 76), in the following translation, correspond to two accents, except that v.[9e. f] is 3 : 4 (or omitting פסילי, 3 : 3), and that v.[6b. c] could be more easily read as 3 : 3 than as 2 : 2.

Parallelism prevails though not quite uninterruptedly; it is commonly between periods of two accents, but in v.[3a. b] between a combination of two, and in v.[8] of three such periods.

[1] [A roaring?] as of storms
As they sweep through the Negeb!
It cometh from the wilderness,
From the terrible land.

2 A stern vision | has been told to me:—
"The violator is violating,
The spoiler is spoiling.
Go up, O 'Elam,
Lay siege, O Media,
Cause all the . . . to cease."

3 Therefore filled are | my loins with writhing,
Pangs have seized me | as of a woman in travail.
I am bent (with pain) at what I hear,
I am dismayed at what I see.
4 My mind wandereth,
Shuddering has affrighted me;
The twilight that I longed for
Has been turned for me into trembling.

5 They are arranging the tables!
They are spreading the carpets!
They are eating, they are drinking!
"Rise up, O princes,
Rub the shields with oil."

6 For thus said | the Lord unto me:—
"Go station the watcher,
What he sees, let him tell.
7 And if he see a riding company,
Horsemen in pairs,
A riding company on asses,
A riding company on camels,
Then let him attend attentively,
With great attention."

8 And he cried . . .
"Upon a watch-tower, O Lord, | am I standing | continually by day;
And upon my guard-post | am I stationed | all the nights.
9 And, behold there, coming,
A riding company of men,

Horsemen in pairs."
And he resumed and said,
"Fallen, fallen is Babylon,
And all the images of her gods are shattered to the earth."

10 O my threshed one and my child of the threshing-floor!
What I have heard | from Yahweh of Hosts | the God of Israel,
I have told unto you.

The poem describes four scenes seen in a vision, or a succession of visions:—(1) the horrors of war are proceeding, and a cry is heard summoning Elam and Media to attack a city, v.[2]; (2) preparations are made for a banquet, and the banquet is proceeding when suddenly there comes the cry, To arms! and the princes, or captains, are called from the table to the field, v.[5]; (3) troops mounted on horses, asses, and camels are advancing, v.[9a-c], cp. v.[7]; (4) Babylon is captured and all her gods shattered to the ground. V.[1] is a prelude, in vv.[3f.] the seer describes the horror with which the first scene fills him, in v.[7f.] the manner in which he receives the visions, and in v.[10], addressing his own much-afflicted people, he ascribes his revelations to Yahweh as their source.

The city (implied by the term "besiege") of the first scene can hardly be other than that of the fourth, viz. Babylon; the banquet of the second scene is a Babylonian banquet. The cry in the second scene carries events in the city down to the time after the advance of Elam and Media in the third scene, at a distance from Babylon, has begun: the fourth scene depicts the fall of Babylon before this attacking force of Elam and Media.

Thus the capture of Babylon is still future to the writer, so also probably is the advance of Elam and Media; but we may infer that a political situation, which made such an advance probable, already existed. Such a situation existed between 549 B.C., when Cyrus had united under his sway Media as well as Elam, and 538 B.C., when Babylon opened its gates without a struggle to Cyrus' Median and Elamite army. And to these years we may refer the oracle. It was not written after the event; for Babylon avoided "falling" (in the sense probably

intended by the writer) by immediate capitulation, and Cyrus, so far from shattering, made a point of honouring, the gods of Babylon.

The language, even though it does not demand it, is quite compatible with the date suggested.

The horror and dismay with which the first scene fills the seer contrasts, it is true, with the buoyancy and hope which the career of Cyrus brings to the author of chs. 40–55. But if this writer is also the author of vv.[11f.], while he shared with the author of chs. 40–55 the conviction that Babylon would fall and her idols be destroyed, he did not share with him his optimistic estimate of Persia; he rather thought that a change of masters might mean no amelioration of the condition of the Jews; and in any case he is apprehensive that the horrors of war will in the immediate future affect not only Babylon, but also her captives. The background of his vision is uncertain: the foreground is fiercely lighted with the plunder, the violence, the cruelties of war.

A brief reference to two alternative theories must suffice. They have this in common, that they assign the oracle to a time when, not Babylon, but Assyria was the oppressor of Judah, with Babylon as its chief opponent, who as such would be likely to command sympathy among the Jews. (1) Kleinert refers the oracle to 710 B.C., when Sargon's conquest of Babylon crushed the hopes that Hezekiah (but surely not Isaiah) had placed in Merodach-Baladan (2 K 20[12ff.]); on this view v.[2b. c] describes not Babylon but Assyria, and the Elamites and Medians of v.[2d. e] are tributaries serving in Sargon's army. (2) Wi. argues that the situation presupposed is that of about the year 648 B.C., when Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon had formed a great coalition, including Manasseh of Judah, against Asshurbanipal of Assyria.

The fatal objection (notwithstanding 22[6]) to both these theories is that Elam on both occasions was acting *with* Babylon, whereas in the vision Elam is acting *against* it. This also rules out the possibility that the oracle refers to Sennacherib's siege of Babylon in 689 (cp. Che. *Introd.* p. 124).

1. Title.—*Oracle* (13[1] n.) *of the wilderness* (see v.[1a]). 𝔊 adds *of* (*the*) *sea*; but this is absent from 𝔊, and no tolerable explanation of the phrase *wilderness of the sea* has ever been offered. It has been supposed to mean the country bordering on the Persian Gulf and separating Elam from Babylon; but this is marsh (Wi.), not wilderness. Probably ים in 𝔊 is a corrupt fragment of the first word of the poem, which may be missing; in 𝔊, v.[1a] has but one accent.

In the opening lines of the poem the seer explains how there has come to him, like tempestuous weather, news from a land that had ever been a cause of fear.—*A roaring*] a trace of a word (? המיה, Marti) with some such meaning may survive in ים, which in 𝔊 forms part of the title.—*As they sweep through the Negeb*] This vivid touch is more probably due to personal experience than to mere literary suggestion; the writer was probably familiar with the Negeb as a resident in its neighbourhood. The Negeb, so called from its dry and comparatively verdureless character, stretched some 60 miles northwards from Ḳadesh (*Numbers*, p. 138); the seer, like the author of Ps 29, had seen this country "shaking" with storms, and had watched the march of tempests such as, to the minds of Hebrew poets, accompanied Yahweh when He came from His ancient home through this district to the help of His people (Jg 5^4, He 3^3, Zec 9^{14}). It is very improbable that Negeb here means the desert *south* of Babylon (Di.).—*It cometh*] the indef. subj. is explained by what follows in v.^{2a}.—*The wilderness*] between the fertile land E. of Jordan and the Euphrates; the Syrian desert.

2. First Scene.—*A stern vision has been told to me*] by the watcher, or second consciousness of the seer (v.^{6} n.), or by Yahweh (v.^{10}). It is far less probable that some other recipient of visions is thought of. The *vision* (חזות, 29^{11}) is one of the *stern* (קשה, Ps 60^5, 1 K 14^6) realities of war. V.$^{2b.\ c}$ refers to the Persians descending from their mountain home, spreading ruin and disaster as they go (Du.), rather than to the still continued violence and treachery (cp. 33^1) of Babylon, which Elam and Media ($^{d.\ e}$) are called on to stop (Di., Che.). The term בגד, often used of treachery in social relations (*e.g.* of adultery), in passages like the present and 24^{16} 33^1, Hab 1^{13}, appears to cover in general all the deceits and treacheries, and all the violations of the social order, that accompany war.—*Go up*] עלי, which gives an assonance with עילם, is not strictly correct; a Persian, or almost any other, army would actually go *down* in to Babylon. The writer, resident in Judah (see on v.^{1}), transfers to an advance on the capital of Babylon the term which was appropriately used of approach to Jerusalem (7^1 n.).—*Elam*] is the great plain E. of the lower Tigris, together with the mountains enclosing it on the N. and E., and *Media* is the country N. of Elam with its centre at Ecbatana (cp. Ezr 6^2).

The combination of these two terms is the natural mode of reference by a late exilic writer to the dominion, or army, of Cyrus: post-exilic writers (cp. v.[2] 𝔊) might have used the term Persia, Persians; cp. *EBi.* 3661.—*Cause all the . . . to cease*] the vb. השבתי should most obviously be, like the two that precede, 2nd fem. imper. MT *I have caused to cease*, suddenly introducing Yahweh as speaker, is improbable. The obj. of the vb. in 𝔐 is *sighing*; but this cannot be satisfactorily explained in the context, whether we understand by it (1) the sighing of the Babylonians, for then the phrase would express bringing joy to Babylon (cp. Hos 2[13]), or (2) the sighing of the Jews or of all Babylon's victims, for this would form a most improbable introduction to the distress of the seer described in vv.[3f.]; see phil. n.

3, 4. The seer's emotion at what he has seen (v.[2]).—*I am bent* (*with pain*) *at what I hear*] or *I am too bent . . . to hear*, and similarly in v.[3d].—**4.** *My mind wanders*] לב, *heart*, as often of the organ of mental activities (BDB 524*b*); the seer sees a vision and can describe it, but has lost the wits to fathom its fuller meaning; he is prophetically mad (Jer 29[26]); "he here reveals himself not indeed as a great prophet, but as a true visionary" (Du.). תעה means *wanders* (28[7] n.), not *panteth* (RV).—*Shuddering*] פלצות denotes the physical effects of terror; see Job 21[6], Ezk 7[18], Ps 55[6] †: cp. יחפלצון, Job 9[6].—*The twilight*] 5[11] n. the cool of the day, generally *longed for*, brought on this occasion not pleasant rest, but this bewildering vision.

5. The second scene.—This picture of the banqueting Babylonians (cp. Jer 51[39]) is prophetic, not historic. It has, it is true, some resemblance to the legendary accounts of the capture of Babylon given in Dn 5, Herod. i. 191; but it is sufficiently natural as a prophetic vision, and not sufficiently particular to render it necessary to regard it as an historical, or legendary, addition to the prophecy. The picture does not correspond to the actual course of subsequent events as recorded in the Nabona'id-Cyrus Chronicle (*KB* ii. 2, pp. 134 f.); according to this, Nabona'id fled from Sippar, which was captured without resistance, to Babylon, which two days later likewise yielded without resistance.—*They spread the carpets*] on which to recline at the banquet. The rendering is not certain, but more probable than *they set the watch!* See phil. n.—*Rub the shields with oil*]

that they may not cut into the flesh of those that wear them; less probably, polish the shields to make them shine.

6-9. Third and fourth scenes.—The Persian advance on Babylon and the fall of Babylon are reported as seen not by the speaker himself, but by a third person (cp. v.[2]) called הַצֹּפֶה, *the watcher*: nevertheless the substance of the 3rd scene is communicated direct to the speaker by Yahweh (v.[7]): all that the watcher has to do is to report when he sees what has already been particularised. Thus the revelation of what is coming is made in the first instance to the seer; so in v.[10] no intermediary of revelation between Yahweh and the seer is recognised. The *watcher* is the prophet's second self, whom the seer objectifies and orders to make ready to receive a divine communication. The nearest parallel in the OT seems to be Ezekiel's ecstasy, in which it seemed to him that his conscious self was borne away from the midst of his companions in Babylon to Jerusalem, and, after seeing much in Jerusalem, returned, and enabled him to tell his companions what Yahweh had shown him (Ezk 8^{1-3} $11^{24f.}$). Analogies in some respects closer are obtained by the comparative study of psychical phenomena.

For the comparative data, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[3], i. 438 f.: "Such temporary exit of the soul has a world-wide application to the proceedings of the sorcerer, priest, or seer himself. He professes to send forth his spirit on distant journeys, and probably often believes his soul released for a time from its bodily prison, as in the case of that remarkable dreamer and visionary Jerome Cardan, who describes himself as having the faculty of passing out of his senses as into ecstasy whenever he will, feeling when he goes into this state a sort of separation near the heart, as if his soul was departing. The Khond priest authenticates his claim to office by remaining from one to fourteen days in a languid and dreamy state, caused by one of his souls being away in the divine province. . . . The Turanian Shaman lies in lethargy while his soul departs to bring hidden wisdom from the land of spirits. . . . The Norse chief Ingimund shut up three Finns in a hut for three nights, that they might visit Iceland and inform him of the lie of the country where he was to settle: their bodies became rigid, they sent their souls on the errand, and awakening after three days they gave a description of the Vatnsdael."

6. *Station the watcher*] עֲמֹד הַמִּצְפֶּה; Hab. (2^{1}) uses the same figure of the prophetic activity, but without the implication of dual personality which has just been discussed.—*Let him tell*] to the prophet's first self: cp. "told to me" (v.[2]), and "I have told" (v.[10]).—**7.** There is some uncertainty about the precise

meaning of the terms in this v. (see phil. n.), but the scene is probably of the advance of a hostile army with *horses*, *asses*, and *camels*, in particular of a cavalcade advancing in double file, partly mounted on horses, partly on asses, and partly on camels. It is less probable that the asses and camels are here introduced as baggage animals. According to Herod. (i. 80), Cyrus largely owed his victory over the Lydians to placing riders on his camels, and the Scythians were much hindered by the asses in Darius's camp (iv. 129). Whether, however, the Persians used asses for riding in battle is doubtful: Ges., whose note on this point is full, cites some evidence of the use of asses for riding in battle, though not by the Persians in particular.—*And if he see*] AV, RVmarg. "And he saw," is an illegitimate translation (see phil. n.). Del.'s exegesis is based on a similarly erroneous interpretation of וראה והקשיב; v.7, according to him, describes how the watcher sees the cavalcade appear and disappear, hearing nothing; v.8 his cry of impatience that he has stood so long seeing nothing more; v.9 how his complaint dies on his lips as he sees the cavalcade re-appear, this time bringing the news of the fall of Babylon. This would be an attractive mode of surmounting difficulties if it were not philologically impossible. **8. 9a** the watcher announces that he now sees the cavalcade which he was to expect (v.7). — *Then he cried*] 𝔊 + *as a lion*, which has been explained by reference to Rev 10^{3}, a very poor parallel, for the ominous cry of the angel there might well be compared to a lion's terrifying roar (cp. Am 3^{8}); but why should the watcher roar lion-like to God, or even (if we point אדני rather than אדנַי) to the seer? The comparison with a lion cannot simply indicate impatience (Del.), even if that were in place here. Equally unsatisfactory is, *Then he cried, A lion!* The word אריה is probably corrupt: see phil. n. The remainder of v.8 seems to imply that the watcher stood long, at least many days and nights, on the watch to which he was appointed (v.7), before he saw anything. But this allusive and inferential way of marking a long interval is not altogether natural, and v.4 perhaps implies that the whole series of visions came on a single evening; moreover, v.6 leads us to expect that the watcher will address the seer and not God (v.8b). Marti omits v.8b. c as a gloss suggested by 62^{6}. But the purpose of such a reflection

just here is not obvious.—**9a–c.** The vision of the cavalcade summarily related. The sequence is rather awkward; for it is rather forced to say, with Del., Di., that as he begins to complain (v.[8], which does not in itself at all necessarily suggest complaint), the vision comes and makes him break off his complaint. Yet the only escape from some such attempt is to assume either interpolation (with Marti) or mutilation.—**9d. e.** See above, p. 350 f.—**10.** The divine revelation, which he has just received, the seer now declares to his long and much-afflicted people who have been held in thrall by Babylon. The figurative singular terms *my threshed one* and *my son of the threshing-floor*, pass over into the distributive plural *to you* at the end of the v. For other uses of the figure of threshing to express the hard or cruel treatment of a land or people, cp. 41^{15}, Am 1^{3}, Mic 4^{13}, Hab 3^{12}. With *son of my threshing-floor*, cp. Jer 51^{33} "The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor at the time when it is trodden," *i.e.* trodden down hard, in readiness for the threshing (see Dr. *ad loc.*).

1. מרבר ים] Du. מרברים (an unparalleled plural); Che. כשרים; both improbable; see above.—לחלף] Dr. § 205. חלף is used of a flood in 8^{8}, of wind in Hab 1^{11}.—**2.** חוות קשה] acc. with the pass. as 17^{1} (G–K. 121*b*]; less probably acc. of the state (G–K. 118*n*).—צוּרי . . . עָלַי] fem. as 7^{2} 42^{11}, Jer 50^{10}, 2 S 8^{2}: see G–K 122*i*. 𝔊, incorrectly, ἐπ' ἐμοί=עָלַי, and οἱ πρέσβεις =צוּרי.—כל אנחתה השבתי] 𝔊 ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἔρχονται· νῦν στενάξω καὶ παρακαλέσω ἐμαυτόν *may* imply a longer text (cp. Ruben, *Crit. Remarks*, p. 8); אנחתה suggested στενάξω (cp. 24^{7}): the rest is uncertain.—אנחתה] with *hĕ rāphe* (MT) means *sighing* (G–K 90*g*); אַנְחָתָהּ, *her sighing*. Both are difficult; see above: possibly the word is an error for נאותה (cp. 13^{11}) or שִׂמְחָתָהּ (cp. Jer 7^{34}).—**3.** מלאו מתני חלחלה] cp. וחלחלה בכל מתנים, Nah 2^{11}.—נעותי] cp. Ps 38^{7}; Ar. عوى means *to bend*, *twist* (*e.g.* a bow, rope).—מראות . . . משמע] מן is causal (Du.), as in 48^{4}, Dt $7^{7f.}$ 9^{28}, 2 S 3^{11}, rather than negative or comparative.—שם] the subj. is indef.: G–K. 144*d*.—**5.** אָכוֹל שְׁתֹה . . . צְפֵה . . . עָרֹךְ] G–K. 113*ff*.—צפה הצפית] not *set the watch* (RV), for (1) צפה means *to watch*, or in Piel *to watch closely*, (2) צפית is not a probable form for *watchman*; (3) the idea is differently expressed in v.[6]; (4) the meaning is not very suitable to the context. *Watch* (*in*) *the watch tower* (AV) and *observe the horoscope* (cp. Ew.), apart from other objections, are also not probable in the context. Both noun and vb. are rather from the root צפה, which in Piel means *to overlay* (with metal); the Kal may have meant *to lay*, the noun *something laid* (cp. صَفَّة, *a mat*, *matting*), i.e. *a carpet*, or, as others think, *a table-cloth*: see, further, Che. *Introd.* p. 126, n. 1.—**6.** כי כה אמר אלי ארני] so v.[16], save that the order there is אדני אלי; also (with יהוה for ארני) 8^{11} 18^{4} 31^{4}.—העמד המצפה] העמר, *make to stand*, *station* (cp. *e.g.* Nu 11^{24} JE) is not

necessarily late: see Dr. *LOT*[1] 503 (⁸535), no. 4; Köppel (*ZATW*, 1910, pp. 58–60) is less discriminating. 𝔐 can be read לכה עמדה מצפה, *Go, stand as a watchman* (Buhl, *ZATW* viii. 157 f.); or לכה עמר המצפה, which, assuming a construction harsh in itself and improbable in view of v.⁸, might be rendered, *Go, stand on the watch-tower* (Stade, *ZATW* viii. 165 ff.: cp. Kautzsch in *DB* v. 674 n.). Either of these readings, if all the consequential changes of 2nd or 1st for 3rd persons in vv.[7-9] were also adopted, would remove the representation of a double consciousness in the prophet (see above). But in criticism of Buhl and Sta., see Du. and Che. *Introd.* p. 125.—יראה יניר] 𝔊 ἴδῃς ἀνάγγελον: so (v.⁷) εἶδον instead of ראה; but in v.⁹ 𝔊 agrees with 𝔐 in reading ויען ויאמר in the 3rd pers. Cp. last n.—7. והקשיב . . . וראה] Dr. § 149. *And he saw* (RV) would be ויֵרֶא.—רכב] a collective noun (רֶכֶב, cp. Ar. رِكَاب), or the part. רכב used collectively (20[6] n.), meaning *riders, a riding company*. Cp. 22[7], but in 2 K 7[14] the pl. רֹכְבֵי is perhaps more probable.—8. אריה] an early (cp. 𝔊) error (see above); Marti reads אראה, and by omitting the rest of v.⁸ (see above) obtains the phrase אראה והנה; cp. Zec 2[1. 5] etc.—9. והנה זה] זה is enclitic as in 1 K 19[5], Ca 2[8f.]: see BDB, p. 261.—איש] collective: cp. Jos 9[6f.], Jg 20[11], Mesha's inscription, ll. 10, 13. Ct. the genitives of the animals ridden in v.⁶ (cp. Ar. راكب جمل). Sta. omits, appealing precariously to 𝔊: rhythmically some word seems required here. —פסילי אלהיה] cp. Dt 7[25] 12[3]. 𝔊 τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα αὐτῆς, which is possibly a doublet of an early text which read פסיליה (=בבל פ', Jer 51[47]) or אלהיה, only.—10. 𝔊 is very free, but not briefer.

XXI. 11, 12.—*An ambiguous answer to a question from Edom.*

The distichs are 2 : 2 (cp. vv.[1-10]); v.[12a] has 2, but v.[11a] 3, accents.

11 Unto me one is calling from Seir:—
"Watchman, how far is the night spent?
Watchman, how far is the night spent?"
12 The watchman said,
"The morning hath come,
And the night, too;
Would ye inquire, inquire,
Come back again."

A brief, but obviously complete, oracle. Some Edomites inquire of the seer how far gone is the night of oppression through which they are now passing. The seer replies that a change is coming, but whether with it any permanent relief is at present obscure to him. If his questioners care to do so, let them ask again another day.

If this oracle is by the same author and approximately of the same date as vv.[1-10] (see p. 350 f.), it was written between 549 and 538 B.C.; the night that now is, is the Babylonian oppression; the morning which he sees to be coming, is the imminent (cp. v.[10]) overthrow of Babylon by the Persians; the night beyond is the dominion of the Persians from which Edom and Judah will not escape, and which may prove as veritable a night as that of the Babylonians. The vision of the Persian advance is here a vision of night, as in v.[8] it is a vision filling the seer with anguish.

Apart from its probable connection with vv.[1-10], there is nothing that would closely define the date of this oracle. The language suggests a relatively late date, say not earlier than the exile. The vbs. אתא and בעה are the regular Aramaic equivalents of בוא and שאל; בעה in the Heb. of OT occurs elsewhere only in Ob. v.[6]; אתה, though not the form אתא (G–K. 75*rr*), occurs more frequently, viz. (1) in late writings, *e.g.* 7 times in Deutero-Isaiah; (2) as a synonym of בוא in Dt 33^2; ויתא, Dt 33^{21}, is doubtful. The *multiplication* of the forms with the third radical י (17^{12} n.; G–K. 75*u*) is also significant.

Of other theories of date two may be mentioned: (1) Buhl (*Gesch. der Edomiter*, pp. 68 f.) refers the oracle to the time of "increasing impatience and feverish unquiet" occasioned by Tiglath-Pileser, who exacted tribute of Kauš-malaka, king of Edom; (2) Che. (*Introd.* 130 f.) dates the prophecy in 589 B.C., when Nebuchadnezzar moved into Syria; this would be four years after Edom united with Judah in rebelling against Babylon (Jer 27^3), and just before it "purchased by its malignant conduct the undying hatred of the Jews."

11. The Hebrew title, *The oracle of Dumah*, presents an unsolved riddle; no important Edomite town of the name of *Dumah* is known, and it is wholly improbable that an oracle concerned with Edom as a whole would be named after some insignificant place. *Oracle of silence* (דומה, Ps 94^{17} 115^{17}†) would be contrary to the analogy of the other titles, whether it be explained as meaning *oracle of* (the land that is to be reduced to) *silence*, or as a poor witticism suggesting that the oracle does not say much; see also phil. n.—*Is calling*] urgently and insistently, as the repetition of the question suggests.—*From Se'ir*] Edom; so, *e.g.*, Gn 33^{14}, Dt 2^4. It is the nation as a whole that asks

the question, but as the reply is to a plurality of persons, the question was probably conveyed to the seer by certain Edomite individuals. People of one country might consult the seers of another (2 K $1^{2f.}$); so, apparently, the fame of this, to us unknown, Jewish seer extended to Edom, on or near whose borders his home may have lain (21^{1} n. on Negeb).—*Watchman*] not מצפה, *one looking out* (for a foe), but שמר, a *guardian*, or *night-patrol*; Ca 5^{7}, Ps 127^{1} 130^{6}, Is 62^{6}; cp. משמרתי, v.^{7}, Hab 2^{1}.

11. רומה] Ⓖ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, possibly an interpretation rather than a variant (ארום).—קרא] part., *is calling*, with the indef. subj. unexpressed (Dr. § 135 (6)).—מה מלילה] the מן is partitive, *how much of the night* (is spent); BDB 580*b*.—לילי] this shorter form, used here for variation, occurs also in 30^{29} 15^{1} 16^{3}, Ex 12^{42} (Sam. לילה), Pr 31^{18} (K^{e}tib), La 2^{19} (K^{e}tib). MT punctuates לַיִל in 15^{1} also.—**12.** שבו אתיו] G-K. 120*g*.—אֲתִיו] for אֶתְיוּ; G-K. 76*d*.

XXI. 13–15.—*Fugitives escaping from war into Arabia.*

Clauses of 2 (v.^{14a}) or 3 (vv.$^{14b.\ 15}$) accents. These are combined (cp. 26^{1-19}) into units of 6 accents, parallel in sense, in v.^{15}, and also in v.^{14} if ארחות דרנים is a parallel to ישבי ארץ תימא, and to be connected with v.^{14}. V.^{13} is doubtful, and probably corrupt.

^{13} . . . in . . . must ye spend the night.
The caravans of Dedanites | ^{14} to meet the thirsty | brought water;
The inhabitants of the land of Tema | met the fugitives with bread.
^{15} For from the sword had they fled, | from the sharpened sword,
And from the bent bow, | and from the stress of war.

These lines, probably a fragment, are ambiguous. V.^{14} may be imperative, *O caravans . . . bring, O inhabitants . . . meet*; and *the caravans of Dedanites* may belong to v.^{13} (MT), as it is generally understood to do. But if the above translation be correct, the fugitives are not defined in the fragment. On the other hand, if the correct translation is, *Ye must spend the night, O caravans of Dedanites. To meet the thirsty bring* (or *they brought*) *water*, etc., the fugitives of v.^{15}, though there spoken of in the 3rd person, may be the Dedanite caravans addressed in v.^{13}. Then we might assume that the situation is as follows:—

Arab caravans, instead of finding their usual mart and returning with merchandise, have found war, and have fled without being able to provision themselves; to avoid being overtaken they have turned aside from the caravan track and the regular stations on it where water would be found. Consequently their friends in Tema meet them, or are bidden to meet them, with food and drink. Even on this interpretation the place whence the fugitives flee is undefined: probably enough in any case, and certainly if this fragment be from the same hand as vv.[1-10], it is Babylon, though the Dedanites traded also elsewhere (*e.g.* Tyre, Ezk 27[20]). As to the language of the fragment, note התיו (see above, p. 358).

If the piece is from the same hand as vv.[1-10], then v.[15] and (if not imperative) v.[14] also probably describe what is seen in vision, rather than an actual historical flight.

13. *Oracle . . .*] the oracle is defined by בערב, the second word of the poem (cp. v.[1]); the meaning is uncertain, see below. The title is entirely absent from 𝔊, and may have been added by a later hand than that to which the titles in vv.[1. 11] are due.

According to 𝔐 (also 𝔊), the persons addressed are to spend the night ביער, *in the forest* (cp. *e.g.* 7[2]), or *thicket, scrub* (cp. Mic 3[12] and Syr. ܒܝܥܐ, *a thicket*). The point of this is not clear, nor its suitability to Arabia; but it is precarious to infer that יער has here exceptionally the sense of the Arab وعر, *rough, stony ground*. A second definition, possibly also of place, follows; בערב may, indeed, mean *in the evening* (so 𝔊; cp. Ps 30[6]); but it has also been rendered: (1) *In Arabia*, yet elsewhere in OT ערב is the coll. term for the people, *the Arabs*; or (2) *in the steppe*; in this case ערב here = ערבה (33[9] 40[3] 41[19] etc.). All very uncertain.—*Caravans*] cp. Gn 37[25] and, in spite of different punctuation, Job 6[18f.].—*Dedanites*] The references in OT (Gn 25[3] (J) 10[7] (P), 1 Ch 1[32], Jer 25[23] 49[8], Ezk (25[13]) 27[20] 38[13]) and in the Minaean and Sabaean inscriptions suggest that "Dedan was a tribe with permanent seats in S. and central Arabia, and trading settlements in the N.W." (*EBi.* 1053). In Jer 28[23] Tema is mentioned immediately after Dedan.—**14.** On the connection of vv.[13f.] and on the ambiguity of the verbal forms in v.[14], see p. 359.—*The thirsty*] צמא, like נרד, is coll., *the thirsty ones*. RV creates an unreal distinction by rendering *him that is thirsty* and then pl. *fugitives.*—*Met . . . with bread*]

cp. Dt 23^5.—*Tema*] Gn 25^{15}, Jer 25^{23}. Tema, mod. Teima in the Hejaz, in N.W. Arabia, is a place with a famous water-supply, and was for long an important commercial station. Tiglath-Pileser III. refers to it (smaller inscriptions, i. 27, ed. Rost; cp. Annals, 218); and native Aramaic inscriptions, probably of the 4th or 5th cent. B.C., indicate its continued importance, as also the influence on it of both Egyptian and Assyrian influence: see *CIS* ii. 113 f.; Cooke, *NSI*, pp. 195 ff.

14. התיו] Hiph. of אתה with quiescence and loss of א; cp. Jer 12^9, and see G-K. 68*i*. Imperative, or (G-K. 76*d*) pf.—תימא] so *CIS* 113; in Job 6^{19} תמא.—קדמו] 𝔊 συναντᾶτε=קדמו.—15. נטושה] an error for, or parallel form to, לטושה.—כבר] cp. והמלחמה כבדה, Jg 20^{34}; ותכבד המ', 1 S 31^3.

16 f. A note in prose added to the last poem, and announcing the almost total destruction of the Arabs within a definitely fixed time. The future of the Arabs is darker here than in vv.[13-15]; there Arabia is the place of flight from danger, here no escape is possible. The language is "Isaianic" throughout (Di.) in the sense that the vv. probably contain no word which Isaiah did not use, or might not have used: but the truth is, the language is too general to afford any criterion of date.

For thus hath the Lord said unto me] cp. v.[6] n.—*Within a year*] cp. 16^{14}. Perhaps, as in 1 S 13^1, a number has dropped out; note the pl. (𝔎, not 𝔊) in the following phrase, *as the years of a hireling* (16^{14}).—*Ḳedar*] in Gn 25^{13} a particular Ishmaelite tribe, but here and in some other passages (42^{11} 60^7, Jer 2^{10}) it is probably a comprehensive term for nomadic peoples of the deserts E. and S. of Palestine.

16. בעור] so in the gloss 7^8; so also, *e.g.*, Gn 40^{13}. Ct. בשלש שנים, 16^{14}.—ושאר] followed by five genitives: cp. 10^{12}.—קשת] the pl. would be expected; Houb., Lowth, *al.* transpose גבורי קשת, *warriors of the bow*=archer-warriors.

XXII. 1–14.

The rhythm is neither clear nor, apparently, the same throughout. Vv.[9-11] seem to be mainly prose, vv.[12-14] may once have been throughout, as v.[13c. d] is still, 4 : 4; see n. on v.[12]; but v.[14a. b] is 4 : 6 unless we omit two words in v.[14b].

In vv.[1-5] the prevailing rhythm is of an echoing type: 4 : 2 in v.[2a. b] and [5c. d] (but see phil. n.); 4 : 3 in v.[5] (but see phil. n.); the rest may be 3 : 2.

In v.[6], probably also in v.[7], and clearly again in [11b. c] the rhythm is balanced.

[1] What meanest thou, then, that thou has gone up,
One and all to the house-tops,
[2] Thou with uproar filled, tumultuous city,
Exultant town?

Thy slain are not slain with the sword,
Nor dead in battle;
[3] All thy chieftains have taken to flight ^ ^
Have fled far away.

[4] Therefore I say, "Turn away from me,
Let me weep bitterly;
Be not insistent to comfort me,
For the destruction of the daughter of my people."

[5] For a day of panic and trampling and confusion
Hath the Lord Yahweh of Hosts.
In the valley of vision . . .
. . . to the mountain.

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[6] Elam took up the quiver, ^ ^
And Ḳir drew from its cover the sword.
[7] Thy choicest valleys were full of chariots,
And the horsemen set themselves in array towards the gates.

[8b] And 'ye' looked in that day to the weapons in the House of the Forest,
[9a] And perceived the breaches in the city of David;*
[11b] But ye looked not to Him that wrought it,
Nor perceived Him that planned it long ago.

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[12] And the Lord Yahweh of Hosts hath called in that day
To weeping and lamentation and baldness and girding on of sackcloth;

*[9] And ye collected the waters of the lower pool; [10] and ye numbered the houses of Jerusalem, and pulled down the houses to fortify the (city) wall, [11] and a tank ye made between the two walls for the waters of the old pool.

13 And lo! joy and rejoicing,
Slaying kine and slaughtering sheep,
Eating flesh and drinking wine,
Eating and drinking, "For, to-morrow, we may die."
14 And Yahweh of Hosts hath revealed Himself in mine ears—
"Surely this iniquity shall not be expiated for you till ye die!"

Clear and insistent in this section is the contrast between the prophet's dark vision of destruction and the light-heartedness and recklessness of the people, who give themselves up to revelry, either because they do not perceive the issue of things, and see in a temporary alleviation a permanent relief, or because, feeling the insecurity of the present, they are determined to drown their cares in wine and feasting (v.$^{13f.}$). But whether the section is a unity, and, if not, of how many different elements it consists, are difficult questions, especially the last: the details given in prose in vv.$^{9b-11a}$ certainly look like an incorporated note; but of the poetical parts, separated from one another in the foregoing translation by lines, which (if any two) formed originally parts of the same poem? There seems to be some distinction of rhythm (see above), and details of connection are discussed below in the notes. All that need be attempted here is to indicate some general features which have been differently interpreted.

Interpreters have differed as to whether this section is a *prophecy* of the future, or a *narrative* describing the present or the past, or partly the one, partly the other. The prose note $^{9b-11a}$ may be safely pronounced to be narrative. Moreover, it is quite rightly claimed (Di.) that the prophet is unlikely to have condemned the people (v.^{14}) for sins they had not yet committed: it follows that the revelry described in v.^{13} (and, if it belong to the same poem, in v.^{1}) is present or past. On the other hand, v.^{5} is a *prediction* of the coming day of Yahweh (see below on v.^{5}).

We may briefly then indicate a possible, and on the whole most probable, interpretation as follows: in vv.$^{1.\ 2a}$ the poet depicts the city of Jerusalem as he sees it actually—noisy,

exultant, swarming up to the housetops to watch some spectacle: in vv.$^{2c-3}$ he describes (prophetic pf.) his *vision* of the real issue of events to which the city is blind—the city forsaken of its leaders, captured by the enemy, and its citizens ignominiously executed. In v.^{4} he rejects the efforts of some of the "maffickers" to cheer him up; he turns from them to bewail the still future, but to him certain, destruction of his people,—to him certain, for (v.^{5}) he knows that the Day of Yahweh is at hand and what it means: it is a day of tumult in the valley of vision, of panic in Jerusalem. If vv.$^{6f.}$ are a real sequence, v.^{6} describes some of the elements (Ḳir and Elam) in the army which on the day of Yahweh will attack Jerusalem, and v.^{7} reinforces v.$^{5c.\,d}$; again, if vv.$^{8-11}$, apart from the incorporated prose note, are a real sequence, $^{8b.\,9a.\,11b.\,c}$ (^{8a} is altogether obscure) describes the people of Jerusalem, thus attacked, attending to the material defences of the city, while neglecting Yahweh. Vv.$^{12-14}$ brings us back to an historical situation similar to that of v.^{1}, and a similar estimate of its outcome: instead of mourning, to which Yahweh has called them, the people are given over to feasting, therefore their fate is irrevocably sealed: they must die.

The period to which we might most probably assign vv.$^{1-5}$, $^{12-14}$ is that of Sennacherib: what is described is the revelry to which the city gave itself up when the Assyrian king in 701 B.C. raised the siege, or blockade, of Jerusalem. It is doubtful whether v.^{6} fits into the political circumstances of that time (see below).

A few different theories of analysis, interpretation, and date may be briefly referred to: Among modern writers, Di., Hackmann (pp. 92–97), and Cond., for example, maintain the unity of the entire passage, and Cond. regards even vv.$^{9b-11a}$ as poetry. Du. treats vv.$^{1-7}$, $^{8-14}$ (omitting $^{9b-11a}$) as two different poems, the first written before Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem, the second somewhat later. Che. distinguishes vv.$^{1-5}$ from $^{6-14}$; in $^{6-14}$ he regards $^{9b-11a}$ as interpolated, and suspects omissions between vv.^{5} and ^{6}, ^{6} and ^{7}, and ^{7} and ^{8}: both poems he refers to the removal of the Assyrian blockade. Marti refers $^{1-5}$, $^{12-14}$ (not *necessarily* parts of the same poem) to the period of the raising of the blockade; in $^{6-11}$ he sees an interpolation, later than Deutero-Isaiah, by some one who interpreted the day of panic (v.^{5}) of Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem. On Sayce's theory that the date of the prophecy was 711, and the occasion a hypothetical siege of Jerusalem by Sargon, see Dr. *LOT*^{6} 217 f. Accepting Du.'s analysis into two poems, vv.$^{1-7}$, $^{8-14}$, Wi. (*Altorientalische Forschungen*, ii. 253–259) eliminates v.^{4} and in v.^{5} the words לאדני יהוה צבאות as the interpolation of an editor who errone-

ously understood the city referred to, to be Jerusalem. In what remains Wi. sees an "Isaianic" poem referring to the attack of Ḫalludaš, the Elamite, on the Babylonian city of Sippar in 694 B.C., and expressing the hope that Elam, the great rival of Assyria, may succeed. The theory requires us to read שת for שע in v.5, ארם for אדם in v.6, and to understand שת in v.7 as a proper name. The theory itself is most improbable; but it draws attention to the real difficulty occasioned by the reference to Elam. Corn. (*ZATW*, 1884, pp. 96 f.) doubts the Isaianic origin of the entire section on account of its incompatibility with $10^{5ff.}$ 32. 33: Stade (*ib.* p. 257), questioning rather chs. 32. 33, regarded 22 as at one time connected with 28–31, and 22^{1-14} as a prophecy delivered by Isaiah in the temple on the occasion of a feast.

1. Title.—*Oracle* (13^1 n.) *of the valley of vision* (v.5 n.).

1–5. The gay city and the prophet's vision of disaster and death.—**1–2b.** A rhetorical question addressed by the prophet to the merry-making city which has swarmed up to the flat roofs to watch thence (Jg 16^{27}) the spectacle of Sennacherib's retreat (cp. 37^{22}), or something similarly pleasing, such as the entrance into the city of the captive Assyrian vassal Padi, king of Ekron (Du.). The careless merry-makers (5^{14} 24^8 n.) think all danger past; Isaiah thinks otherwise, and sings to them **2c–3** a few lines of a dirge depicting what he foresees, the slaughter or plight of the city's defenders, involving, as v.4 (cp. v.14) shows, the destruction of the people.—*Thy slain are not slain with the sword*] nobly fighting, but have been executed ignominiously after the capture of the city, or, perhaps, have died of hunger during the siege: cp. La 4^9.—**3.** *Chieftains*] 1^{10} n.—Between v.3a and 3b there intervene in 𝔐 several words which are probably intrusive and almost certainly corrupt: render, *without the bow they have been bound; all that were found of thee* (𝔊 *all thy mighty ones*) *were bound together*. *Without the bow* has been supposed to mean after the bows had been thrown away, or before there had been time to use the bows; the rendering *because of the bow* is no more satisfactory, and *by the archers* (RV) very questionable.—**4.** Some of the merry-makers try to cheer up the prophet, who weeps (cp. 16^9, La 1^{16}) at this sad vision; he refuses to be comforted for the destruction of his people.—*Destruction*] 13^6 n. —*The daughter of my people*] *i.e.* the entire population: cp 1^8 n. This phrase is not used again by Is; but see, *e.g.*, Jer 4^{11} 8^{19}.—**5.** *For a day . . . hath Yahweh of Hosts*] the phrase is exactly the same as in 2^{12} (n.). The "day of Yahweh" is always a

future event to Hebrew writers; and it is altogether unsafe to assume (Di.) the contrary here. The day is one of *mᵉhūmah ūmᵉbūsah ūmᵉbūkah*; note the assonance: cp. Nah 2^{11}; מהומה is *distraction*, *frenzy*, *panic*, such as makes men in battle turn their arms against one another, cp. 1 S 14^{20}, Zec 14^{13}; מבוסה (18^{2} n.) is the *trample* of the soldiers; cp. the use of the vb. in Zec 10^{5}; מבוכה (Mic 7^{4}†) is *confusion* or *perplexity*; cp. the use of the vb. of Israel losing its way (Ex 14^{3}).—*In the valley of vision*] if the clause goes with the first part of the v. (MT, RV) the sentence is a breviloquence for *Yahweh hath a day* (when He executes judgment) *in the valley of vision*: cp. Jer 46^{10}. It is not a day directed against the valley (𝔗), which would require על (cp. 2^{13}) instead of ב. More probably the clause goes with the last part of the v., which seems to be corrupt. What the *valley* (גיא, 28^{1}) intended was, and why it was so named, is uncertain. If an attack on Jerusalem is intended, the valley is not the entire city (𝔗), or Ṣion (𝔊), as a site that is surrounded by higher hills, but one of the valleys dissecting the city, like the Tyropoean, or surrounding it, like the valley of Hinnom. Suggested explanations of the name are that Isaiah lived in this valley (Di.), or that it contained an ancient oracle (Du.): of the two the latter explanation has the more probability. The words left untranslated above are very uncertain (see phil. n.): no less improbable than any other suggestion is RV *a breaking down of the walls, and a crying to the mountain.* The valley as the weakest part of the city, it is explained, is attacked first and the walls of defence broken down by the enemy. שוע is *a cry for help*; hence Ges. suggests that the meaning is:—the cry of the frightened people in the city resounds to the surrounding hills: this, though improbable, is the best that can be done with the text.—According to Ew. שוע, Shoaʿ (Ezk 23^{23}), and also the preceding קר, Ḳir (cp. קיר, v.[6]), are proper names of elements in the besieging Assyrian army: see next v. But the position of the subj. Ḳir after the part. מקרקר (Dr. 135 (4)), in contrast to the position of the subjects in v.[6], is against this view; and also the fact that the vb. is left without an object: moreover, the last clause would be weak—*In the valley of vision Ḳir breaketh down, and Shoaʿ is toward the mountain.*

1. מה־לך] 3^{15} n.—ואפוא] 19^{12}.—כלך] MT כָּלָךְ (instead of כָּלָה, 14^{29}) gives an assonance with לָךְ; cp. G–K. 91*e*. For the entire city thus regarded *en masse*,

cp. 15^3; but there the masc., here the more usual fem., is used. For an elaborate reconstruction of vv.$^{2\text{-}6}$, see Che. *SBOT*, p. 197.—**2.** תשאות] acc. before מלאה: cp. Nah 3^1. With הומיה עיר מלאה תשאות, cp. הומן קריה תשאות נוגש, Job 39^7. Other occurrences of תשאות are Zec 4^7, Job 30^{22} 36^{29}†.—קריה] 1^{21} n.—עליוה] with קריה, 32^{13}; so of עיר, Zeph 2^{15}; see also 23^7, and in pl. 24^8 13^3, Zeph 3^{18}.—**3.** יהד מקשת אסרו כל נמצאיך יחדו] Ⓖ *καὶ οἱ ἁλόντες σκληρῶς δεδεμένοι εἰσίν, καὶ οἱ ἰσχύοντες ἐν σοί*. Apart from the addition of *καί* twice, Ⓖ represents three variants: (1) for יהד מקשת (𝔖=ℌ), קַשָּׁת (?) אֲתֻזִּים, whence Du. אֹתֻזִּים קשת: cp. 2 Ch 25^5 אחז רמח וצנה, Ca 3^8; but אחז does not occur with קשת; (2) for נמצאיך, Ⓖ read אמציך (cp. 28^2, Am 2^{16}) *thy mighty ones*, which, if parallel to קציניך, would be preferable; (3) Ⓖ and also 𝔖 omit אסרו יחדו: this may well be correct; the occurrence of the words after אסרו . . . יחד is poor. Possibly, however, the whole of the words from יחד (or מקשת) to יחדו is the result of glossing and conflation (Marti); בל־קציניך נדדו יחד | מרחק ברחו gives a good kînah line.—מקשת] מן, *without*; Jer 48^{45}; BDB 578*b*; or, *in consequence of*, *by*, *ib.* 579*b* (bot.).—**4.** מני] so 30^1; BDB 577*b*.—**5.** מהומה] Ⓖ *ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας*—a doublet rather than a variant.—מבוסה ומבוכה] so Ⓖ; but possibly the second word which adds little to the sense of מהומה is an early dittograph: by omitting it, and also אדני (Ⓖ) in the next clause, a good 3 : 2 line is restored.—מקרקר קר] the text is uncertain: Ⓖ has *πλανῶνται ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου*, which seems to presuppose a different and perhaps a fuller text; but cp. *JThS*, 1902, p. 583 n.; Introd. § 21. If, however, קר were omitted as dittographic, ושוע אל־ההר | בניא חזיון מקרקר would give a 3 : 2 line. קר is ambiguous, and the sing. rather suspicious: it generally means the *wall* of a house, but is used exceptionally of a town-wall, for which the regular term is חומה (*Numbers*, p. 468 f.). קִרְקֵר in NH (but not in Nu 24^{17}, where it is an error for קרקר) means *to tear down* (the walls of a house, or a city; Levy); מקרקר might be the part. of this, *one tears down*, with subj. unexpressed (Dr. 135 (6)); or a verbal noun. The sense is not recognised by 𝔗𝔖𝔙.—ושוע אל ההר] Ⓖ *πλανῶνται ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη*. It would be easy to read נשמע, *resounds* (lit. *has been heard*), for ושוע; but this gives no really satisfactory sense or rhythm.

6, 7. Elam and Ḳir, *i.e.* soldiers from these two countries or peoples, engage in the attack in Jerusalem. On the question whether these vv. form part of the vision of vv.$^{2b.\ 3.\ 5}$, see above, pp. 363 ff.

6. The second line in ℌ—left untranslated above, is probably both corrupt and intrusive, for it separates two lines which exactly balance one another and correspond to one another, term for term. The words may be rendered *with chariot(s)* (or, *a riding company*, 21^7 n.), *man*, *horsemen* (or, *horses*). Omitting, with Ⓖ, the prep. *with* (ב), reading ארם for the scarcely distinguishable אדם, and assuming a doubtful construction of רכב (acc. of the animal ridden), some have rendered *Aram mounted* (or, *rode*

on) *the horses*; but (1) the introduction of *horses* between the far nearer parallels *quiver* and *shield* is improbable; (2) ct. the post-fixed subj. with the pre-fixed subject in lines a. and b. The line may be a gloss slightly corrupted (צמד having become אדם) from 21^{7} (Marti); or due to the intrusion of variants on רכב and הפרשים in v.^{7}; in any case, the words are best neglected in attempting to determine the real purpose and significance of vv.$^{6f.}$.—*Elam*] 11^{11} 21^{2} nn. Throughout the period of Isaiah's activity "Elam is the opponent of Assyria, and its rival for the dominion in Babylon" (Wi. *Altor. Forsch.* ii. 257): Sayce briefly sketches the relations of the two powers thus: Umman-nigas, king of Elam, "in 721 assisted Merodach-baladan against Sargon . . . He died in 718, and was succeeded by his sister's son Sutruk-Nankhundi, who in 711 again assisted Merodach-baladan, but this time to no purpose. Sargon defeated and captured his general . . . and added the Elamite districts of Iatbur, Lakhiru, and Rasi to Assyria. After a reign of eighteen years, Sutruk-Nankhundi was imprisoned by his brother Khalludus, who seized the crown. He captured Babylon in the rear of Sennacherib . . . and the Babylonian king, who was a son of Sennacherib, was carried captive to Elam" (*DB* i. 675^{b}). Thus though certain districts of Elam were captured by Sargon, Elam itself formed no part of the Assyrian empire in the latter half of the 8th cent. as it did of the empire of Cyrus (21^{2} n.). In the light of these facts other alternatives are: (1) to understand Elam as equivalent to such few Elamite mercenaries as might serve in an Assyrian army though Assyria and Elam were opposed to one another, or soldiers from those small portions of Elam which Sargon temporarily annexed in 711; (2) to see in the verses the work of a later writer (cp. 11^{11} 21^{2}); (3) with Wi. to treat the poem as a celebration of an Elamite attack, directed against the interests of Assyria, on a Babylonian town (Sippar).—*Ḳir*] a district of this name is mentioned as the original home of the Syrians (ארם) in Am 9^{7}, as the place to which the Syrians were to be exiled in Am 1^{5}, and as the place to which they were actually carried captive by Tiglath-pileser III. in 2 K 16^{9}. The references in Am 1^{5}, 2 K 16^{9} may be the result of late inferences from Am 9^{7} (see *Ḳir* in *DB*). Whether Ḳir belongs to the original text of this v. (see phil. n.) or of v.^{5}; and if so, whether it is identical with the Ḳir of the

passages just cited: whether קוע (Ezk 23^{23}) is a miswritten קיר, or קיר here a miswritten קוע; and where Ḳir was situated—all this is entirely uncertain. See, further, *DB* and *EBi. s.v.*; also the references in Ges–B. *s.v.* קיר. No place or people of the name has been discovered in the Assyrian inscriptions.—*Drew from its cover*] lit. *made naked, laid bare*; cp. 3^{17}.

7. The valleys round Jerusalem are filled with, and the city itself beset by, hostile troops.—*Full of chariots; and the horsemen have set themselves in array*] dividing the sentence differently, and treating שת (commonly taken to be Inf. Abs. strengthening the verbal idea) as a proper name, Wi. (as cited on p. 368) renders *full of chariots and horses, and Shôt sets itself in array*, identifying Shot with the Sittakenians; but see phil. n.

6. וברכב אדם פרשים] *ἀναβάται ἄνθρωποι ἐφ' ἵπποις.* *ἀναβάται* is a legitimate rendering of רכב (see 21^{7} n.); but *riders, men* (collect. sing.), *horsemen* is an improbable group of words. Another improbable makeshift is Di.'s *among chariots, men, horsemen*, an appositional phrase to עילם, אדם being prefixed to פרשים to show that the latter does not here mean horses! The reading of a few MSS ופרשים (cp. RV) is pretty clearly secondary, and does not greatly improve the line.—פרשים] Arnold (*JBLit.*, 1905, p. 45 ff.) argues that פ always means (*war-*) *horses*, never *horsemen*.—וקיר ערה מגן] 𝔊 *καὶ συναγωγὴ παρατάξεως*, *i.e.* קיר is omitted, and מגן, which is never rendered *παράταξις*, may have been read differently; but 𝔊 read ערה, which is virtually ערה. The meaning of ערה is unusual; but it is at least safer to accept it than to correct to קרה with an even more problematical meaning (to *raise* (the shield)), in order to gain a paronomasia with קר, such as does not exist in the parallel line, nor, perhaps, originally in v.^{5}—ויהי] could well be spared: it interrupts the sequence of vv.$^{6.7}$; but it was already in 𝔊 in the form והיו.—מבחר] *the choice of*: cp. 37^{24}. Wi. suggests that in all passages where this word occurs, it means simply *the total of, all*, like the Assyr. *napḫaru*.—שת שתו] G–K. 113 n.; but it is questionable whether שתו needs strengthening any more than other vbs. in the context. The view that שת is a proper name and subj. of שתו (see above) would be more probable, if the clause immediately followed those of v.^{6} which also contain proper names, and if והפרשים more certainly went with line a. שת is not recognised by 𝔊𝔖𝔗: perhaps it is a mere dittograph: then והפרשים שתו השערה is a line of three accents like those in v.^{6} and (neglecting ויהי, and retaining the makkeph of MT) ^{7a}מבחר־עמקיך מלאו רכב. Du. prefers to omit the art. from והפרשים and to connect it with רכב; this gives a poor 3 : 2 line down to פרשים, and makes it necessary to suppose that the last half of the next line was lost. For the use of שת, cp. Ps 3^{7}; there it is followed by על, here by the acc.

8–11. The main thought of these verses clearly is that the people of Jerusalem have looked to the seen and not to the

unseen: they have attended to the material defences of the city, they have left out of account the Maker of all, the author of the long-formed plan, which works itself out in human history.

At present the two points are presented with a striking difference of elaboration—attention to the seen in vv.$^{8b\text{-}11a}$, inattention to the unseen in v.$^{11b.\ c}$. Probably each point was originally confined to a single distich, and either vv.$^{9.\ 10}$ or vv.^{9} (from כוידבו) to ^{11a} are intrusive: for note (*a*) the unrhythmical character of most of vv.$^{9\text{-}11a}$; (*b*) the remoteness of the verbal antithesis ותבט, v.^{8b}, and ולא הבטתם, v.^{11b}. The distich describing the people's attention to the seen may have been vv.$^{8b.\ 9a}$ (Du., Marti, and in the translation above), or possibly

> And ye looked to the weapons in the House of the Forest,
> And ye made the tank between the wall,

the second line being an allusion to some much talked of undertaking of the time (2 K 20^{20}, 2 Ch 32$^{2\text{-}5}$). There are certain points which make the view that the distich was $^{8b.\ 9a}$ doubtful: (*a*) ראיתם in v.^{9a} (*to see with concern*) is not used with the same nuance as in v.^{11}: (*b*) the prosaic את occurs in v.^{9a}.

A further question is this: are vv.$^{8\text{-}11}$ or the two distichs contained in them the continuation of v.$^{6f.}$, or from a different poem? The attention to the defences of the city seems belated after v.$^{6f.}$; on the other hand, neither v.^{8a} nor ^{8b} is the commencement of a new poem; if not the continuation of vv.$^{6f.}$, these verses are a fragment.

8a. An isolated line, ambiguous in meaning. The subject of the vb. is hardly the enemy of v.^{7} personified, or (in the present position of the v.) Yahweh: it is indefinite (cp. 21^{4}, phil. n.) and the vb. may be rendered by a passive—*And the screen of Judah was removed.* The vb. גלה appears to be used here as in 47^{2} of bringing about exposure by removing a covering. The noun מסך (√סכך *to cover, screen*) is something that screens from view, such as the cloth spread over the well-mouth to hide refugees (2 S 17^{19}), or hangings of the tabernacle such as that which screened the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place (Nu 4^{5} n.), or the cloud which screened the Hebrews from the Egyptians (Ps 105^{39}). The sentence may therefore mean Judah, personified as a woman, is disgraced by exposure (cp. 47^{2}); but in spite of such uses of the vb. as occur in La 3^{43}, Jg 3^{24}, it is curious that מסך should here be used of wearing apparel. The usage of מסך gives still less justification for understanding the removal of the screen as an exposure of Judah to attack; and it is extremely improbable that the clause means that Jerusalem

(not mentioned) has been exposed by the capture of the cities of Judah (2 K 18^{13}), which formed the screen of the capital; and equally improbable that it means that Judah awakes to its true state because the covering over its eyes has been removed.

8b. *Weapons*] נשק is a general term, cp. 2 K 10^{2}, Job 20^{24}, and יום נשק, *day of weapons*, i.e. battle, Ps 140^{8}, cp. Job 39^{21}.—*The house of the forest*] of Lebanon—was that part of the royal buildings on Ṣion where the weapons were kept (1 K 7^{2-6} 10^{17}); cp. 39^{2}, Neh 3^{19}.—*In that day*] probably an addition when the whole passage came to be read as a prophecy.—*The City of David*] *i.e.* Ṣion; "and David dwelt in the stronghold (מצדה), and called it the city of David," 2 S 5^{9}; G. A. Smith would limit the "City of David" strictly to that part of the East Hill lying south of the Temple (*Jerusalem*, i. 155 ff.).—**9b.** The statement about the collection of *the water of the lower* (𝔊 *old*, as in v.[10]) *pool* comes between v.[9a] and v.[11] which deal with the walls, and is separated from v.[11b] which refers to the making of another reservoir; some misplacement of clauses is not improbable. The *lower pool* (mentioned only here) may have lain at the southern end of the Tyropoeon valley: we read of an "upper pool" in 7^{3}. On the more or less ancient and still existing reservoirs, and for theories of identification, see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 112 ff. The water was *gathered together* in the pool by constructing new conduits into it, or opening incoming conduits which had been temporarily stopped (cp. Ges.). The vb. קבץ can scarcely mean, as recent commentators mostly explain it, that the outflow from the pool was stopped and the water thus held back (cp. also G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 225). What is referred to here is a provision for a supply of water within the city, not as in 2 Ch 32^{2-4} to cutting off the supply outside so as *to deprive* the attacking army of water. קבץ, commonly used of gathering many persons or, more rarely, things from different places into one, is, as here, applied to a liquid in 62^{9}; but there the gathering of wine refers either to the bringing together of the grapes, or the drainage of the pressed juice into the wine-vat.—**10.** *The houses of Jerusalem* are numbered, and *the houses* selected for demolition are demolished to furnish material wherewith *to render the* (city) *wall* (חומה) *inaccessible* (בצר, as Jer 51^{53}), by filling up its present breaches, or otherwise strengthening, or repairing, breaches which will be made by the assailants: cp. Jer 33^{24}

"the houses of this city . . . which are demolished (to make a defence) against the (siege-) mounds and against the sword." The vb. ספר even in Kal seems at times to mean more than merely *to count*; see Job 14^{16} 31^{4}, and cp. the force of the Piel and the noun; so that here we may interpret it as meaning almost *to make a list of*. Keeping to the narrower meaning, Ibn Ezra understands the first clause to refer to the numbering of the house-(holds) of Jerusalem to discover the number of men available for the war.—**11a.** The tank or reservoir here mentioned is also unidentified (see on v.[9]), but it lay within the city; so, too, the two walls (cp. 2 K 25^{4}, not necessarily the same) between which it was situated; it is suggested that they were the walls running respectively West of the East and East of the West Hills; for other suggestions see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 226 f. The tank was constructed to receive water from *the old pool* (unidentified), either because this lay outside the city, or, if within, to receive its overflow.—**11b.** Cp. 5^{12}; for יצר, *to frame* (in thought), *predetermine*, see 37^{26} n., and for מרחק, 25^{1}. See, further, pp. 369 f.

12–14. The unpardonable sin of Judah.—Regardless of Yahweh's power to help [(8-11)], the people are regardless also of His call to fasting and lamentation: if the prophet warns them that their state is desperate, they admit it—*to-morrow we may die*, but find therein reason, not for repentance, but merely for revelry and feasting while opportunity offers; hence, as Isaiah has learned by direct revelation, their offence is unpardonable; they must die. The situation in v.[13] resembles that depicted in v.[1], and the condemnation in v.[14] the minatory vision of vv.[2-5 (7)]. —**12.** Cp. Jl $2^{12ff.}$: for the mourning rites, see Is $15^{2f.}$ nn., $32^{11f.}$. —**13.** We may compare, for the attitude of the people, the Egyptian rule of life cited by Marti from Erman's *Aegypten*: "Enjoy the cheerful day and think of joy ere that day come when you fare to the land that loves silence": or, again, the early Babylonian wisdom cited by Barton on Ec $9^{9f.}$: "Since the gods created man, death they ordained for man, life in their hands they hold, thou, O Gilgamesh, fill indeed thy belly, day and night be thou joyful, daily ordain gladness, day and night rage and make merry." The attitude is too obvious and natural for it to be necessary to assume that Isaiah's contemporaries borrowed it from their Egyptian allies, or that, like so much else, it had been

adopted still earlier from Babylon. St. Paul cites from these words of Isaiah in 1 Co 15^{32}, admitting the soundness of the doctrine, "if the dead are not raised."—**14.** Cp. 1 S 3^{14}, and for the opening words Is 5^{9} n.—*Saith the Lord Yahweh of Hosts*] the words are absent from 𝔊, and, being very superfluous after the opening clause of the v., are probably intrusive.

8. ויגל את מסך יהודה] *καὶ ἀνακαλύψουσιν τὰς πύλας* Ἰούδα, not better than 𝔐.—בית היער] 𝔊 בתי העיר, obviously corrupt.—ותבט] 𝔊 *καὶ ἐμβλέψονται*; so all vbs. in 𝔊 are 3rd pers. pl. to the end of v.[10]; in v.[11] in agreement with 𝔐 they are 2nd pl. At present in 𝔐 the vbs. of address are 2nd sing. fem. (of personified Judah or Jerusalem) in vv. [1-3. 7]: 2nd pl. masc. (addressed to individuals distinguished among the preceding whole), v.[4]; 2nd sing. masc., v.[8]; 2nd pl. masc., vv.[9-14]. It is improbable that all these variations occurred in the original text. V.[4] occasions no difficulty; but ותבט, isolated between 2nd fem. sing. in vv.[1-7] and 2nd pl. in [9-14], is improbable. If the clause goes with what follows, restore ותבטו. The consistent use of 2nd sing. fem. in vv.[1-7], and, except for ותבט, the consistent use of 2nd pl. in vv.[8-14], may be due to the two sections being from distinct poems.—**10.** ותחצו] G–K. 20*m*.—**11.** עשיה] fem. suffix to express the neuter *it*, viz. what happens: G–K. 122*q* with footnote.—**12.** ביום ההוא] perhaps an addition as in v.[8]: possibly also חגר is added: these omissions would make the v. 4 : 4.—שתו . . . שתות] both must be regarded as Inf. Abs.; it is suggested that שתות is preferred to the normal form to gain an assonance with שחט: G–K. 75*n*.

XXII. 15–25.—*The Disgrace of Shebna and the promotion of Eliakim.*

[Literature.—A. Kamphausen, "Isaiah's Prophecy concerning the Major-domo of King Hezekiah," in *American Journal of Theology*, 1901, pp. 43–74, an elaborate, but unconvincing, defence of the unity of the passage and of the theory that vv.[24f.] refer to Shebna; Kemper Fullerton, "A new chapter out of the life of Isaiah," *ib.*, 1905, pp. 621–642; E. König, "Shebna and Eliakim," *ib.*, 1906, pp. 675–686.]

V.[16] consists of two rhythmically balanced distichs (3 : 3) marked by parallelism. Similar, but shorter (2 : 2) and isolated distichs, may be intended in vv.[19] and [21] (down to אחזקנו). For the rest, the section consists of what seems clearly prose (vv.[15. 20. 24f.]), or of what may have been once rhythmic, but has been rendered irregular or prosaic by corruption and misplacements. In the following translation the attempt to represent poetical structure is limited to v.[16]; this attempt is extended by Du. to vv.[15-23], by Cond. to vv.[15-24] (both omitting from the "poem," v.[15b]).

[15b] Against Shebna who (had charge) over the Palace. [15a] Thus said the Lord Yahweh of Hosts, Come go to this steward (and say),

16 What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here,
That here thou hast hewn thee a tomb?
Thou that hewest thy tomb in the height,
That cuttest out a habitation for thyself in the rock!

17 Behold Yahweh will hurl, will hurl thee, O mighty man!
. . . 18 . . . into a wide stretching land. There thou shalt die
and there (shall be) thy glorious chariots (?), thou shame of thy
master's house.

19 And I will thrust thee from thy post, and "pull" thee down
from where thou standest. 20 And it shall come to pass in that
day, that I will call my servant Eliaḳim, the son of Ḥilḳiah, 21 and
clothe him with thy tunic, and thy sash will I bind about him,
and thy authority will I give into his hand, and he shall become
a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the house of Judah:
22 And I will put the key of the house of David over his shoulder,
and he shall open and there be none to shut, and shut and there
be none to open. 23 And I will drive him in as a (tent-) peg in
a firm place, and he shall be a glorious throne for his father's
house.

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24 And they will hang upon him all the glory of his father's
house, the offspring and the offscourings (?), all the least vessels,
both the bowls and the pitchers. 25 In that day, is the oracle
of Yahweh of Hosts, shall the peg which was driven into a firm
place give way, and be hewn down, and fall, and the burden,
which was upon it, shall be cast off, for Yahweh hath spoken.

This prophecy, which contains the only piece of personal invective ascribed to Isaiah (but cp. Am $7^{16f.}$, Jer $20^{4ff.}$), is addressed to Shebna (36^{3}), an official of high rank. It predicts his exile and death in a foreign land, vv.[15-18], and the promotion to his office of Eliaḳim (36^{2}), of whom it is asserted, under the figure of a peg, firmly fastened, that he will be firmly established in his position, vv.[20-23]. In vv.[24f.] it is further predicted that the firmly secured "peg," weighted down by his family connections, will ignominiously fall and come to ruin.

We thus have three stages in the future predicted: the fall of Shebna, the promotion of Eliaḳim to succeed him, the fall of Eliaḳim. Were all these three things predicted at one and the

same time? Scarcely: for it is certainly improbable that a prophet should at the same moment, *in an address to the person to be deposed*, predict both the promotion and the disgrace of his successor. Several ways of escape from this improbability have been sought: some by desperate exegesis distinguish the "peg" of v.[25] from the "peg" of v.[23], making v.[24] refer to the overthrow of *Shebna*:* others make vv.[24f.] a warning to Eliaḳim by means of a *conditional* prophecy:† Eliaḳim will come to ruin, if he practises nepotism; such a warning addressed to Eliaḳim himself might be fitting enough; there is no probability that it would be addressed to Shebna: others‡ again regard vv.[24f.] as a subsequent addition to the text made when, as a matter of fact, Eliaḳim, or his family, had disappointed the expectations set upon him. This last explanation is the least difficult: vv.[24f.] read by themselves no longer imply that they were addressed to Shebna. Obscure clan struggles, or changing hopes, are elsewhere more or less clearly reflected in the text of the Old Testament; see *Numbers*, p. 193 on Nu 16: and cp. the almost certain elimination of Zerubbabel's name in Zec 6[11].

Del. inclines to the view that Isaiah wrote down 22[15-25] at one sitting, after the fate of both dignitaries had been revealed to him at two different times; in this way the Isaianic authorship and literary unity of the passage is maintained; but the form of the prophecy is then a fiction: it was never addressed to Shebna. Very improbable. Cond. limits the extent of the appendix to v.[25], interpreting v.[24] as a continuation of the description of Eliakim's glory. Also improbable.

Is even vv.[15-23] a unity? or to a threat addressed to Shebna (vv.[15-18]) was the promise concerning Eliaḳim (vv.[20-23]) subsequently added, whether by Isaiah himself,§ or a later hand?‖

The two sections are certainly distinguished from one another by the fact that Yahweh is spoken of (3rd pers.) in the former, but Himself speaks (1st pers.) in the latter, v.[19] in the present text being half in the 1st and half in the 3rd person. If vv.[19-23] could be regarded as an entirely independent prophecy, this difference might well be significant; but inasmuch as the promise no less than the threat is addressed to Shebna, vv.[19-23] must from the first have been intended to follow vv.[15-18]. This being so, the change from the 3rd to the 1st pers. requires explanation in any case: for was a supple-

* Rashi, Ḳi., Di., Kamph. † Kön., Orelli.
‡ Hitz., Du., Che., Marti, Skinner.
§ Box. ‖ Du., Che., Marti.

menter more likely than the original writer to make the awkward change which exists in the present text? Was the first person originally used in vv.[16-18] also? Has חנה יהוה replaced הנני in v.[17]? and has כה אמר יהוה וגו׳ shifted back from the beginning of v.[17] (cp. 7[7]) to v.[15]? Further arguments adduced by Du. in favour of vv.[19-23] being an addition are—(1) the use of והיה ביום ההוא in v.[20]; (2) the presence of the words אנכי and ממשלה, and the phrase בית יהודה (see notes below on v.[21]); (3) that v.[19] is "post festum": if the major-domo has been hurled into exile (v.[17f.]), Yahweh does not need to depose him; (4) that though Isaiah might threaten a bad minister, he would not so far encroach on the royal prerogative as to designate his successor. Arguments (1) and (2) have some weight. The third and fourth are of doubtful value: if v.[19] is a mere resumption, why should a supplementer have inserted such a superfluous link? If, on the other hand, it is argued that v.[19] was intended to correct v.[17f.] and to imply that by the time it was written, Shebna, instead of having suffered the fate predicted for him in vv.[17f.], had merely exchanged the highest for another very high office of state (36[3]), we may well ask whether it is probable that Isaiah or a disciple of his would have set the high hopes expressed in v.[21f.] on a coalition of Eliakim and Shebna: and again, whether the terms of v.[19] are not over strong, if the reference is merely to an exchange of offices?

It is doubtful whether the difficulties that beset the assumption that vv.[15-23] as a unity are greater than those that beset the theory that vv.[19-23] were added to vv.[15-18].

The date of the prophecy can only be determined by the relation of the circumstances here implied to those described in ch. 36. Unfortunately this is not clear, or rather the indications are conflicting. On the one hand, the promise concerning Eliakim, since it contains no suggestion that Eliakim had previously filled the office in which he is to succeed Shebna, should fall before 701 B.C., when Eliakim occupies the position (37[2]) here occupied (v.[15]) by Shebna. On the other hand, the secretaryship held by Shebna in 37[2] might quite as well have been a stage in his advance to the higher office held by him here, as a stage in his falling fortunes; and it is certainly strange if Isaiah had recently fulminated against Shebna in the terms of vv.[17f.], that Hezekiah should have selected him as one of the confidential messengers who were to intercede with the prophet on the king's behalf. On the whole it is preferable to date the prophecy before 701 (37[2]). To escape the conflict by assuming that two different persons (v.[15] 37[2]) contemporary with Isaiah bore the same unusual name is unwise; it would be preferable to question whether the official of v.[16] was called Shebna (see n. on v.[15]).

There are enough unsolved problems in this section to excuse attempts at new and bold solutions; but the data are inadequate, and the newer may prove as little convincing as the older solutions. Brief reference may be made to one such solution. Fullerton regards vv.[15-18] as a prophecy of Isaiah's later than 37[2] and delivered at the beginning of Manasseh's reign; then, developing an unfortunate suggestion of Che.'s that the language of vv.[20-23] is "almost Messianic," he interprets vv.[20-23] as a promise of the *crown*, made by a disciple of Isaiah's on behalf of a prophetic and revolutionary party who were scheming to overthrow Manasseh. The revolution actually came off, but was unsuccessful, and vv.[24f.] express the contemptuous exultation of the prophetic party over Eliakim's fate.

15–18. A prediction of the disgrace, exile, and death of Shebna, the governor of the palace.—15b. This looks like the misplaced title of the section (see phil. n.). It is not impossible that the title is merely a late and incorrect *inference* from 36[3], that Shebna as a matter of fact never was governor of the palace, and that the object of this invective is really anonymous.—*Come, go*] Gn 45[17], Ezk 3[4]; as those two passages show, we are not bound to render *go, enter in*; consequently we cannot infer that Isaiah was to seek Shebna in his house, or in the enclosed grave-ground, though v.[16] would be particularly appropriate if addressed to him in the act of superintending the preparation of his costly tomb.—*This steward*] the term סכן, like the pron. *this* (cp. 6[9] n.), may convey a suggestion of contempt: the masc. form does not occur again in the OT, but the fem. is used of the maiden who was to be sought out for David and to serve him by giving warmth to his aged body. On the other hand, in Phoenician the term was used of important officers or deputies of the king: in an inscription belonging to an age not later than Isaiah's a donor in Cyprus appears as "סכן of Carthage, servant (עבד) of Ḥiram, king of the Sidonians" (*CIS* i. 5; Cooke, *NSI*, pp. 52 f.); and in Tell-el-Amarna Tablet 237[9] *zu-ki-ni* glosses the term *rabiṣu* used of the king's officer before whom the king of Bihiši takes flight. In Hebrew, too, this honourable sense may have attached to the word, and the term, like the English *minister* in its political usage, may have been applied quite respectfully to the highest officers of state.—*Shebna*] it is commonly assumed that Shebna was a foreigner, but the assumption is unsafe (see phil. n.); that he was a parvenu is a safer inference, for between two other officers whose fathers' names are given, he stands without his father's name (36[3] and elsewhere):

this gives point to the invective in v.[16].— *Who is over the House*] of the king; the Palace, not the Temple (Ⅎ), is meant. Great private persons might appoint persons "over their house," and the position of such persons was one of great trust and influence (cp. Gn 39[4] 44[1. 4]); persons appointed over the king's house, governors of the palace, naturally enough ranked as a high, if not the highest, officer of state: Jotham during his regency is described as "over the house" (2 K 15[5]), and the occupant of this office takes precedence, at least so far as order of mention is concerned, of the ספר and מזכיר, who were also high officials (36[3] n.); see, further, 1 K 4[6] 16[9] 18[3], 2 K 10[5]. Little detailed information as to the duties of these governors of the palace, or major-domos, is given; but the rank and influence of the office can be understood in the light of that of the masters of the palace in the mediaeval courts, and especially of the Frankish "mayors of the palace."—**16.** The intolerable insolence of Shebna: he is preparing a tomb for himself where he has no right, or family claim. Not in a tomb in the height, such as received the bodies of kings (cp., for instance, 2 Ch 32[33]) and people of rank and family, but down in the valley among the graves of the common people (Jer 26[23], 2 K 23[6]), would have been the fitting place for this man, whose father was unknown (36[3]). It is the place, perhaps also the fact that Shebna prepares the tomb himself in his lifetime, that rouses ire.— *What hast thou here*] what right have you to be doing what you are doing here? None. The land is not yours by inheritance.— *Whom hast thou here*] what kinsman have you in possession of this grave-ground to secure your lawful admission to it. Since no early sepulchral Hebrew inscriptions have been discovered, it is uncertain how far Hebrew burial custom was like that of the later Nabataeans, who stringently limited the use of their sepulchres to direct relatives, or otherwise duly legitimised users: cp. *e.g.* the inscription of El-Hejra, B.C. 1 (*CIS* ii. 197 = Cooke, *NSI*, p. 217): "This is the sepulchre which ʿAïdu, son of Kuhailou, son of Elkasi, made for himself and his children and his posterity, and for whomsoever shall produce in his hand a warrant from the hand of ʿAïdu . . . and may Dûshara and Manûthu and Ḳaishah curse every one who shall sell this tomb, or buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or let it, or frame for it any other writ, or bury any one in it except those who are written above"; cp. the

inscription of Petra, 1st cent. A.D. (*CIS* ii. 150 = Cooke, p. 241): "No man shall be buried in this sepulchre save him who has in writing a contract to bury." It is possible that merely in preparing his own tomb in his lifetime Shebna was doing something outré: this custom, so commonly practised later by the Nabataeans at Hejra and Palmyra, was exceptional among the Phoenicians, who were closer both in time and place to Isaiah (Lidzbarski, *NSE*, p. 139 f.).—*That thou hast hewn for thyself here*] the emphasis falls on *here*, and perhaps *for thyself*: in making a hewn tomb Shebna merely followed the usual practice (cp. Benzinger, art. *Tomb*, in *EBi.*—*In the height*] by cutting out the tomb on an inaccessible face of rock, it was better secured against violation (Benzinger, *ib.*).—*A dwelling-place*] cp. the use of *house*, 14^{18}.

17 f. *Behold*] not *therefore*: v.[16] alludes to the occasion, not the full cause of the fate of Shebna, which is rather summed up, though unfortunately far from clearly, in the last words of v.[18]; he had been the *shame* of his *master's*, the king of Judah's, *house*: but how? by fostering the Egyptian alliance? Therefore he is to die far away in the wide plains of Babylon, *the land stretching far in both directions* (a phrase used of the vale of Shechem in Gn 34^{21}; of the country round Dan in Jg 18^{10}). These are possible, but not altogether certain implications of the text.—*Yahweh will hurl, will hurl thee, O mighty man*] cp. Ps 54^{3-7} "Why boastest thou thyself of mischief, O mighty man . . . God will pull thee down for ever." Of the vb. טלטל the Pilpel occurs here only, but cp. the Hiph. in Jer 22^{26} "I will hurl thee and thy mother . . . into another land, and there ye shall die." This parallel suggests that the phrase *will hurl thee, O mighty man*, should be followed immediately by *into a far-stretching land*: at present there intervene several words, some of doubtful meaning but constituting, however interpreted, a *hysteron proteron* to *hurl*, and a less satisfactory introduction to the words *into a far-stretching land*. Not improbably there is some textual corruption: the intervening words may perhaps be translated *and he will grasp thee forcibly* (or, *he will wrap thee up closely*), *and will entirely wind thee up* (or, *make a complete turban of thee*) *like* (or, *into*) *a ball*: see phil. n. The point of the comparison in *like a ball into a far-stretching land* has given play to ingenuity: Ḳi., followed by Del., thinks of the unending flight of a ball that meets with no obstacles: Du.

of Shebna bent backwards head to feet, so that he becomes defenceless, and can be slung away like a ball. Neither interpretation relates the figure to the main point of vv.[16-18], which clearly is that Shebna is to die, not in honour in Palestine, but in dishonour in Babylon; note the repeated *there* in v.[18], emphatically pointing the contrast to the repeated *here* of v.[16]. It is very doubtful whether Isaiah used any term meaning *ball* here: see phil. n.—*And there the chariots of thy glory*] *i.e.* thy glorious chariots, *sc. shall come* (Marti), *shall be* (Jer, RV), or *shall become inglorious* (𝔗: cp. Ges.). But in any case the clause reads curiously; both the special reference to chariots, a symbol of a man's rank and greatness (Jer 17[25], cp. Ec 10[7]), in itself, and still more the reference to them after the reference to their owner's death, is suspicious. Far more correspondent to v.[16] would the words run and with biting irony, if *chariots* is a corruption for *tomb: and there shall be thy glorious tomb!* So Cond.—**19.** Shebna will be deposed and his office become vacant for (vv.[20f.]) another to fill. Whether this transitional v. is original, is discussed above.—*And I will thrust*] the pron. must refer to Yahweh; cp. vv.[20-23].—*And pull*] 𝔊 *and he will pull*; see phil. n.

20–23. A prediction of the promotion of Eliaḳim to the office vacated by Shebna, and of his glorious administration.—Shebna is still addressed, but by Yahweh Himself (ct. vv.[16-18]).—**20.** *Eliaḳim the son of Hilḳiah*] in 36[3] occupies the position held now (v.[15]) by Shebna.—*My servant*] 20[3].—**21.** Eliaḳim will be clothed with the robes of his office, consisting of a distinctive *tunic* (כתנת) and *sash* (אבנט, elsewhere only in P): so also the priests were distinguished by special tunics and sashes, and their accession to office was solemnised by a ceremonial investiture with these and other distinctive articles of clothing, Ex 28[4. 39f.], Lv 8[7. 13]. With the insignia, Eliaḳim will also receive the *authority* (ממשלה: cp. משל, Gn 45[8]) of the vacant office; but exercising it, unlike Shebna, wisely and well, he will become *a father* of those whom he governs, the people of *Jerusalem* and *Judah* (cp. 1[1] n.), in caring for their needs (cp. 9[5], Job 29[16]): even in Gn 45[8] *father* is no mere title; Joseph had cared for Pharaoh's interests.—**22.** Eliaḳim will also receive *the key of the house of David*, by which we may again understand a symbol of his office rather than the actual key

with which the palace was locked; another less probable view is that the whole is figurative, meaning merely, I will lay the burden of administering Judah upon him. In any case, the phraseology reflects the custom of carrying the long and heavy keys commonly used *over the shoulder*. Che. in *SBOT* (ET), p. 160, reproduces from Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, a picture of a modern Cairene merchant thus carrying his keys. The authority symbolised is extensive, and includes the command of the royal chambers and the right to admit to the royal presence, or to refuse admittance: cp. Mt 16^{19}, Rev 3^{7}.—**23.** By means of two figures the security of Eliaḳim in his office, and the lustre which his position will shed on his entire family, are expressed. For the figure of the יתד, which commonly denotes *the tent-peg*, but also a peg on which articles may be hung (Ezk 15^{3}), cp. Ezr 9^{8}, Zec 10^{4}, Sir 14^{24} (𝔊, not 𝔐): also the Arabic example cited by Ges. from the Life of Timur, *when the pegs* (*autâd*) *of Mohammed ibn Muḍaffir were firm*, meaning when his authority was secured; this illustrates, too, the development of the figure here, Eliaḳim is as secure as a peg driven *into a place that can be trusted* to hold.—*A glorious throne*] by no means proves that Eliaḳim is destined to be king (Fullerton): the *throne* (כסא) was not a seat confined to kings; see especially 2 K 4^{10}.

24 f. The peg (v.[23]), **being misused, falls to the ground.**—The peg here, whatever its meaning in v.[23], is a peg driven into a wall. The meaning of the figure is clear; all sorts of cheap articles are hung upon the peg, till, being altogether improperly weighted with this motley assortment of goods, not even the best of holds is of any service, but peg and burden come tumbling down together in undignified and indiscriminate ruin: so a governor, a peg of state, if all his relatives insist on his giving free play to nepotism, is brought at last to ruin. But is this a prediction that Eliaḳim will be a gross nepotist and, in spite of being firmly secured in Shebna's office, himself come to ruin? That such a prediction was delivered in the same breath with the prediction of his glory, *and in an address to Shebna*, seems incredible; quite as much so, however, that the peg of v.[24] refers to a different person from v.[23], viz. to Shebna. To treat vv.[24f.] as a hypothetical—but if Eliaḳim practises nepotism, he will come to ruin—is an improbable makeshift in spite

of its abstract grammatical possibility (Kön. iii. 390*q*); there is too much detail and contemptuous passion in the protasis for this to be probable (see, further, p. 375 f.).—*All the glory of his father's house*] contemptuously, and perhaps playing on the root meaning of כבוד, *all the weightiness* of his family.—The rest of the v. developes the idea of the burdensome family, first by means of two (?) literal terms for the offspring, or connections, of a family, and then by terms used figuratively to suit the figure of the peg. צאצאים, *offspring*, is a term elsewhere confined to Is 34[1], 40–66, Job; see 34[1] n. The exact force of צפיעות is doubtful: it may refer either to hangers-on as distinguished from actual members of the family, or rather to the ignobler members (see phil. n.).—*Least*] not in size, for neither *bowls* (אגן, Ex 24[6], Ca 7[3] †) nor *pitchers* (30[11], Jer 48[12]) were this, but in value: cp. La 4[2]. — **25.** *In that day*] on which the peg was overloaded; that the same phrase occurs in v.[20] by no means necessarily synchronises the two vv., and certainly does not show that the peg of v.[25] is a different person from the peg of v.[23].

15. אדני יהוה] 𝔊𝔖 omit one of these words.—הזה] 𝔊 om.—על . . . אל] 𝔊 *εἰς . . . πρός*. The repetition of אל would have been normal (G–K. 131*h*); but the substitution of the stronger prep. על is not; the instances cited in Kön. 319*o* are either doubtful, or not real parallels.—שבנא] 𝔊 *Σόμναν*. The ending -א (so also 37[3. 11], but ה–, 2 K 18[18. 26]) does not prove that Shebna was a Syrian (or North Arabian: Che. *EBi.*). Hebrew hypocoristica also end in -א: cp. עוא, 2 S 6[8] (=עזה, 2 S 6[6]); עברא, גרא, מיכא: see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. 7 ff.; see, further, Addenda.—על הבית] 𝔊 + *καὶ εἰπὸν αὐτῷ*.— **16.** קברו] 3rd pers. after a vocative: cp. 54[1], and see G–K. 144*p*.—**17.** טלטלה גבר] 𝔗 טלטול רגברא, assuming the ה to be not the fem., but a case ending. If the construction were cstr. and gen., it would be better to re-divide, טלטל הגבר, though 𝔊 read גבר. The pointing גֶּבֶר, *strong man*, is to be preferred to גָּבֶר (MT), though even the latter, according to a Rabbinical explanation, implied a violent hurling, because a man is stronger than a woman! see Rashi.—ועטך] nowhere else in Heb. has עטה (*to be enveloped, to wrap oneself*, *e.g.* 59[17]) a trans. force; but Lane cites in Arabic غطاه الشبان, *young manhood clad him*. So possibly ועטך עטה means *and he will surely enwrap thee*, and is more or less synonymous with the next clause. Or possibly עטה here is from another root; cp. غطا, viii., *to take* (with the hands): then render, *he will surely grasp thee* (Ges., al.).—**18.** צנוף יצנפך צנפה כדור] 𝔊 *καὶ τὸν στέφανόν σου τὸν ἔνδοξον καὶ ῥίψει σε*: the last clause (cp. 𝔙 *et mittet te*) has influenced EV, which inserts without any warrant in 𝔐 *and toss thee*. צַנָּפָה, like טלטלה, is most probably a mere additional strengthening of the verbal idea; others take it as an acc. of product, *will wind thee into something*

wound. The vb. צנף occurs but once elsewhere, in Lv 16^4, and there means *to wind round* (the head), *to put on* (the turban); otherwise the root in Heb. is confined to nouns meaning *turban* (*e.g.* 3^{23} 62^3). Whether, as is commonly assumed, צנף meant *to roll up* as well as *to wind round*, is not quite certain. 𝔗 seems to give the vb. first a privative sense and then the meaning *to surround*: it renders *he will take away from thee the turban, and enemies shall surround thee*.—כדור] 𝔖𝔙 anticipated mediaeval Jewish and modern interpreters in extracting the meaning *ball* from this word; but it is disputed whether כ is radical and כדור a *comparatio decurtata*, or whether דור is the noun and כְּ the particle. כַּדּוּר, *ball*, occurs in NH and Aramaic (Levy, *NHWB* ii. 295 f.); the comparison of the Assyr. *kudûru*, *circle*, *boundary* (cp. 29^3), does not increase the probability that כדור in the age of Isaiah meant *ball*. It is quite as questionable whether on the strength of this passage alone, where the point of comparison with a ball is anything but obvious, we ought to infer that דור, *period*, *circle* (of time), also meant *ball*: see, further, BDB 189*b*, 462*a* with references.—שמה] it is unnecessary to take this pregnantly, *thither* (coming) *thou shalt die*; for שמה=שם, cp. Gn 43^{30}, Jos 2^1; BDB 1027*b*.—ושמה מרכבות כבודך] καὶ θήσει τὸ ἅρμα σου τὸ καλόν, which Cond. claims as supporting מרכב, an intermediate step to an original קבר (see above). Possibly מרכבות is an error for משכב(ת) *dwelling-place(s)*, in the sense of tomb (cp. 57^2, Ezk 32^{25}). — **19.** ויהרסך . . . והדפתיך] the change of pers. is precariously defended by reference to 10^{22} (Di.); see, further, G–K. 144*p*: König, *Stilistik*, 248 ff.: on $3^{1.4}$ see n, on 3^4. 𝔊 does not render the 2nd vb.; 𝔗=𝔓; 𝔖𝔙 read both vbs. in the 1st pers. י and א not infrequently are confused; and it is certainly easier to emend the 2nd vb. to ואהרסך than with Cond. the 1st vb. to והרפך.—**21.** ממשלתך] ממשלה is used from the end of the 7th cent. onwards; see Cheyne, *Introd.* 137 n.—**24.** צפיעות] some ignoble flavour may attach to the word, if it is from the same root as צפע, ضفع (Ges.), which gives (ם)צפיעי, *dung*, Ezk 4^{15}, and ضفع with the same meaning. If not from this root (BDB), it is from one of unknown meaning.—כלי הקמן] superlative: G–K. 133*h*, and (on קמן a neuter subst. in the gen.) 128*w*.

XXIII.—*The Oracle of Tyre.*

This consists of a poem, vv.$^{1\text{-}14}$, on the ruin of Phoenicia, and a prose appendix, vv.$^{15\text{-}18}$, predicting the restoration of the commercial prosperity of Tyre.

1–14.—*The Ruin of Phoenicia.*

The text is too uncertain to make a detailed analysis of the rhythm useful. Some of the distichs are clearly 3 : 2. Parallelism is as frequently absent as present. The poem is divided into three nearly equal strophes, by something resembling an initial refrain.

1.

1 Howl! ye ships of Tarshish,
For 'your fortress' has been spoiled!
. . . from the land of Kittim it was revealed to them.
2 Be astounded, ye inhabitants of the coast,
Merchants of Sidon,
2c Who passed over the sea (?)
'Whose messengers 3 were' on many waters,
'Whose' harvest ∧ was the seed of Shiḥor,
Whose revenue ∧ the traffic with the nations.
4 Be ashamed, O Sidon, . . . saying,
"I have not travailed, nor brought forth;
And I have not brought up youths,
Nor reared virgins."
5 When the rumour (comes) to Egypt,
They will travail 'for' Tyre.

2.

6 Pass over to Tarshish, howl!
Ye inhabitants of the coast.
7 Is this your (city ever-) exultant,
From the days of old,
Whose feet in olden time did carry her,
Afar off to sojourn?
8 Who hath planned this,
Against Tyre the crowned (city),
Whose merchants were princes,
Whose traders, the honoured of the world?
9 Yahweh of Hosts hath planned it,
To profane (what was their) pride (?),
All beauty to dishonour,
All the honoured of the world.

3.

10 . . ., 'ye ships' of Tarshish,
There is no girdle (?) more.
11 His hand hath he stretched out against the sea,
He hath made kingdoms quake.
Yahweh hath commanded touching Canaan,
To destroy her fortresses.

12 And he said, Thou shalt no more exult,
Thou oppressed daughter of Sidon!
Arise, pass over to Kittim:
There, too, thou shalt have no rest.13 ^ ^
14 Howl! ye ships of Tarshish,
For your fortress has been spoiled.

The poem opens and closes with the same distich, in which the Phoenician mariners are summoned to lament for the destruction of their "fortress." The first strophe extends this appeal to the inhabitants of Phoenicia generally, especially the Phoenician merchants. In the second strophe the Phoenicians are bidden to pass over to Tarshish, and told that the humiliation of Tyre, the home of merchant princes and the city of ancient seafaring fame, has been decreed by Yahweh. The third strophe asserts that Yahweh has also given the word for the destruction of other Phoenician fortresses, and has rendered the Phoenician colonies insecure. In particular, Cyprus will be unable to give asylum to the Phoenicians retreating from their ruined homes. Other details filled out the poem in its original form, but the insecurity of the text has left them uncertain or obscure.

Opinions differ greatly as to the occasion and exact subject of the poem. In v.2, and even in v.4, Sidon may mean Phoenicia (v.2 n.); but v.12 should refer to the fall of the city of Sidon, and vv.8f. to the ruin of Tyre. It is true that the two names Tyre and Sidon as written in Phoenician inscriptions (צרן, צר), and doubtless also in the earliest stages of the text of the OT, must have been liable to confusion. Possibly, therefore, Tyre in v.8 (and 5) is a miswritten Sidon, or Sidon in vv.2-4 a miswritten Tyre; in which case the original subject of the poem may have been exclusively Sidon (Du.), or exclusively Tyre. The authors of the title and appendix certainly understood the poem to refer to Tyre, but whether exclusively or not is uncertain; as in 17[1], the title may refer to one only of two subjects of the poem that follows.

We cannot, then, with any assurance attempt to date the poem by considering which of the many sieges of Tyre or Sidon most answers to the details here given; as a matter of fact, these details are too general or too uncertain to point decisively to any particular siege.

Nor is it wise to draw conclusions from the doubtful and unintelligible reference to the Chaldaeans (or any name conjecturally substituted for this) in v.[13].

Nor, again, do language (except in v.[13]) and ideas point clearly to any known writer, or to any particular period. The vocabulary, naturally enough, contains words and phrases used by Isaiah; and others that do not occur in his extant writings; for details, see Di. or Cheyne, *Introd.* p. 142; but observe that the words and phrases cited as used by Isaiah are, with one or two insignificant exceptions, not peculiar to Isaiah, or even particularly characteristic of him; and they occur also in later writers (so, *e.g.*, יעץ, vv.[8f.]; נטה ידו, v.[11]).

Some theories of date may be briefly referred to—i. *Dates within the lifetime of Isaiah.*—(*a*) Some, guided mainly by the supposed reference in v.[13] to a destructive attack of Assyria on Babylon, place the prophecy near one of the years 709, 703, 696 B.C., in all of which Babylonia was ravaged by the Assyrians. On the last of these occasions Sennacherib says of Babylon, "The city and houses from its foundation to the upper chambers I destroyed, I dug up, in the fire I burnt" (*RP* ix. 28). But any argument as to the date of the poem based on v.[13] is very precarious (see on v.[13]); moreover, none of these years synchronises with any known disaster to Tyre, though *Sidon* suffered in 701 from Sennacherib, who at that time dethroned Luli, king of Sidon. (*b*) A more adequate occasion for the poem is the long siege to which Tyre was subjected by Shalmaneser (727–722 B.C.). According to Menander (in Jos. *Ant.* ix. 14[2]), the Assyrians ravaged the whole of Phoenicia; the other cities submitted, but Tyre held out and endured a five years' siege. If this is the occasion of the poem, it does not describe an actual destruction of Tyre, but merely predicts a destruction of the city which did not occur. This view is defended by Cheyne in *Introd.* p. 144; earlier (*PI*) he had adopted (*a*); later he abandoned both (*EBi.* 2197) in favour of the theory that the poem relates to a conquest of מצור (so read for צר and צירן) at some undefined date (*Crit. Bib.* 28).—ii. *Dates later than Isaiah.*—Merely noting that Esarhaddon made Sidon "like the ground" in 678 (Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Assyria*, ii. 224), and blockaded Tyre in 672 (Rogers, ii. 226), and that Asshurbanipal subsequently (Rogers, 255) conquered though he did not destroy the city, we come to the long siege of Tyre in 585–573, for which see Jos. *Ant.* x. 11[1], *c. Ap.* i. 21, and cp. the *predictions* in Jer 27[3], Ezk 26–28; see also Rogers, ii. 336 ff. In this siege some have found the occasion, or the subject, of the poem (cp. *e.g.* Kön. *Einl.* 320). But once again it can only be the subject, if the poem is a prediction unjustified by events: Tyre was not destroyed, cp. Ezk 29[17ff.], written in 570 B.C. The earliest capture of Tyre known to history, the earliest event, therefore, of which this poem can be a *description*, is the capture of the city by Alexander the Great: see Arrian, ii. 16–24, and cp. *e.g.* Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. 331–333, 337. Du. and Marti, who consider *Sidon* to be the subject of the poem,

find the occasion of it in the destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes Ochus in 348 B.C.

1–5. *First strophe.*—**1a. b.** Cp. v.[14]; the difference between the two occurrences of the distich in 𝔊 EV is due to textual corruption: see phil. n.—*Ships of Tarshish*] 2[16] n.; here ships actually returning from far distant Tarshish (in Spain?) are meant; for recent arguments that Tarshish lay not in Spain but on the Persian gulf, see Hüsing in *Memnon*, i. 70–79; cp. R. von Lichtenberg, *Einflüsse der ägäischen Kultur* (1911), p. 30.—**1c.** *From the land of Kittim*] *i.e.* Cyprus: Kitti (כתי) frequently mentioned in Phoenician inscriptions, was strictly the name of a town in Cyprus (Gr. Kition); cp. Nu 24[24] n. Cyprus would be the last stage on the way from Spain to Phoenicia; here, according to this line, which reads like a gloss (note the 3rd pers., and ct. the 2nd in vv.[1a. (b. 14b)]), the crews of the returning ships hear of the disaster. The phrase is preceded in 𝔊 by מבוא, which may be a corrupt dittograph of מבית; MT accents and EV connect it with v.[1b] (corrupt), (*for it is spoiled, so that there is no house*), *no entering in.* It has been recently rendered *since leaving the land of Kittim*, and assumed to imply that the news was heard not while the ships were touching at Cyprus, but by signals from passing ships or otherwise, between Cyprus and the Phoenician coast. This is most uncertain; בוא normally means *to enter in, arrive*, not to *go out from, leave.*—**2.** *Be astounded*] lit. *be dumb*, with grief or astonishment; cp. La 2[10], Ex 15[16]: see also phil. n. It is no doubt a formal inconsistency, but scarcely a rhetorical impossibility, to call on the same persons to be dumb and to howl (v.[6]).—*The coast*] Phoenicia, rather than either *the island* on which Tyre stood, or collectively *the islands* or *coasts* (11[11] n.) of the Mediterranean. See also 20[6] n.—*Merchants of Sidon*] merchants of the city of Sidon, or more widely Phoenician merchants; so Sidonians are Phoenicians in Dt 3[9], Jg 3[3], 1 K 16[31]; in Greek, too (*Il.* vi. 290), and Assyrian; and later in Phoenician itself Tyre is called אם צדנים, *metropolis of the Sidonians*; see *EBi. s.v. Sidon.*—**2c, 3.** Very uncertain: see phil. n. MT may be rendered:—[2b] *The merchants of Sidon,* [2c] *the traversers of the sea did fill thee* (fem.). [3] *And on many waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile, was her revenue: and it* (the revenue), or *she* (the coast: elsewhere masc.), *was the merchandise of nations.* But (1) this implies that the passage is unrhythmical; (2) the waters are

an unnatural place for revenue; (3) the last clause is obviously unsuitable: RV translates unjustifiably *mart* (ct. v.[18]) *of nations*. —*The seed of Shiḥor*] the identification of Shiḥor with the Nile (cp. Jer 2[18]) is found in 𝔙, and has been commonly accepted; but it was not admitted by 𝔊 either here or in Jer 2[18], and it has recently been disputed; Du., who with 𝔊 omits יאר, *of the Nile* (19[6] n.), identifies Shiḥor with the Shiḥor-libnath in Asher (Jos 19[26]), which district he considers actually did supply Sidon with corn (cp. Gn 49[20], Ezk 27[18]). For other views, see Che. in *EBi. s.v. Shihor*. That the Phoenician cities drew on Egypt * as well as on the Palestinian *hinterland* for their corn supply, is certainly probable, and an allusion to a remoter source would be rhetorically more effective. Even if *the Nile* be a gloss, it shows that a reference to Egypt was early detected here.—**4c. d** is an excellent 3 : 2 distich, and its meaning is clear; but the preceding part of the v. is too long for one distich, too short for two. Difficulties of interpretation make it additionally probable that the text of **4a. b** is in disorder, and it must remain doubtful whether Sidon, Tyre, or the Sea is the childless woman. If the text of 𝔐 is retained, *Be ashamed, O Sidon, for the sea hath said, the fortress of the sea, saying*, etc., nothing better can be suggested than Di.'s sufficiently improbable interpretation: Sidon, *i.e.* Phoenicia (as in v.[2]), is to be ashamed, *i.e.* disappointed in her hopes, because *the sea*, or more precisely *the fortress* (v.[14]: cp. v.[1] n.) *of the sea*, i.e. Tyre, has had to confess the loss of her children in battle, or by capture. Even more improbable is this interpretation, if *the fortress of the sea* be identified with Sidon:— be ashamed Sidon, for Sidon hath said! By following up a suggestion of Olsh., and omitting the words *the fortress of the sea, saying*, as a gloss, Du. obtains a more attractive meaning and a rather poor 4 : 2 line: Sidon is to be ashamed, for the sea has become childless, and the sea is poetically regarded as the mother of the Sidonians: if this be correct, there may be traces here of an old myth according to which gods and men sprang from the sea. By less extensive conjecture it is possible to obtain a good distich; omit כי with 𝔊 and read אם [ע]רים instead of אמרים, and render,

Be ashamed, O Sidon, mother of cities,
Fortress of the sea.

* Cp. W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, p. 359.

For *mother of cities*, cp. 2 S 20^{19}; G. A. Cooke, *NSI*, p. 352. Still even this is uncertain.—*I have not travailed nor brought forth*] a city robbed of its population is said by a rhetorical exaggeration not even to have had children: cp. 54^{1} of Ṣion; cp. also 49^{21}.—*Brought up . . . reared*] 1^{2} n.—**5.** Whether a gloss (Du.) or not, the v. is very awkwardly expressed and seems prosaic: it is certainly not a normal 3 : 2 line. It is commonly supposed to mean that the fall of Tyre will be ominous for Egypt, who will be distressed when the news is received.

1. הילילו] the masc. could be explained as a *cstr. ad sensum*, but at the end of the v. (^{14}) the *fem.* suffix (־כן) is used. Cp. G-K. 110*k*.—שדד] 15^{1}.—מבית] cp. G-K. 119*y*; but the word is really a corruption of מעוכן; 𝔊 *καὶ οὐκέτι* = וְעֹרֵאן; Che. unnecessarily substitutes מכוכן, *your haven* (Ps 107^{30}) for מעוכן.—מבוא] 𝔊 perhaps read בָּאִם; but the omission of a subject makes it difficult to treat this as original and explain by Dr. §§ 167, 169.—נגלה] *it*, viz. the overthrow of the stronghold, *has been revealed*: G-K. 144*b*. The prosaic, and probably unrhythmical, character of the line raises the suspicion that the line is a gloss (Olsh., Di., Che.). למו occurs in Is only in 30^{5}, and then is doubtful; it was misread by 𝔊, לִמִּי. For נגלה, 𝔊 seems to have read בא גלה. —**2.** רִמּוּ] imperative; it might also be pointed רָמוּ, pf. (cp. 𝔊). It is hardly necessary, out of regard to v.^{6} (see above), to suppose a unique occurrence of רכם, *to wail*, cp. Assyr. *damamu* with that meaning (see BDB): or to emend to נדמו (Che., Marti) which follows שדד in 15^{1}, or תָּמוּ (Du.).—סחר צידון] these words may be safely taken, against the accentuation of MT, as the synonymous parallel to ישבי אי, the 2nd part of the 3 : 2 distich characteristically echoing the first. The words that follow are certainly more or less corrupt: 𝔊 is not improbably nearer the original text in virtue of the absence from it of יאר, possibly a gloss on שחר, and ותהי, probably a corrupt dittography of אתה[תבו]. 𝔊 further differs from 𝔐 in omitting מלאוך ו and inserting ὡς (? כמו, or simply כ) between שחר (read as סחר) and קציר; but *εἰσφερομένου* corresponds nearly, if not exactly, to תבואתה. Du. follows 𝔊 in omitting יאור and ותהי: he also reads מְלֵאָכֶיהָ בַּמַּיִם for מלאוך ובמים (𝔖𝔗 omit the ו before במים), קציר for קציר, and would point תְּבוּאָתָהּ instead of תבואתה. Neither of the two lines thus obtained is 3 : 2; the first is 2 : 3 (an occasional variant on 3 : 2), and the second 3 : 3.—**4.** כי] 𝔊 omits.—**5.** שִׁמְעַ] for the awkward occurrence of a noun after כאשר, cp. 26^{9}. Grätz, al. read יִשְׁמַע: then cp. Neh 6^{7} for the construction. —כשמע צר] 𝔊 *περὶ Τύρου*. If 𝔐 is correct and כ is really = *at the time of* (18^{5} 28^{20} 30^{19}; Di.; BDB, p. 454*b*), the v. is most awkwardly expressed:—*when the report comes . . . they will be in travail at the time of the report*. RV *sorely pained at* would require כִּשְׁמוּעַ; cp. Dt 2^{25}, Jer 5^{22}.

6–9. *Second strophe*.—Now that Tyre, their ancient, proud, and famous capital, has fallen by the decree of Yahweh, let the Phoenicians of the Palestinian coast-land flee lamenting to Spain,

taking passage in the ships that have come thence (v.[1])—yet only to be turned back again from the haven that is no more (v.[10]).—**7.** The question rhetorically points the contrast between then and now; cp. 14[16], La 2[15].—*Exultant*] 22[2] 32[13], cp. v.[12] below.—*Since the days of old*] the antiquity of Tyre was considerable, though, according to later testimony (Strabo, xvi. 2, 22), reputed less than that of Sidon. The priests of Tyre told Herodotus (ii. 44) that "it was a period of 2300 years since their people began to live at Tyre." The actual age of Tyre may have been considerably less (cp. *e.g. EBi.* 3732), but the writer here appeals not to fact but to fame. So, too, the actual antiquity of the Phoenician colonies or trading stations to which v.[7b] refers, unlike the fame of them (cp. Herod. i. 1), may not have been very great; Meyer (*EBi.* 3736) asserts that in the time of the Amarna tablets (*c.* 1400 B.C.) there were no Phoenician colonies. The term *to sojourn* (גר, 14[2] n.) corresponds well to the character of these settlements, and the connection of them with Tyre to the generally current theory: "all the Phoenician colonies were anciently regarded as having been founded from Tyre; and, so far as the towns of Cyprus and North Africa are concerned, this is confirmed by all our other information. It cannot be shown that any other of the Phoenician towns planted colonies" (Meyer, *EBi.* 3737).—*Whose feet did carry her*] The expression is curiously chosen for the sea-voyages of the Phoenicians; but the meaning *flag* for דגל is far too uncertain (Nu 2[2] n.) to render Bredenkamp's easy conjectural emendation (דגליה for רגליה), *whose flags did carry her*, probable. Nor can it mean *her feet will carry her* into captivity; for the vb. גור in the next clause is unfavourable to this, and even הוביל (ct. 2 K 21[8]).—**8, 9.** Question and answer, as in Ps 24[3f. 9. 10].—**8.** Is Tyre, the home of merchant princes, called the *crowning* (𝔗) city, as one that founded small kingdoms, or as the city that sent a golden crown to the advancing Alexander; or *the crowned* (𝔖𝔙) city, as the city which at the time was supreme over the Phoenician cities? ℌ certainly means *the crowning*, ℌ[1] may have been ambiguous (המעטרה).—*Whose traders*] 2[6] n. 𝔊 omits this, or *whose merchants*.—**9.** The answer to v.[8]: it is Yahweh who has planned the disgrace of Tyre. The v. has probably suffered some disarrangement; see phil. n.—*Pride . . . beauty*] 4[2] 13[19] 60[15].

7. לכם] ethic. dat., rather than (*Is this* what has happened) *to you* (Del.).—עליזה] anarthrous voc.: G–K. 126*z*, n.—מימי קדם] 37^{28}.—קדמתה] is commonly given the sense of *origin* (cp. קֶדֶם, Pr $8^{22f.}$) and taken with מימי קדם; but the v. gives two better echoing lines if it is taken with יבלוה, either as a form like ישועתה (G–K. 90*g*), *in ancient time*, or pointed קִדְמָתָהּ, *in her antiquity*.—**9.** If the v. consists of two 3 : 2 distichs, the first should end at גאון; but this leaves גאון rather awkwardly undefined; כל צבי is also rather awkwardly placed, yet if we transpose להקל כל צבי (Che.) we make the antithetic terms להקל and נכבדי remote from one another. להקל כל נכבדי ארץ looks like the first part of a 3 : 2 distich.

10–14. *Third strophe.*—Let the ships from Spain return home (?); the ruin of Phoenicia is irremediable, for it has come to pass by Yahweh's decree. The ruin extends as far W. as Cyprus.—**10.** 𝔐 and 𝔊 differ, and probably neither entirely preserves the original sense. 𝔐 may be rendered, *Pass through*, (Dt 2^{18}) or *overflow* (8^{8}), or *pass over to* (v.^{6}, Am 6^{2}), *thy land, like the Nile, O daughter* (1^{8} n.) *of Tarshish*: *there is no more a girdle* (מזח, Ps 109^{19} †; =מזיח, Job 12^{21}). This has been explained as meaning that the harsh dominion of Tyre over her colonies, typically represented by distant and important Tarshish, has with the fall of Tyre come to an end, and the inhabitants of these colonies may now walk through the length and breadth of their land (cp. Gn 13^{17}) as the independent owners of it. But, not to mention other difficulties, the last clause cannot imply release from servitude; the girdle is no mark of bondage: but its removal is a mark of defencelessness (Job 12^{21}); so, freely but correctly, Symm. rendered, Jerome approving, *you will no longer be able to resist.* 𝔊 read, *Till thy land: for indeed ships come no more from Tarshish.* Originally the line resembled v.^{1}, or v.^{6}, or both, more closely than it does now; see phil. n.—**11, 12.** Phoenicia is undone; for Yahweh has decreed the destruction of all the fortresses along the Palestinian seaboard, and He has threatened and shaken all the Phoenician colonies scattered over the Mediterranean. Consequently the inhabitants of Sidon after the fall of the city will in vain cross over to Cyprus; the colonies there will have suffered likewise, and will furnish no resting-place to the fugitive Sidonians.—**11.** V.$^{11a.\ b}$ and $^{11c.\ d}$ have perhaps been transposed: the named subject *Yahweh* first appears v.^{11c}; and the threatening of the colonies in 𝔐 precedes the threatening of Phoenicia proper.—*His hand hath he stretched out*] 5^{25}: also in later writers, *e.g.* Zeph 1^{4}, Ex 7^{5} (P).—*He hath*

made . . . quake] used of the earth 14^{16}, of the heavens 13^{13}; the Kal is used of the effect of Yahweh's manifestation on peoples (64^{1}).—*Kingdoms*] as the term is applied to parts of Egypt in 19^{2}, so here to the various Phoenician city-states which were governed by their own kings. Phoenician inscriptions speak of a king of Gebal (*CIS* i. 1), a king of Kition and Idalion (e.g. *CIS* i. 11^{1}), as well as of a king of the Sidonians (e.g. *CIS* i. 3); see Cooke, *NSI*, p. 116. — **11.** *Canaan*] Phoenicia; the usage, found in Phoenician (Cooke, *NSI* 350), does not occur again in the OT; but note Jos 5^{1} מלכי הכנעני, 𝔊 οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς Φοινίκης.—**12.** *And he said*] probably this is a gloss, and this v., like the rest of the poem, was the speech of the poet. — *Exult*] cp. "exultant," v.^{7}. — *Daughter of Sidon*] rhythm favours this, the reading of 𝔊, as against 𝔐, *Virgin daughter* (1^{8} n.) *of Sidon*. This being so, no sufficient reason remains for giving המעשקה the otherwise unknown nuance *deflowered*; the antithesis is rather between the exulting, domineering, wealthy city of the past, and the ruined people of the present, who must suffer the harsh treatment commonly measured out to the poor and helpless; cp. the use of עשק in 52^{4}, Dt $28^{29\text{-}33}$.—According to the analogy of similar phrases, *daughter of Sidon* should mean the population of the city of Sidon; it is very questionable to make it mean Phoenicians in general, or Tyre, as being the daughter city of Sidon.—*Pass over*] v.^{6}.—*To Kittim*] Cyprus, v.^{1}.—**13.** This v. as a whole, and especially in its context, is quite unintelligible; it is, moreover, not in the 3 : 2 rhythm which appears in, or may underlie, the remainder of vv.$^{1\text{-}14}$, though the last two words, *He hath made it* (Cyprus? Tyre? Sidon?) *a ruin*, might be the second and shorter half of such a distich. Attempts to interpret the v. fall into two classes: (1) those which read into the present awkward text meanings which are not there; (2) those which conjecturally correct the text, or omit parts of it, as glosses. It would be easy to hazard fresh guesses of this type, but, as they would be as unconvincing as those which have been offered, it must suffice to refer to one or two explanations of each type that have already been offered. 𝔊 finds in v.^{13} an alternative to v.^{12}; how far its text was different from 𝔐, and how far it is merely paraphrastic, it is difficult to say; in 𝔊, $^{12b\text{-}13}$ runs thus, *and if thou goest to the Cypriotes, neither there shalt there be rest for*

thee, [13] *and* (*if*) *to the land of the Chaldaeans*, *that*, *too*, *has been laid waste by the Assyrians*, *its wall has fallen.* In what follows the italicised words represent the actual literal rendering of 𝔐, the rest, the meanings read in by interpreters in order to create some intelligibility:—*Behold the land of the Chaldaeans; this is the people which* until recently *was not* of any account; *Assyria founded it*, i.e. the land of Chaldaea, *for* the Chaldaeans, who had hitherto been *inhabitants of the desert* (13[21] n.); *they*, the Chaldaeans, *set up his*, viz. the Chaldaeans' *watch-towers* (32[14] n.), *they have laid bare* the foundations of *its* (Tyre's) *palaces; he*, (the Chaldaeans) *hath made it a ruin.* The point of all this is supposed to be: Tyre will be destroyed by the Chaldaeans; so Lowth, Ges., and others; but the interpretation labours under historical, as well as stylistic, improbabilities; the Chaldaeans were settled in Babylon at least as early as 900 B.C. and probably centuries earlier, and, therefore, even if it were a proved fact, and not merely an unsupported and improbable inference from this passage, that it was the Assyrians who settled the Chaldaeans in Babylon, it was no recent event even in the days of Isaiah. Others would make the v. mean Chaldaea has already destroyed Assyria, *i.e.* Nineveh (607 B.C.), and will destroy Tyre; by assuming that אשור is a *casus pendens*, and straining the meaning of יסד, which means *to found* creatively (so even Ps 104[8]), the crucial clause for this interpretation is rendered, *it*, viz. Chaldaea, *has appointed Assyria for desert-beasts*, i.e. for destruction (cp. Mal 1[8]); so at one time Del., reviving a suggestion of Paulus mentioned by Ges. Others (*e.g.* RV) with rather less improbability give this clause the opposite meaning: Assyria has destroyed Chaldaea (in 709? or 703? or 696 B.C.). A further objection to both these interpretations is that the remainder of the v. can then only naturally be taken to refer to the fall of Babylon, and thus the v. falls entirely out of relation to a poem on the fall of Tyre. Ew. conjecturally substituted *Canaanites*, *i.e.* Phoenicians (v.[11] n.), for *Chaldaeans*; but this necessitates retaining the questionable sense *appointed* for יסד, and giving לא היה the very questionable meaning *is no more* (RV). It has been suggested that the words זה העם לא היה אשור, *this is the people*, *it was not Assyria*, are an annotation that has intruded into the text, drawing attention to the fact that Chaldaea and not Assyria destroyed Tyre: cp. Cond., Che. (*Introd.* p. 140),

but see Dr. *Isaiah*[2], 219. Du. extracts from the v. the following distich:

Behold the land of Kittim,
He hath made it a ruin—

the point of which is that there will be no rest for Cyprus, for Cyprus, too, is in ruins. The rest of the v. on this theory is a note on Kittim; by the help of some emendations the note is restored as follows: *This is the people which were a foundation, i.e.* a colony, *of the seafarers who set up its watch-towers, its cities, and its palaces*; very doubtful.—**14.** See on v.[1].

10. עברי ארצך כיאר בת תרשיש] Ⓖ *ἐργάζου τὴν γῆν σου καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα . . . ἐκ* Καρχηδόνος = עברי ארצך כי אניות תרשיש; from Ⓟ and Ⓖ we might conjecture עברו ארצכן אניות תרשיש; but this, like both Ⓟ and Ⓖ, seems over-long for the first line of a distich. Perhaps עברי ארצ is a dittograph of כברי ארץ[נ] at the end of v.[9]; and the original opening of v.[10] was בכו אניות ת', *Weep, ye ships of T.* (cp. v.[1]); see Du., Marti.—מוז] an error for מעו (vv.[11. 14])? or for קָמוּ, if this meant *haven*?—**11.** יהוה] Ⓖ + *σαβαωθ.*—לשמיר] 3^{8} n.—מעוניה] the נ is an error rather than a resolution of the reduplicated ז (G–K. 20*o*).—**12.** המעשקה] the attributive is prefixed for emphasis: cp. 22^{2}.—בתולת] Ⓖ om.—צירון] some MSS ציון; an obvious error.—כתיים] cannot be a vocative; but the name of the people is used for the country: cp. כשדימה, Ezk 11^{24}. But in v.[13] ארץ כ' is used.—**13.** ארץ כַּשְׂדִּים] Kleinert, Bredenkamp, ארץ כַּשְׂדִּים (cp. Gn 14^{3}); Ges–B. (*vielleicht*) אַרְצְךָ שְׂדֵה; Marti ארץ כתים השמיר, which would give a good parallel to שמה לכפלה, if all that intervenes is a gloss.—זה העם] scarcely *this people*, in spite of Ex 32^{1}, 1 K 14^{14}, Ps 104^{25} (BDB, 200*b*); but *this is the people*, which certainly reads like the beginning of a gloss. Marti, following up Du.'s suggestion, restores the gloss as follows:—(or לציונים) זה העם אשר יסורה לציים הקימו בחניו ערין וארמנתיו; but אשר יסורה would be odd Hebrew, the meanings *settlement* for יסורה and *seafarers* for ציים questionable, and the very rare word בחן unlikely in a gloss.—לא היה] according to MT accents this means *was not, did not exist*: cp. BDB, *s.v.* היה, iii. 1; but *is no more* would be expressed by means of אין and עוד. In a late gloss לא היה אשור might mean *it was not Assyria*: cp. the use of היה in 2 Ch 18^{32} (ct. 1 K 22^{33}).—בָּחִינָיו] K^{e}tib; בחזָיו, K^{e}re; neither form occurs again unless בָּחֹן, 32^{14}†, should be pointed בָּחָן or בָּחֵן.—עוררו] Pol'el of ערר, here only; cp. Kal 32^{11}, Pilpel and Hithp. Jer 51^{38}.—כפלה] 17^{1} n.

XXIII. 15–18.—*The Restoration of Tyre for the benefit of the Jews.*

This appendix was not necessarily, nor even probably, written by the author of the poem in vv.[1-14]. It is prose, not poetry; predictive, not descriptive. It was written, presumably, while the ruin, which vv.[1-14] describe, still continued, and after rather

than before the Exile; for note the ideas in v.[18] and the probable indebtedness of the writer to Jer 25[11f.] and Ezk, chs. 26-28. See, further, Che. *Introd.* 138 f.

In the following translation the ditty (2 : 2 : 2 || 2 : 2 : 2) cited in v.[15] is given, at the expense of one or two departures from literal rendering, in a rhymed version, in order to bring out its difference from its prose setting:

[15] And it will come to pass in that day that Tyre will be forgotten for 70 years, like the days of one king. At the end of 70 years Tyre will be like the harlot in the song:

[16] Take thou the lyre,
Walk with the throng,
Harlot whom all forget;
Play, play with fire,
Sing oft (thy) song,
To be remembered (yet).

[17] And it shall come to pass at the end of 70 years, Yahweh will visit Tyre, and she shall return to her hire, and play the harlot with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth. [18] And her gain and her hire shall be a sacred gift to Yahweh: it shall not be stored up, nor treasured, but her gain shall belong to them that sit before Yahweh for food in abundance and for stately clothing.

15. *Shall be forgotten*] and so lose her trade: cp. v.[17].—*Seventy years*] are (*a*) the normal term of human life, Ps 90[10]; (*b*) the length, according to expectation or conventional reckoning, of the Jewish captivity in Babylon, Jer 25[11f.] 29[10], Zec 1[12] 7[5], Dn 9[2ff.], 2 Ch 36[21].—*As the days of one king*] various explanations, none very satisfactory, have been offered of this phrase; it has been said to mean the full span of human life (Ges., cp. 𝔊), or full years, measured liberally as befits a king, in contrast to the "years of a hireling" (16[14] 21[16]; Eich.), or a period free from change (Del., Di.), or the duration of a dynasty (cp. Dn 7[17]), whether that of Nebuchadnezzar (Ibn Ezra), or of Alexander and his Ptolemaic successors (Du., Marti). On the last theory, allusion is made to the fact that Tyre was eclipsed by the foundation of Alexandria; Tyre's prosperity returned when Phoenicia passed from the dominion of the Ptolemies to that

of the Seleucids.—*At the end of seventy years*] these words have perhaps intruded here from v.[17]; if they stand, vv.[15b. 16] and v.[17] are synchronous, which is scarcely suggested by the opening of v.[17], or else the writer had in view two successive periods of seventy years, which is improbable.—**16.** The song is rather some popular ditty cited by the writer than one specially composed by himself (Di.). The ditty is sarcastic, for obviously the worn-out and discarded harlot would not win much success by her wiles; Tyre is to be restored not by her own artifices, but (v.[17]) by Yahweh's favour. The conduct described in 16[a. d. e] corresponds more to that of the Ghawazee of Modern Egypt (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ch. xix.) than to what is elsewhere said of harlots in the OT. The כנור, *lyre*, appears elsewhere as an instrument of dissolute music, 5[12].—*Walk with the throng*] lit. *go about in* (סבב, as Ca 3[2]) *the city*.—*Play thou with fire*] more lit. *play skilfully, play your best*: cp. 1 S 16[17], Ezk 33[32], Ps 33[3].—**17.** *Will visit*] with favour: cp. Jer 29[10]. Yahweh will restore the commercial prosperity of Tyre; the figure by means of which this is expressed is suggested by v.[16]; cp. Apoc. 18[3], where, rather more naturally in a minatory context, trading and harlotry (figuratively) are closely connected. Even in figure it is surprising to find the *harlot's price* (אתנן) made a gift to Yahweh; ct. Dt 23[19].—**18.** *Gain*] from trade; cp. v.[3] n.—*Hire*] synonymous with gain, but implying the figure of v.[17].—*A sacred gift*] קדש, as Jos 6[19]. The gains from trade will no longer be stored up (Zec 9[3]) by Tyre for her own use, but will be paid into Yahweh's coffers, whence it will be given over by Him *to them that sit before* Him, *i.e.* the priestly nation of the Jews (61[5f.]). The thought that the wealth of the nations will flow into the restored Jewish state is frequent in exilic and post-exilic literature: see 45[14] 49[22f.] 60[6. 9-11], Hag 2[7ff.]

15. ונשכחת] it is scarcely possible that this is a part. (G–K. 44*f*, 116*p*; Dr. § 159); not only should a pf. with waw conv. naturally follow תהיה, but if נשכחת were a part. צר should naturally precede it (Dr. 135 (4)). Unless ונשכחה should be read, it is a form like אולת (Dt 32[36]), preserving the original ת of the fem.—**17.** אתננה] the suffix is here written with *hē raphe*; ct. v.[18].—יחסן] the vb. here only in Heb.; cp. the noun חוסן, 33[6] etc. In Aramaic (*e.g.* Dn 7[22] Haph.) the vb. means *to take possession of*.—עתיק] here only; for the sense, *choice, surpassing*, attaching to the root and its derivatives, cp. עתק in Pr 8[18] and عَتِيق of *what precedes*, and so is *choice*.

XXIV.–XXVII.—*An Apocalypse of Judgment on the World, and of Yahweh's reign and glory.*

Special Literature:—R. Smend, in *ZATW*, 1884, pp. 161–224; H. Oort, in *Th. Ti.*, 1886, pp. 166–194; E. Liebmann, "Der Text zu Jesaia 24–27," in *ZATW*, 1902, pp. 1–56, 285–304; 1903, pp. 209–286; 1904, pp. 51–104; 1905, pp. 145–171.

"Post specialem singulorum gentium correptionem, Judaeae (1–12), Babylonis (13^1–14^{23}), Philistim (14^{24-32}), Moab (15 f.), Damasci, Israel (17^{1-11}), Aegypti (18 f.), deserti maris (21^{1-10}), Idumaeae ($21^{11f.}$) et Arabiae (21^{13-15}), vallis visionis (22^{1-14}), et ad extremum Tyri (23) . . . nunc quid totus orbis in consummatione passurus sit, propheticus sermo describit, et nequaquam de singulis gentibus, sed de cunctis pariter prophetatur."

Jerome here correctly seizes the fundamental difference between chs. 24–27 and the preceding parts of the book; at times, indeed, in chs. 24–27 the wider eschatological ideas appear (see, *e.g.* 13 f.), and in chs. 24–27 there are allusions in particular and by name to Assyria, Egypt, and Moab, as well as to Jerusalem; nevertheless, broadly the distinction holds: in chs. 1–23 we have in the forefront the particular circumstances or fates of definite and particular nations — Jewish or foreign, in chs. 24–27 the future both of judgment and of promise that awaits the world at large. We pass from prophecy to apocalypse.

The contents of these chapters, very briefly described, are as follows:—Yahweh is about to visit the world in judgment, and His judgment will culminate in the punishment and imprisonment, with a view to subsequent and final judgment, of the "host of the height" and the kings of the earth; He will Himself become universal king and lord, reigning gloriously from Jerusalem (ch. 24); and at His accession He will give a feast in Mount Ṣion to all the peoples of the world — the subjects of Himself as universal Lord; victorious over all enemies (24^{21}), He will also destroy death and, under His rule, there will be no mourning: in particular, He will remove the reproach which His people the Jews have been suffering (25^{6-8}). Between the account of Yahweh's accession and coronation feast is inserted (25^{1-5}) a song in which the (Jewish) community, hitherto poor and helpless, celebrates Yahweh's victorious career, which has

rescued it, and must exact homage from the "strong people" and the city of "the awe-inspiring." Another song ($25^{9(-12)}$), introduced as such by an introductory formula, follows the account of the coronation feast: in this, those who have waited for Yahweh's salvation now express their exultation in it. This song also contains, or is followed by a section which contains, a prediction of the ignominious destruction of Moab. A third song, introduced by a formula directing that it is to be sung in the land of Judah, follows in 26^{1-19}: this song contrasts Jerusalem, as Yahweh will then have made it, in its strength with the "city (now) set on high," which Yahweh will then have abased; it refers to the loyalty of the Jews to Yahweh under the foreign dominion to which they have been subject: and it concludes with the prediction, rather than the mere hope, that the Jews who have died will come to life again as members of the community, whose centre is the City which Yahweh will have made strong. At the end of this song comes a short section in which the writer exhorts his people to keep at home while the wrath of Yahweh goes forth to punish the inhabitants of the earth and the two Leviathans and "the dragon which is in the sea" (26^{20}–27^{1}). Then follows another song in praise of Yahweh's "delightful vineyard," which closes with, or is followed by, the statement that Israel shall flourish and "fill the face of the world with fruit" (27^{2-6}). The connection of the following verses is loose, but they contain (1) the promise that Israel's iniquity will be purged by destroying (illegitimate) altars, 'asherim and ḥammānim (27^{9}), and (2) a description of the desolation of the fortified city of a people without understanding and without claim on its Maker for mercy ($27^{10f.}$). The entire section closes with a promise that the Jews within the ideal limits of the land of promise will be carefully (separated from the heathen?) and gathered together, and that the Jews of the dispersion in Egypt and Assyria will be summoned by a great trumpet and will come up to worship Yahweh in Jerusalem.

More than once in these chapters we seem to come on allusions to clearly defined and particular historical events or circumstances; but as Del. well observes, "like will-o'-the-wisps, they elude any attempt at following out and grasping them." The allusion to the city of Jerusalem in 26^{2} is, of course, unmistakable though it is not here, as it is in 24^{23}, mentioned by

name; but what are the "City of Chaos" (24^{10}), "the fortified city" (27^{10}), the city set on high" (26^{5}, cp. 25^{12}), the citadel" and "the city of the awe-inspiring" ($25^{2f.}$)? are they one and the same? if so, what city is meant? and if they are different, how many and what cities are intended? what people are described as the "strong people" (25^{3})? It seems clear that the writers had a definite city, or definite cities, and a definite people in view, but unfortunately the descriptions are so vague that they are satisfied by any of the many cities with which at different times and by different writers they have been identified —Nineveh, Babylon, Shushan, Tyre, Samaria, and so forth.

But though the definite and particular references are elusive, certain general conditions are clear and significant: the Jews are poor, distressed, and helpless, waiting for the intervention of Yahweh to deliver them in some marvellous and miraculous way ($25^{9.\ 1-4}$ $26^{5-12.\ 16-18}$ 27^{7}), politically dependent (26^{13}), with no king of their own, but with the priesthood as the highest rank (to be inferred from 24^{2}), an object of reproach throughout the earth (25^{8}) over which they are scattered (27^{13} and, probably, 24^{14-16}), few in number in their own land of Palestine (the present situation implied by the prediction of 26^{15}), and even there mingled with the heathen (27^{12} probably). All this implies that we have to do here with a work of the post-exilic period; and even one or two points, such as the references to Assyria (27^{13}), and to idolatrous objects (27^{9}) still needing to be destroyed, that to some have seemed to suggest an earlier period for at least the groundwork of the whole, are not really incompatible with a post-exilic period: indeed, the allusion to Assyria occurs in a passage where lateness of circumstances, language, and ideas is conspicuous (see below, and cp. Smend, p. 193 n.). It remains possible, and as we shall see probable, that the entire section is not a unity; but the general conditions of the post-exilic period are reflected throughout.

Not less decisively do the ideas that find expression here point to the post-exilic period; and with probability, indeed, to a very late part of that period. The ideas convinced Del., who originally maintained the Isaianic authorship of chs. 24–27, that it was post-Isaianic (p. 419). The difficulty, indeed, when we consider these, is not to decide whether we are dealing with a pre-exilic or a post-exilic work, but to see how any part of the

prophetic canon can be late enough to contain them. The entirely explicit and well-established belief in the resurrection of *individual* Israelites (26^{19}) carries us far below Ezekiel, beyond the Book of Job, and into the region of Daniel and Enoch (*i.e. c.* 165 B.C. and later). Certainly the history of this belief among the Jews cannot be written with precision, and we know that some Jews (Ecclesiastes, the Sadducees) rejected it long after the majority held it firmly; but could the argument of the Book of Job have proceeded as it does, had any considerable section of the author's fellow-countrymen held the belief expressed in Is 26^{19}, which gives no indication whatever of being a mere idiosyncrasy of the writer? But to say that a work is later than Job is to fix it by reference to a book whose date is itself disputed, though few now maintain that it is earlier than the exile. It is otherwise with Daniel; and the question arises, was Is 26^{19} written even as much as a century and a half earlier than Dn 12^{2}, that is to say, in the age of Alexander the Great, to which many have referred it? Possibly; but failing conclusive arguments from other data to the contrary, the nearer any theory brings this part at least of the whole to the Maccabaean period, the more likely is it to approach the truth. Not less remarkable is the prediction of the abolition of death (25^{8}); and the earliest close analogy that we find in Jewish literature to the imprisonment of the heavenly host (24^{22}) is again to be found in the Book of Enoch. Other ideas demand, or find their most natural explanation, if we admit a post-exilic origin for chs. 24–27: 27^{1} may contain ancient mythology, but it is probably late Jewish thought; but, not to repeat here what is said below, it must suffice to refer to the notes on Yahweh's visible enthronement in Ṣion (24^{23}), the conception of the nations as violators of the eternal covenant (24^{5}, cp. v.^{20}), the echo or development of the Deutero-Isaiah's universalism in $25^{6f.}$, the idea of the great trumpet that is to summon the elect (27^{13}), and of the Jews as a righteous nation, loyal to Yahweh ($26^{2.\ 7f.\ 13}$; ct. 27^{2-6} with 5^{1-7}), with perhaps a section of wicked members (26^{3}, cp. Dn 12^{1}). See also Che., *Introd.* 151–153; Smend, 199–202.

Finally, a third independent line of proof points to the conclusion that 24–27 is post-exilic: the style and language may not, indeed, be *late* post-exilic, yet they are certainly post-exilic. The style in brief is that of reproductive prophecy or apocalypse:

apart from passages where the text is corrupt, and these are numerous, the style is fluent; it is that of a writer whose mind is retentive of, even saturated with, earlier prophetic writings, including, but by no means confined to, those of Isaiah. This may be safely said, even though in individual cases it may be open to question, whether this writer or another later writer is the borrower. Many of these correspondences are noted in the commentary or notes that follow, and they have been collected together by Smend (p. 196) and Cheyne (*Introd.* 147).

But along with this reproduction of the words and phrases of earlier and later writers, there are considerable peculiarities of vocabulary, and one or two of syntax: and, though the lists of Smend (pp. 196–198) and Che. (pp. 148 f.) contain some peculiarities that may be merely due to textual corruption, the evidence of peculiarity is too extensive to be greatly affected by one or two words more or less. Moreover, the *combination* of peculiarities is such as we should find, not in any pre-exilic writer, but rather in an author writing ± 400 B.C. If Is 24–27 were much later than 400 B.C. (cp. p. 400), we should expect certain features (see p. 464) which do not appear there; but the absence of these does not, perhaps, render such a later date impossible (cp. p. 465). See, further, below, pp. 463–472.

A striking characteristic of this section, not necessarily indicative of date, but rightly claimed as constituting a dissimilarity to the style of Isaiah, is the constant use of paronomasia and, in 27^{2-5} and occasionally elsewhere, of rhyme. Isaiah, indeed, makes use of paronomasia to emphasise an important saying (cp. 1^{23} 5^{7} 7^{9}); but, though such a use may be found in $24^{17f.}$, for the most part paronomasia with this writer is rather a mere, though sometimes an effective, ornament of style.

Chs. 24–27 are, then, a work of the post-exilic period. But are they a unity? Did the author, saturated as he certainly is with older literature, borrow in bulk from now lost earlier prophecies, say from Isaiah in $27^{9.\ 12f.}$, from a 7th cent. prophecy in $25^{6-8\ (10f.)}$ (so Ew.)? It is a reasonable question to ask, but the attempts to analyse these chapters so as to recover any such Isaianic or pre-exilic basis have not been successful: see p. 399 on $27^{12f.}$. Or has the main work with which we have to do here been enlarged by later interpolations? One thing is clear even

on the surface: the entire section is not of one character; it is for the most part a prophecy of a world-judgment and the New Age which is to follow; but the prophecy is interrupted at several points by the introduction of songs: see $25^{1\text{-}5.\ 9(\text{-}12)}$ $26^{1\text{-}19}$ $27^{2\text{-}5\ (6)}$. Three theories are possible: the songs may be earlier than the prophecy, originally written for it, or subsequently inserted. But in any case they are not separated widely in time, for the ideas, the circumstances reflected, and the style of songs and prophecy alike point to a late post-exilic period.

It does not seem impossible, or indeed altogether improbable, that the writer of the prophecy should himself insert songs, whether written by himself or another, to be sung by the citizens of the new and glorious kingdom of Yahweh; and if, as may well have been the case, he knew Is 1–12, he would have had a model in the songs of Is 12. But the first song, $25^{1\text{-}5}$, interrupts the closely connected passages 24^{23} (the accession of Yahweh) and $25^{6\text{-}8}$ (His coronation-feast) in a manner which may more naturally be attributed to the necessities of an editor who had songs to insert, than to the free choice of the original writer, who might have arranged his material differently. The connection of $25^{6\text{-}8}$, especially v.^{8b}, and 26^{20}–27^{1} also seems to suffer from the intervention of 25^{9}–26^{19}, though less seriously and less obviously. The song $27^{2\text{-}6}$, and the following verses $27^{7\text{-}11}$ seem at best loosely connected with, but the last verses $27^{12\text{f.}}$ may complete, the prophecy contained in 24. $25^{6\text{-}8}$ 26^{20}–27^{1}. In any case the theme of the prophecy can be best understood by reading it in the first instance without the songs; consequently the translation of 24. $25^{6\text{-}8}$ 26^{19}–27^{1} and $27^{12.\ 13}$ is given consecutively with merely an indication of the points where the songs come in. The translations of the songs will be found at their proper places in the commentary.

Modern analytical theories of 24–27 start with Du., though Ew. had already observed the close connection of 24^{23} and $25^{6\text{-}8}$, and re-established it outwardly by transposing $25^{6\text{-}12}$ and $25^{1\text{-}5}$. Du. analysed the chapters into (*a*) prophecy, 24. $25^{6\text{-}8}$ 26^{20}–27^{1} $27^{7\text{-}13}$, but with the remark that the last section is full of difficulties, and that $27^{12\text{f.}}$ would attach best to 27^{1}; (*b*) songs or other added matter. Cheyne and Marti have adopted Du.'s analysis, except that they both definitely reject from the original and prophetic groundwork $27^{7\text{-}11}$.

Earlier, Koppe had analysed the section into three independent pieces—$24^{1\text{-}15}$ $24^{16\text{-}23}$ 25. 26. 27^{1} $27^{2\text{-}6}$ $27^{7\text{-}11}$ $27^{12.\ 13}$. The improvement in the later analysis will be seen to be largely due to Ew.'s detection of the connection of 24^{23} and $26^{6\text{-}8}$.

It remains to notice briefly some of the theories that have been held with regard to the particular historical circumstances which called forth this prophecy as a whole, or any of its various parts. None of them can be regarded as established.

So long as the Isaianic authorship of 24–27 was unquestioned, the threatened city was obviously Nineveh: it was, of course, not easy to connect the prophecy with the known circumstances of the 8th cent., and Michaelis is cited by Ges. for the significant confession that he was utterly unable to explain the historical relation of the prophecy. Hitz. placed the prophecy in the 7th cent. just before the fall of Nineveh (*c.* 607).

Ges. identified the threatened city with Babylon, which seemed to him clearly indicated, though, like Rome in Rev., not mentioned by name. He therefore saw in chs. 24–27 a work contemporary with chs. 13 f., 21. 40–66, as Eichhorn and de Wette had done before him.

Ew., who held that the author of these chapters incorporated older material (see above), and conjectured that it may have been the author of ch. 12 who wrote and added to chs. 1–23 the present section of the book, sought an occasion for this prophecy in Cambyses' preparations for his Egyptian campaign (525 B.C.), which must have appeared peculiarly threatening to Palestine (though, as we now know from the Elephantine papyri, he treated Jewish settlers in Egypt with consideration): $25^{1\text{-}5.\ 11}$ $26^{5f.}$ $27^{10f.}$ refer as already past to the overthrow of Babylon by Darius Hystaspes, and $26^{14\text{-}19}$ to Jerusalem already re-established, though in poverty, after the Exile. Di., Del., Dr. (*LOT* 210 f.) agree that it belongs to the early post-exilic period; Di. urges that $26^{13\text{-}19}$ was written within 60 or 70 years of the restoration of Jerusalem, and $27^{9.\ 1}$ not too long after the pre-exilic period; Dr. suggests as a *possibility* that it may have been written as an encouragement when the calamity referred to in Neh 1^{3} was impending. Oo. places it in the 5th cent., but before the governorship of Nehemiah, when Moab became Nabataean.

Many have referred the entire section to the 4th cent.: so, *e.g.*, Kue. *Onderzoek*[2], ii. 99; Vatke, in his posthumous *Einleitung*; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 475. In favour of this date, see especially the elaborate and valuable discussions of Smend and Cheyne (*Introd.* 145–162); Kennett (*Comp. of the Book of Isaiah*, pp. 35 f.) argues against it. Smend treats the section as a unity, and interprets the whole in the light of $25^{10\text{-}12}$; Moab, the one people openly referred to, with the exception of the Jews themselves and in $27^{12f.}$ Assyria and Egypt, is the special object of the writer's hostility, and some city, not to be determined, of Moab is the "city set on high," etc. Cheyne argued that the "Apocalypse" ($25^{6\text{-}8}$ 26^{20}–27^{1} $27^{12f.}$) was called forth by the calamities produced by Artaxerxes Ochus (359–338 B.C.), that $27^{7\text{-}10}$ was written twenty years later, after this "smiter" had been smitten (27^{7}) by Alexander at Issus (333 B.C.), $26^{1\text{-}19}$ a little later (332 B.C.), when Alexander had spared Jerusalem, and in the same year $25^{1\text{-}5a}$ $25^{9\text{-}11}$ $27^{2\text{-}5}$. Later, Cheyne tacitly withdrew this theory in favour of the supposition that in their original form the component parts of this "singular literary mosaic"

had a Jerahmeelite background, and that their present form is due to a "late" redactor, who is responsible, among other things, for introducing the idea of the abolition of death (*Crit. Bibl.* 30–33).

Vatke in 1835 (*Bibl. Theologie*, p. 550) anticipated Du., Marti, and Kennett in referring this prophecy to the 2nd cent., and in particular to the Maccabaean period. Du. and Marti refer the several sections, into which they analyse the whole, as follows: (1) the main apocalypse, to a date shortly after 128 B.C.—the year in which Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who had conquered Jerusalem, which was still feeling the effects (24^{7-12}), was defeated by the Parthians, the plunderers of 24^{13-16} and one of the three powers symbolised in 27^{1}; (2) 25^{1-5} celebrates the destruction of Samaria in 107 B.C., and 26^{1-19} praises God for the same event, and 27^{2-5} is of the same period; (3) 25^{9-11} a song of triumph over the defeat of Moab at the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus, or the beginning of that of Alexander Jannaeus; 27^{7-11} between 128 and 111 B.C.

The foregoing summary may serve to emphasise the indefiniteness of the historical allusions; and in conclusion it may be added that some writers consider the apparently definite references to be typical rather than literal. Dr., for example, who recalls the fact that Babylon continued to be an important city down to 332, thinks that Babylon is the unnamed city, yet not the literal Babylon: "Babylon becomes a type of the powers of heathenism, which the prophet imagines as entrenched behind the walls of a great city, strongly fortified, but destined in God's good time to be overthrown" (*LOT* 210; cp. Baudissin, p. 374); and Cheyne asks, "Why should not 'Moab' be an imaginative type of all the proud enemies of Israel" (*Introd.* 159).

But whether the "city" and Moab be literally or typically intended, the particular historical circumstances remain evasive: the *general* political and social conditions, as well as the language and style, compel us to refer the prophecy to the post-exilic period: the ideas should warn us that any theory which refers the prophecy to an early part of that period is hazardous.

XXIV., XXV. 6–8, XXVI. 20, 21, XXVII. 1, 12, 13.
An Apocalyptic Poem.

There are in places conspicuous rhythmical irregularities, or great corruption of the text (*e.g.* $24^{13.\ 15f.\ 22}$); and $27^{12f.}$ reads almost like prose: but for the most part parallelism is maintained and a balanced rhythm. There is no trace of the echoing rhythm 3 : 2, though occasionally in the present text the lines of the distichs are in the rhythmical relation 4 : 3; see $24^{5b.\ c}$ 26^{20}.

The most frequent rhythm is 3 : 3 (rarely 3 : 3 : 3); this clearly appears in $24^{4a.\ b.\ 8\text{-}12.\ 14a.\ b.\ 17.\ 18c\text{-}19.\ 20c.\ d.\ 21b.\ c}$ 25^{7} $26^{21c.\ d}$, possibly also in $24^{3a.\ b}$ (𝔊), 24^{6} (neglecting עליכן; cp. n. on הוי, p. 89 top), $24^{20a.\ b}$ (where 𝔊 omits נוע, and והתנודדה may be read as two accents), $24^{23c.\ d}$ (see phil. n.). The rhythm 4 : 4 (or 4 : 4 : 4) appears in $25^{6b.\ c}$ $26^{21a.\ b}$ 27^{1} and may possibly be traced in 24^{1} (see phil. n.), $24^{2.\ 4c.\ 5a}$ (see n.), 24^{18} (neglecting והיה), $25^{8b.\ c}$. Rarer are the rhythms 2 : 2 ($24^{2b\text{-}d.\ 23a.\ b}$) and 2 : 2 : 2 ($24^{7}$, but see phil. n. on v.^{8}); and 6 : 6 ($27^{12b.\ c}$).

1 Behold, Yahweh is emptying the earth and making it bare;
And he will distort its surface, and disperse its inhabitants.
2 And so the priest shall be like the people,
The master like the slave,
The mistress like the maid,
The seller like the buyer,
The borrower like the lender,
He of whom interest is taken like him that taketh interest.
3 The earth shall be wholly emptied,
And 'the world' shall be wholly despoiled,
For Yahweh hath spoken this word.

4 The earth hath mourned, withered,
The world hath languished, withered;
. . . . . .
5 And the earth hath become polluted under its inhabitants.
Because they have transgressed laws, overstepped statutes,
Broken the eternal covenant.
6 Therefore a curse hath devoured the earth,
And they that dwell therein have paid penalty;
Therefore the inhabitants of the earth are scorched,
And few shall be the mortals that are left.
7 The must hath mourned,
The vine hath languished,
All the joyous-hearted have sighed.
8 The merriment of the timbrels is still,
The noise of the jubilant has ceased,
The merriment of the lute is still.

9 With song they shall not drink wine (any more),
Bitter shall strong drink be to them that drink it.
10 The City of Chaos is broken,
Every house is closed so that it cannot be entered.
11 There is outcry in the streets for the wine,
All joy has reached its eventide,
The merriment of the earth is exiled.
12 Desolation is left in the city,
And the gate shall be crushed into ruins (?).
13 For thus shall it be in the midst of the earth,
Among the peoples as when olives are struck off,
As at the gleaning when the vintage is complete.

14 *They* shall lift up their voice,
They shall ring out their joy in the majesty of Yahweh,
They have given a shrill cry from the sea (?).
15 Therefore in the . . . glorify Yahweh,
In the isles of the sea the name of Yahweh, the God of Israel.
From the extremity of the earth we have heard songs,
"Beauty for the righteous! ∧ ∧ ∧ Woe to ∧ the disloyal" ∧ ∧
17 Terror and pit and gin
Are upon thee, O (every) inhabitant of the earth!
18 And he that flees from the sound of the terror, shall fall into the pit;
And he that cometh up from the midst of the pit, shall be caught in the gin.
For lattices have been opened in the height,
And the foundations of the earth have quaked.
19 The earth has utterly broken asunder,
The earth has utterly split,
The earth has utterly shaken
20 The earth shall stagger like a drunkard,
And sway like a night-refuge;
And its rebellion shall weigh heavily on it,
And it shall fall, and arise no more.

21 And it shall come to pass in that day Yahweh will punish
The host of the height in the height,
And the kings of the earth on the earth;

[22] And they shall be gathered, as prisoners are gathered, into the pit,
And imprisoned in the prison;
And after many days they shall be punished.
[23] And the moon shall be abashed,
And the sun shall be ashamed,
For Yahweh of Hosts will have become King in Mount Ṣion,
And in Jerusalem and before his elders 'shall he show himself glorious.'

[25[1-5]. A song: see p. 425.]

25[6] And Yahweh of Hosts will make for all peoples in this mountain,
A feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees,
Of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well-refined;
[7] And he will annihilate in this mountain
The veil that veils all the peoples,
And the web that is woven over all nations;
[8] He hath annihilated death for ever;
And, the Lord Yahweh will wipe away tears from all faces,
And remove his people's reproach from all the earth:
For 'tis Yahweh hath spoken.

[25[9 (-12)]. A song: see p. 431 f.]

[26[1-19]. A song: see p. 435 f.]

26[20] Go, my people, enter into thy chambers,
And shut thy doors about thee;
Hide thyself for a brief moment,
Until Wrath pass by.
[21] For behold Yahweh is coming forth from His place,
To visit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them;
And the earth shall reveal her blood,
And shall no more cover her slain.
27[1] In that day Yahweh shall visit (iniquity)
With his fierce and great and mighty sword,
Upon Leviathan the fleeing serpent,
And upon Leviathan the twisted serpent,
And he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

[$27^{2ff.}$. A song: see p. 453.]

12 And it will come to pass in that day,
Yahweh will beat off (olives) from the current (?) of the River to the Wady of Egypt.
And *ye* shall be picked up one by one, O children of Israel.

13 And it shall come to pass in that day
(A blast) shall be blown on a great trumpet;
And they that were lost in the land of Assyria,
And the outcasts in the land of Egypt shall come,
And worship Yahweh
In the holy mountain in Jerusalem.

XXIV. 1–3. A world-judgment is imminent—On two points, which divided interpreters in the past, a general agreement in the sense just indicated has now been reached. The object of Yahweh's judgment is the world,* not the northern kingdom of Israel,† nor, at least exclusively, Judah;‡ the time is the immediate future,§ not the past.‖ As to the last point, the part. with הנה normally denotes the immediate future: linked to a preceding narrative, it may, it is true, particularise a scene in the past or an occurrence in the present; but here, if the reference was to the past, the use of this cstr. instead of the pf. at the outset would be motiveless (Dr. 135 (3) with Obs. 1); that the normal future force is here intended is proved by the tenses in vv.$^{2f.}$ (והיה, תבוק), and the concluding formula in v.^{3b}. There is more reason to consider the possibility of הארץ having the limited sense of *land* (RV marg.) of Palestine, rather than *earth* (AV, RV text); for if the whole earth is *emptied*, whither are the inhabitants *dispersed*? Moreover, in v.^{2} the author may well seem to be describing the country of Judah, where (after the Exile) the priest was the leading feature; and v.^{5} may seem to refer to the violation of the law revealed to Israel. But the first point must be attributed to a certain vagueness in the use of figures, which the writer multiplies; in v.^{2} he thinks of the society, and in vv.$^{7\text{-}11}$ of the economic conditions, of the world

* Ḳi., Vitr., Del., Di., Du., Cheyne, Marti.

† Rashi and many interpreters referred to by Ḳi.

‡ Ges.: cp. Smend (p. 164), "the whole world, but in the first instance Judah."

§ So already Ḳi.

‖ Ges.

at large in the light of his own; and v.[5] has another meaning; see n. there. That the *earth* is intended, is shown by the use of the parallel and unambiguous * תבל, *world*, in v.[4], and the virtual equation of הארץ and *peoples* in v.[13]—not to speak of the inappropriateness of the wide and general eschatological outlook to the denunciation of a single land; cp. especially 25[6-8].

1. Yahweh is about to empty the world of its inhabitants and transform its very appearance.—*Yahweh is emptying the earth*] "first by means of plunderers, then by means of the natural phenomena that accompany the world-judgment" (Du.); cp. vv.[3. 16ff.]. The vb. בקק occurs also (in Kal, Niph., or Pilel) in v.[3] 19[3], Jer 19[7] 51[2], Nah 2[3] (an interpolation), and its meaning is most safely determined by these occurrences; it is supposed to derive its meaning *to empty* from the gurgling noise made by a bottle when being emptied (cp. بقّ, *to make a gurgling noise*).—*And making it bare*] the word בלק (Nah 2[11]† Pual) is very rare in Heb.; cp. بلوقة, *a desert land, destitute of vegetable produce and water, or of human beings, inhabited by none but Jinn* (Lane). With the paronomasia *bōḳēḳ . . . ūbōl^eḳah*, cp. būḳāh ūm^ebūkāh ūm^ebullāḳāh, Nah 2[11].—*And he will distort its surface*] making it unrecognisable by destroying places, plantations, and the like upon it (cp. Rev 6[14b]), is Di.'s explanation. Uncertain; see phil. n. EV "and turneth it upside down" is too strong.—*And disperse its inhabitants*] cp. Gn 11[8].—**2.** All classes alike will be affected by the coming judgment: rank, mastery, wealth will be of no avail: the point is not exactly the same as in 3[1-5] (Du., Marti). Living under the post-exilic hierocracy, the writer takes *the priest* as typical of rank (cp. Ezr 10[5]), and *the* (common) *people* as the antithesis. In Hos 4[9] the priest is introduced as the one who has had, and ought to have imparted, knowledge of Yahweh to the people of all classes.—*The seller . . . the buyer*] Ezk 7[12].—*The borrower . . . the lender*] Pr 22[7].—*He of whom interest is taken*, etc.] for נשה, cp. Dt 24[11], 1 S 22[2], Jer 15[10].—**3.** *The world*] see 𝔊; 𝔙 omits. The utter plundering of the earth is certain, *for Yahweh hath spoken* (1[20] n.) *this word*; the addition of the obj. in this formula is peculiar to this passage; yet cp. 58[14] 𝔊.

* Smend (p. 166), however, still asserts that תבל may have a sense corresponding to the limited sense of ארץ.

1. ובולקה ועוה פניה] one vb. instead of two, and that governing פניה, would make v.[1] a good 4 : 4 distich. Perhaps the text originally ran ובלק פניה, *and making a desert of its surface*; ct. וכלאו פני תבל תנובה, 27^6. עוה, Piel, in La 3^{9}† evidently has the fundamental meaning of the root עוה, عوى, to *bend*, *twist*; and possibly the Hebrews thought of a ruin as a kind of *distortion* of the face of the earth into shapelessness; cp. עי, Mic 3^{12}; עוה, Ezk 21^{32}. Perhaps עוה פני פ׳ might mean *to make a person look sad*, *grieved* (Hitz.); but so strong a personification of the earth would be unlikely here. 𝔊 *καὶ ἀνακαλύψει* might point to וגלה, which would be no satisfactory alternative to 𝔐, scarcely to וְעֵרָה (Oo.).—**2.** כַּנִּבְרתה] instead of כְּנִבְרתה, to maintain the assonance with the other eleven words beginning with כ; G–K 127*i*.—נשא] many MSS נשה; cp. כנשה.—**3.** חבוו . . . חבוק] instead of חָבָו חָבָק, to gain an assonance with the infin. abs.; cp. v.[2] n.—חבוו] 𝔊 + ἡ γῆ, perhaps = תבל, as in 26^{18}.—כי] 𝔊 + פי; cp. 25^8 58^{14}; in 40^5 𝔐 has, and 𝔊 has not, פי.

4–13. The world suffers for its sins, and "the city of Chaos" falls into ruins.—It is disputed whether vv.[4-12] are, like vv.[1-3. 13], prophetic of the future (Smend), or descriptive "of the tokens in the present of the coming world catastrophe" (Marti). The pf. tenses which predominate in vv.[4-12] may, of course, be descriptive of the actual past or present, or they may be prophetic pf.; and again the impf. tenses or pf. with waw in vv.[6d. 9. 12b] may be vivid touches in a description of the past (Dr. § 36), in which case v.[9] may well describe recurrent action in the present, or they may be simple futures interchanging with the prophetic perfects (Dr. § 14). But the formula at the end of v.[3] possibly indicates, as Di. argues, that the prophetic announcement is for the moment concluded, and gives place to description in vv.[4-12].

4. The whole world mourns and loses vital power. אבל, *to mourn*, often appears joined, or in parallelism, with vbs. such as אמלל, יבש, denoting loss of power or vitality; cp. *e.g.* 19^8 33^9, Hos 4^3, Jer 12^4. נבל, *to wither*, occurs most frequently of flowers or leaves withering and falling (*e.g.* 1^{30} 28^1 34^4 40^7), and from the root is derived נבלה (*a*) *lifeless* (*body*), *corpse*; אמלל is used of cessation of fertility in women (1 S 2^5, Jer 15^9), field (16^8), trees (v.[7] Jl 1^{12}).—*The highest of the people of the earth languish*] lit. *the height*, etc.; cp. *glory* for *glorious ones*, 5^{13} n. 16^{14}. A very slight and easy emendation would give *The height* (*i.e.* heaven) *and the earth together languish*; but if the writer wished to introduce the coming judgment on "the host of the height" (v.[21]) here, he would scarcely have devoted two

and a half lines to earth and only a half to heaven; moreover, in what immediately follows heaven passes out of consideration. Even the specification of a *particular class* of the inhabitants of earth seems rather out of place (cp. v.[5]). Possibly the line is a gloss explaining what "earth" means and includes; in that case v.[4] was originally a distich; or, perhaps, v.[4c], now corrupt, was the first line of a balanced distich (4 : 4), of which v.[5a] was the second.—**5.** The cause of all this is the pollution of the earth by the transgressions of its inhabitants, more especially by bloodshed; cp. 26[21]. The idea of the profanation of the land of Israel by the conduct of its inhabitants in shedding of blood, committing adultery, or practising idolatry, is found in Nu 35[33], Ps 106[38], Jer 3[9]; cp. Dt 21[1-9], Gn 4[10f.], Job 16[18]. But the shedding of blood was one of the things forbidden not only to the Jews, but to the whole of the descendants of Noah, by the *eternal covenant*, i.e. the covenant made after the Flood between God and "all flesh which is upon the earth" (Gn 9[1-17] P). Among the *laws* or *instructions* and *statutes* (for the phraseology, cp. the quotation from the Sibylline books given below in v.[20]), which men at large have trangressed, the writer may also have had in view such practices as are alluded to in Zec 9[7], a passage which also shows the influence of P; cp. also Rev 9[20f.]. In view of תבל in v.[4], הארץ here cannot be limited to the land of Canaan, nor the transgressors of the laws to the Jews (cp. above), nor the eternal covenant to that of Sinai (Smend, p. 165). The nations, as transgressors of statutes imposed by God, are termed "all the nations that forget God" in Ps 9[18].

6–9. Consequences of the corruption of men—a curse devours the earth, men are reduced to a few in number, joy departs.—**6.** *A curse hath devoured the earth*] cp. Zec 5[3f.]: such bold personifications in describing the working of a curse came easily to those who attributed objective existence to solemnly uttered words (cp. *Numbers*, p. 327 f.).—*Paid penalty*] suffered punishment for their guilt: for this sense of אשם, cp. *e.g.* Ps 34[22f.], Jer 2[3].—*The inhabitants . . . are scorched*] Rev 16[8] records that, as a result of the pouring out of the fourth vial of God's wrath, "men were scorched with great heat." The vb. is also used of "burning with fever"; but where this sense is intended, the parts affected are specified (Job 30[30]; Niph.

Ps 102^4). The sudden introduction of so particular a punishment, which is not decisively suggested by the vb. *devour* (cp. 5^{24} 10^{17}) in the previous line, is a little curious; hence some emend חרו to חדלו, *have ceased* (*to be*); unfortunately, this would make the next line anti-climactic (see phil. n.).

7–9. No more grapes, no more merry feasts with wine, music, and song. The writer has in mind $5^{12.\,14}$, Jl $1^{10.\,12}$ (note also נאנחו, v.^{7}; differently used in Jl 1^{18}).—*The must mourns*] here תירש seems used of the juice in the grape (cp. 65^8) which "mourns" or dries up.—**8.** *The jubilant*] careless merrymakers: cp. 22^2, Zeph 2^{15} for the force of *jubilant* (עליז).

10–12. The destruction of a city now becomes the theme, the passing away of its glad throngs, the broken gates, the desolation that remains.—*The city of Chaos*] the city is probably the capital of the world-empire under which the writer lived—whether Nineveh, Babylon, Susa depends on the age in which he lived. Unfortunately the writer (or some subsequent editor) has chosen a term and description so ambiguous that the v. cannot form the starting-point in a discussion of the origin of his work. It is not even admitted by all that he has a single particular city in view; the noun, it is said, is collective (*e.g.* BDB, *s.v.* קריה), and 𝔊 renders *every city*. V.^{12} does not favour this view, and still less the view that "city" means *two* particular cities, Sidon and Jerusalem (Che. *Introd.* 155). Again, as to the significance of *Chaos*, there is doubt: the most appropriate and probable kind of phrase (cp. Jer 49^{25}) is obtained by taking תהו, *chaos*, in the sense which it bears in 1 S 12^{21}, cp. Is 41^{29}; the city of Chaos is the city of idolatry, of sham gods, in contrast to Jerusalem, "the city of God"; it is essentially, as the capital of the world-empire which is in rebellion against God, the embodiment of those powers which claim to be somewhat, but are truly unreal (cp. vv.$^{21\text{-}23}$). Much less natural is the alternative view which regards תהו, *chaos*, as used prophetically—the city (or cities) which will become a chaos (cp. 34^{11}) when it has been destroyed. In this latter sense the phrase is almost necessarily taken by those (*e.g.* Du., Marti) who identify the city, not with the capital of the world-empire, but with Jerusalem! It was natural for Ges. to take this view, who limited the scope of judgment to Palestine, but it is by no means natural to take it so in a description of a world-judgment; for in such a connection *city* (עיר,

קריה) is by no means as obviously Jerusalem as πόλις was Athens to Greece and *urbs* Rome to the Romans; still less would קרית תהו immediately suggest, even if it could without much explanation ever suggest, Jerusalem.—*Is broken*] cp. "Babylon is fallen and broken," Jer 51^8, like a cup (*ib.* v.^{7}). Possibly the writer has this v. in mind, for the use of נשבר of the destruction of a city is uncommon. It refers, here at least, perhaps, to the breaking down of the walls, ^{10b}. The city is open to the assailants, and, therefore, the citizens shut up their houses against intrusion (cp. 26^{20}); this seems the best interpretation of the line, though it forms a curious introduction to v.^{11}; if every one is shut up in his house, whence ^{11a} (cp. Jl 1^5) the lamentation *in the streets* of the city (v.^{11}) for the loss of wine (cp. 32^{12})? It is very doubtful whether סגר will bear the meaning required by an alternative interpretation—every house is so blocked with fallen masonry and the like, that no one, even of the owners of the houses, can get in; this would leave v.^{11a} a little less out of place, though Ges. pertinently remarks, "In a city destroyed by a barbaric foe, in which thousands had perished, there might, one would have supposed, have been more important things to bemoan than that there was no wine." Possibly, however, ^{11a} (which at present, whether regarded as a monostich or as constituting with $11^{b,c}$ a tristich, interrupts the sequence of distichs) is out of place, and once stood in another connection in which חוצות had the meaning of (*country*) *outside* (*the city*), *open country*, as in Job 5^{10}, Ps 144^{13}, Prov 8^{26} (?) 24^{27} (RV alway "field(s)"); it may have shifted to its present position in the account of the city (vv.$^{10\text{-}12}$) by one who took the word in the commoner sense of *streets*. Possibly it once stood after ^{7a}, while ^{7b} formed a distich with ^{8b} now shifted out of place, leaving ^{8a,c} as another distich (yet see phil. n. on v.^{8}).—**11b.** *All joy has reached its eventide*] the sun of joy is set; but the existence of this fine figure in the original text is unfortunately not quite certain; the vb. ערב, *to become evening*, is only paralleled by Jg 19^9, where the text of 𝔊 is wrong! The use of the Hiphil in 1 S 17^{16} scarcely establishes the present use of Kal; hence many transpose and read עברה, *has passed away*.—**12.** Instead of *gates*, 𝔊 speaks of *houses*; see phil. n.—**13.** Whatever be the case with vv. $^{4\text{-}12}$, we here move again in the sphere of prediction (יהיה); yet כי, *for*, is difficult, if vv.$^{4\text{-}12}$ describe the past, for how is something

future the ground of something past? For the rest the v. is clear; few will survive the judgment that is about to affect the whole world; to express this the writer uses the figures employed by Isaiah in 17^6 in reference to Ephraim and Damascus only.

4. אמללה, (1)נבלה] 𝔊 om.; and so, very precariously, on metrical grounds, Kit. In 𝔐 v.$^{4a, b}$ is 3 : 3, like, *e.g.*, vv.$^{9.\ 10}$.—אמללו קרום עם הארץ] a pl. vb. with a noun having a collective sense (G-K. 145*b-d*), if 𝔐 is correct. Slightly modifying a suggestion of Gun. (*Schöpf. u. Chaos*, p. 48), we might read אמלל הקרום עם הארץ; yet see above. *Possibly* 𝔊 (𝔖) did not read עם; it renders *οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς*: but cp. the apparent neglect or omission of עם in the rendering of a parallel phrase ראשי עם הארץ in Job 12^{24}. There may be serious corruption in the last three words of 𝔐, and אמללו (from אמללה in the last line) may have accidentally supplanted a vb. parallel to חנפה in v.^{5a}. —**5.** חלפו] here only in the sense *to transgress*; but the synonymous עבר is frequently so used.—הפרו] G^B om.—**6.** אָלָה אֶכְלָה אֶרֶץ] note the sustained assonance.—חרו] *πτωχοὶ ἔσονται*, either a guess, or for דלו; if the latter, the proposed reading חדלו (if correct) by the loss of one letter became 𝔐, of another 𝔊. Grätz proposed חרבו; cp. 60^{12}.—מועד] of number, 16^{14} †.—נאנחו] cp. אנחה, 21^2 35^{10}; vb. and noun are "mostly poet. and late" (BDB, *q.v.*). —**8.** שבת משוש כנור, שבת משוש תפים] possibly variants (Du.); if so, another apparent tristich becomes a distich. If not variants, the second משוש may be an error (11^5 n.) for another word (? קול; 𝔊 *φωνή*). In this case perhaps v.^{8b} is misplaced, and once with v.^{7c} formed a distich; vv.$^{7.\ 8}$ together then consisted of three distichs, not as at present of two distichs.—עליזים] 22^2 n. —**9.** בשיר] for the use of ב, cp. 30^{32}. 𝔊 *ἠσχύνθησαν*=בשו: wrongly.— **10.** נשברה קרית תהו] 𝔊 *ἠρημώθη πᾶσα πόλις*, 𝔖 ܟܠ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܛܠܢ ܐܬܬܒܪܬ, 𝔗 אתברת קרתהון צדיאת, 𝔙, *attrita est civitas vanitatis*. 𝔊 scarcely implies a different text (cp. Liebmann); *πᾶσα* may be an interpretation, or, even more probably, due to the transposition of כל from the following clause where 𝔊 did not read it.—**11.** צוחה על היין בחוצות] 𝔊 *ὀλολύξετε, κτλ.*=צוחו. Hitz. proposed (*ZWTh.* xviii. 201 f., as cited by Di.) צוחה עלה בין החוצות (cp. Ps 144^{14}, Jer 14^2, Prov 26^{13}): Siegfr.-St. צוחה עלתה בת'—emendations which only in part meet the real difficulties of 𝔐 (see above).—וערבה] 𝔊 *πέπαυται* (=שבת, v.^{9}), 𝔖 ܒܛܠ, 𝔗 שלימת.—גלה משוש] 𝔊 om.—**12.** שאיה יכת שער] שאיה is acc. of the product (G-K. 117*ii*, 121*d*). יֻכַּת Hoph. of כתת (G-K. 67*g, y*). 𝔊 (*καὶ οἶκοι ἐγκαταλελιμμένοι ἀπολοῦνται*) had a different text, *perhaps* שאיה בית ישבר (Lieb.).—**13.** כי כה] בקרב הארץ] 𝔊 *ταῦτα πάντα*.—*ἐν τῇ γῇ*.

14–16. Praise, and a summons to Praise. — These verses are exceedingly obscure and uncertain. According to the present text, different sets of people are introduced as speaking: note *they* (v.^{14}); *ye*, v.^{15} (MT, but ? 𝔐 and not 𝔊): *we*, v.^{16}; *I*, v.^{16} (, but *they* 𝔊). A large part of the difficulty of interpretation consists in attempting to determine who these

different speakers are, and the exact purport of their sayings. But v.[16] seems to be seriously corrupt; it is really unintelligible, in spite of ingenious attempts to interpret it, and the rhythmical and parallelistic structure of the poem breaks down in it. The latter half especially reads more like prose than poetry. Vv.[14. 15] also are probably not free from corruption, but it is less serious. Any attempt to interpret the verses must, therefore, be tentative, and no complete and satisfactory interpretation of them in their present position seems possible. It is not unreasonable to suspect either that the verses are out of place, or that something has been lost between vv.[13] and [14]. If, however, v.[14] is the original continuation of v.[13], then המה, *they*, at the beginning of v.[14] must be explained by what precedes. It cannot be determined by v.[16] to the effect that it is the antithesis of the *I* of that v. (Di., Du., Marti); for (1) the reading in v.[16] is uncertain; and, what is far more important, (2) if there were the strong antithesis between the sentiments of *they* in v.[14] and *I* in v.[16], which the hypothesis supposes, it would have been necessary to express the pronoun in v.[16]—ואני אמרתי instead of ואמר. It is only necessary to compare the very passages cited in support of this theory to perceive the insecure linguistic basis on which the theory rests; see Jer 17[18] "Let them be put to shame that persecute me, but let not me be put to shame" (ואל אבושה אני), and so in the following and parallel sentence: Ps 20[8] (7) "Some of horses and some of chariots, but we will make mention of the name of Yahweh" (אלה ברכב . . . ואנחנו בשם וגו׳); Ps 120[7] "I am for peace, they are for war" (אני שלום . . . המה למלחמה); (3) the remoteness of the supposed antithesis makes it most unsuitable to determine the sense of המה against the suggestion of what precedes. If we seek to explain המה by what precedes, its only possible reference is to those who escape the judgment; that small remnant which has just been compared (v.[13]) to the olives left after the striking, and the grapes on the vine after the vintage. Of whom then does this remnant consist, of Jews or Gentiles? Does v.[14] describe the joyous praise of Yahweh by the Jews who shall escape in the great world-judgment, or the confession by Gentile survivors of the "God of Israel" (v.[15]) as the true God of all mankind? The tone of the v. no doubt rather favours, at first sight at least, the view generally taken that v.[14] refers to Jews; but the other view is in itself by no means impossible;

and it is at least worth observing that 17^6, which is the model of v.[13], is immediately followed (17^7) by a statement that all mankind will turn "to the Holy One of Israel." Though 17^7 did not originally follow 17^6, it probably stood in its present position as early as the age of this writer. Again, it is not improbable that among the many other passages of scripture that haunted the writer's memory was Ps 47, which speaks of the joyful hand-clapping and ringing cries (קול רנה, Ps 47^2, cp. here קולם ירנו) with which the heathen that survive will welcome the accession of Yahweh in Mt. Ṣion (v.[23]) as king of all nations (Ps $47^{3.9}$); cp. below 25^6, Yahweh's coronation-feast for all nations. The connection in vv.[15f.] is on this view, as on any other, difficult, and perhaps impossible, to establish; but it is barely possible that it is as follows: because the heathen will praise God, therefore (ye scattered Jews) glorify God throughout the world (v.[15]); from the end of the earth we who exhort you have heard (prophetically?) songs celebrating the glory of the righteous ([16a] : [16b] corrupt and unintelligible). Or, treating כבדו as pf. rather than imperative (MT):—Therefore, they will by celebrating Yahweh (v.[14]) have fulfilled the promise (42^{10-12}) that Yahweh's praise should be in the isles: they will glorify Him, saying, We have heard songs from remote Jerusalem to the effect that glory belongs to the righteous. Certainly vv.[15f.] greatly increase the difficulty of interpreting v.[14]. Before proceeding to the discussion of details, it may be convenient to indicate yet another attempt to explain the sequence of ideas,—v.[13] *predicts* that mankind must be yet further destroyed than it has already been (vv.[4-12]); vv.[14-16a] *relate* that the Jews of the Diaspora are already singing songs of joy at some great event that has happened; but the writer, a Jew of Palestine, differs: such songs, he urges in vv.[16b-20], are out of place; no glory yet, but more violence: so Marti, substantially following Du. But (1) this involves defining המה in v.[14] by v.[16]; for though the remnant from the judgment (v.[13]) might be Jews of the Dispersion (see above), yet on the present hypothesis המה cannot refer to them, for v.[13] belongs to the future, v.[14] to the present or the past; (2) this very change of time assumed is most unnatural; if יהיה of v.[13] refer to the future (as it must), the next imperfects (ירנו, ישאו), nothing suggesting the contrary, can only naturally be taken in the same sense, and צהלו (if the text be sound) is prophetic pf.; (3) the

arrangement would be most inept; neither v.[13] (nor the preceding verses) explain either who the singers of v.[14] are, or the reason of their joy; on the other hand, v.[13] does contain what, on the hypothesis, ought to have made them, like their com patriot in Jerusalem, "lean," not joyful; (4) the *therefore* of v.[15] is admitted to be awkward, but its presence is accounted for as forming part of a quotation: a possible explanation, but equally serviceable to help out any other interpretation; (5) the theory rests on the extraordinary and improbable interpretations of the existing text of v.[16b].

14. In the translation the first two lines represent a distich 3 : 3; the last line then stands isolated, probably on account of textual error and dislocation (see phil. n.). If, however, the text of v.[14] is sound, it consists of a distich 4 : 4—

They shall lift up their voice, they shall ring out their joy,
Of the Majesty of Yahweh they have cried aloud from the sea;

The parallelism in this case is less neat.—*They*] the survivors from the judgment (v.[13]); as to whether these will be Jews or heathen and for another interpretation of the pronoun, see the preceding discussion. For נשא קול (*lift up the voice*) and רנן (*to ring out joy*) in parallelism, cp. 52[8]; co-ordinated *asyndetos*, as they would be if the distich is 4 : 4, they do not recur again. —*The majesty of Yahweh*] cp. Ex 15[7], Mic 5[3], "his glorious majesty," Is 2[10] (גאון as here): also 26[10] 12[5] (גאות).—*They have cried aloud*] צהל, 12[6] n.—*From the sea*] may mean from the west (11[14]); then, on one interpretation, the Jews of the Asiatic coastland or of Egypt, living west of the writer's standpoint, Jerusalem, would be referred to. But the limitation of jubilation to the survivors in one quarter of the world only would be curious.—15. *Wherefore*] see above, p. 416. The word that follows is בָּאֹרִים, *in the lights*; it is very doubtful whether this means the East as the region of light; but some term for East in antithetic parallelism with *the isles of the sea* (v.[15b]), *i.e.* the West, may very well have stood here.—*Glorify*] יְ֫ can be equally well rendered *they have glorified*. On the subject of the vb. in either case, see above.—*Yahweh, God of Israel*] this term for God would be particularly suitable if the heathen are the subject of *glorify*; but there is plenty of analogy for its use if Jews alone are the subject:

cp. *e.g.* 21^{10} 37^{16} 41^{17}.—16. *From the extremity of the earth*] for the sense of כנף, cp. 11^{12}, Jl 3^{7} 3^{13} (all pl.). It is questioned whether *extremity* here is an error for *extremities* (𝔊), or being used collectively is equivalent to the pl.; or, if one extremity be meant, whether that extremity be the Eastern, Babylon (Di.) or Persia (Kit.), or the Southern, Ethiopia (Du.). But the question cannot be answered.—*We*] the prophet in Palestine and his companions? see above. The purport of the songs (זמרת, 2 S 23^{1}, Ps 119^{54}, Job 35^{10}, Is 25^{5}) seems to be given in the words *Beauty for the righteous*; cp., for the occurrences of the word צבי, *beauty*, which may illustrate this passage, 4^{2} $28^{1.\ 4}$ 13^{19}, Ezk $20^{6.\ 15}$, Dn $11^{16.\ 41}$. No longer will great worldly but unrighteous empires like Babylon appear beauteous, but *the righteous* nation (26^{2}; also Hab $1^{4.\ 13}$ 2^{4}), *i.e.* the Israel of the future and those who, as fearing the One True God, attach themselves to it. The suggestion that *the righteous* means Yahweh has now been rightly abandoned. It is not improbable that the rest of the v. originally consisted merely of an antithesis, *Woe to the disloyal* (אוי לבגדים), to those who instead of becoming righteous by the observance of the Law of Yahweh, deal treacherously and disloyally; cp. Hab 1^{13}, where בגדים is parallel to רשע (the antithesis of צדיק), and Ps 25^{3}, where it is antithetical to "those that wait on Yahweh" (the equivalent of the "righteous" here), and Ps 59^{6} where כל בגדי און is parallel to "all the nations." The present text of 𝔐 may be rendered literally, *And I said, I have leanness, I have leanness; Woe is me; plunderers have plundered* (cp. 21^{2} n.) *and plunder plunderers have plundered*; 𝔊 reads, *And they shall say, Woe to them that set at nought; as for them that set at nought the law* (then follows v.^{17}). It is noticeable that in 𝔊 the first pers. sing. of 𝔐 entirely disappears. The interpretation of those who consider 𝔐 the original text and intelligible is well put by Marti: "Our poet judges otherwise (than the voices which have spoken in vv.$^{14\text{-}16a}$). No, he says, not צבי, but רזי; not victory (*Sieg*), but sickness (*Siechthum*); not the dawn of the Bright Age, but continuance of illness. The prophet proves this by the prophecy, 'Plunderers plunder.'" Against this it may be remarked (1) that the divergence of 𝔊 renders it all uncertain; (2) ואמר, even if correctly pointed, cannot without the expression of the pronoun mark the strong antithesis required; (3) the

meaning of רזי לי is most uncertain (see phil. n.); (4) the sickness, on this theory of interpretation, is not personal; consequently the change from the 1st pl. in v.^{16a} to 1st sing. in ^{16b} is unexplained and most improbable; (5) whereas in vv.$^{4-12}$ perfects mingled with imperfects describe the past, here, on the hypothesis, a single pf. is used to describe the real future as against that pictured by others.

14. ירנו] Ⓖ *οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εὐφρανθήσονται*; the subj. in Ⓖ is probably an interpretative addition; cp. Lieb.—**14, 15.** צהלו מים על כן באיי הים שם יהוה באורים כבדו יהוה] the overlined words or letters in themselves, or in their present positions, seem doubtful, though a complete reconstruction is better left unattempted. In particular I note, (1) מים, באורים, באיי הים are probably variants of one, or perhaps two, clauses. For מים, Ⓖ read מהים or מיהים (*τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς θαλάσσης*); (2) instead of צהלו, Ⓖ probably read יבהלו (cp. *e.g.* 13^{8}, Ps 104 (103)^{29}): this, of course, is wrong, but may point to an original יצהלו; or, again, צהלו may be a misplaced parallel to כבדו; (3) or Ⓖ's כָּבֹד יהוה may be correct, and ‖ to שם יהוה. See on the relation of Ⓖ to 𝔓, Lieb.'s full discussion.—**15.** באורים] Ⓖ om. Lowth, al. באיים—a poor parallel and materially valueless if באיי הים be retained in v.^{15b}. An alleged significance of the Ar. ʿūr has been very precariously used to place on אורים the sense *North*; see Ges., who also discusses other views. Unsatisfactory emendations are בשירים (cp. 𝔖) and בְּאֻמִּים.—**16.** רזי לי] Ⓖ om. The other versions and MT (רָזִי) understand רזי to mean *my secret*; רז is in Aramaic a loan word from Persian; it is used in Sir 8^{18} and may well have been used by some glossator here. Most modern scholars treat רזי as an otherwise unknown derivative from רזה, to be lean (cp. Niph. 17^{4}); in this case it should be pointed רִזִי; but the meaning *leanness* is expressed by רָזוֹן 10^{16}, Ps 106^{15}.—אוי לי בגדים] Ⓖ *οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀθετοῦσιν* (cp. 𝔗), *i.e.* אוי לבגדים, which may possibly be the correct reading and the original immediate sequence to צבי לצדיק. Ⓖ paraphrases the remainder of the v., *οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὸν νόμον*. On v.^{16b}, see Lieb.'s full discussion: the problems are far from solved.

17–20. The completeness of the World-Judgment.—After the difficult and obscure parenthesis (vv.$^{14-16}$), the prediction of judgment on all mankind is resumed; and, first, **17, 18a. b,** by means of a different figure the thought of v.^{13} is emphasised: few will escape altogether, for to escape from one disaster will merely be to fall into another; cp. Am 5^{19}. The lines recur with slight variations in Jer 48^{43}, where they are applied specifically to Moab. The germ of the saying seems to occur in La 3^{47}, though it is by no means improbable that it is ultimately borrowed from popular speech.—**18c–20.** The physical phenomena that will accompany or form the judgment: floods will descend from

heaven, the foundations of earth will quake, and earth itself will split and crack and sway to and fro and fall to rise no more, like one vast house which cracks, sways, and topples over when its foundations are shaken by an earthquake. Few will survive (vv.$^{13.\ 17.\ 18a.\ b}$), *for* all this will happen ; strictly speaking, when the earth falls to rise no more, human life should come to an end; but v.^{23} and 25^{6} show that we are not to take the matter so literally as that.

18c. When *the lattices* of heaven *have been opened*, "the waters, which are above the firmament," stream down, whether to destroy (Gn 7^{11} 8^{2} (P)), or to fertilise (2 K 7^{2}, Mal 3^{10}). Here a destructive downpour such as was part cause of the Flood is in the writer's mind; such another downpour will form part of the judgment. Yet not by water can Yahweh again destroy all flesh (Gn 9^{15}); this time "the fountains of the great deep" (Gn 7^{11}) will not break loose; there will be no need of an ark to preserve the remnant, but they must hide themselves from the storm (26^{20}). In figures ($^{18d.\ 19}$), meant, however, literally enough, not too compatible with this picture of the downpour, and incompatible with hiding in houses with doors shut (26^{20}), the writer predicts that the earth will burst and quake (cp. 13^{13}, Hag $2^{6f.}$).—*In the height*] of heaven: מרום, as in v.^{21}, is a synonym for *heaven*, used in other (late) parts of the Book of Isaiah and by other (late) writers: see 32^{15} 57^{15} 58^{4}, and below, p. 472, no. 6. Burney (*JThS* xi. 446) suggests that it usually denotes "explicitly or implicitly, the north pole or zenith of the Ecliptic (Babylonian *Anu*), *i.e.* the highest point of the heavens, regarded as the abode of Deity." How much might be implied by the downpour from heaven may be illustrated by Sibyl. Books iii. 689 f., "And God will judge all . . . with overwhelming rain, and sulphur will come down from heaven, storm and hail, much and violent."—**20a. b.** The swaying of the earth is depicted by means of two bold figures—the unsteady gait of a drunkard (cp. 29^{9}, Ps 107^{27}), and the unsteadiness of a slight, temporary shelter (cp. 1^{8}).—**20c.** The cause of all this is man's *rebellion* (פשע, cp. 2 K 1^{1}) against Yahweh (cp. v.^{5} 26^{21}), the King of all.—**20d.** Almost verbally from Am 5^{2}, where it is predicated of Israel. Du. well remarks that the poetic effect of the description of the "birth-pangs" of judgment in vv.$^{18b\text{-}20}$ is undeniable, the constant repetition of the word ארץ, the striking picture of

the colossal convulsions of Nature by means of the Hithpolels and Hithpolals, and of the bursting and swaying of the earth by the assonances, and the grand way in which (v.[20]) the ethical ground for the wild seething of the elements is allowed to appear. He cites as a parallel Sibylline Books iii. 675 f., "Earth mother of all things will in those days be moved by the immortal hand, and the fish in the sea, and all the beasts of the earth, and the innumerable kinds of birds, and all souls of men, and the entire sea will shudder at the immortal Face; and there will be terror. The precipitous mountain tops and the vast hills will be rent, and black darkness will become visible to all. Dim rents in the mountains will be full of corpses: the rocks will stream with blood. The finely built walls of hostile men will all fall to the ground, because they have not recognised the law of the great God and His judgment, but have all brutishly raised their spears in attack on the Temple."

18. כחוך . . . מקול] Jer 48[43] מן . . . מפני.—**19.** In **a.** read רע for the abnormal רעה, and ארץ (as in b. c.) for הארץ; in both cases ה is dittographic. 𝔊 omits c. The vb. רעע is an Aramaism for רצץ. Other occurrences (mostly questionable) are Ps 2[9] (MT), Jer 11[16] 15[12], Job 34[24], Pr 25[19] (Kal); Pr 18[24] (Hithpo.); on Is 8[8] see n.—פור ההפוררה] Che (*SBOT*) פרוק התפרקה (1 K 19[11]); with פרר (Poel, Ps 74[13f.]) cp. فرفر, *to split*.—**20.** נוע] 𝔊 does not render this; ct. v.[19].

21–23. Judgment on the host of the height and the kings of the earth: Yahweh becomes King in Ṣion.—21 f. Yahweh will at that time judge all His foes both in heaven and on earth, imprisoning both the host of heaven and the kings of the earth, who had opposed Him, till the far off day of their ultimate punishment. This is the last act before the terrors of the end (vv.[1-3. 13. 17-20] and ? [4-12]), which are succeeded by the New Age of Glory for the survivors (v.[23]). The writer is obviously alluding to ideas which he presupposes as being well known; the best commentary on the passage is to be found in the (earlier parts of the) Book of Enoch, which may have been not much younger than this prophecy. Some details in the later writer may have been developed by reflection on Scripture, pre-eminently on this Scripture, but much that is there expressed is the suitable and, therefore in all probability, the actual background of the present description—in particular is this the case with the double judgment on the offenders, human and super-

human, imprisonment now and punishment at the end of days; for Di.'s attempt to give יִפָּקְדוּ in v.^{22c} a favourable meaning, "be visited," so as to make the line assert that the persons concerned will after imprisonment be restored, like Jehoiachin (Jer 52^{31}), to Yahweh's favour and employed by Him as regents, breaks down. On this and other details, see, further, below. Not only is much that first appears in Enoch as old as this writer, but the fundamental ideas are older still, and to be traced back to Babylonian mythology; but this does not necessarily mean, nor is it probable, that their emergence in Jewish thought, or at least their use in Jewish theology, was also early.

21. *Yahweh will punish*] lit. *visit upon*: cp. 27^{1}.—*Host of the height*] *height*, as in v.^{18}, means *heaven*: hence *host of the height* is the equivalent of the term "host of heaven" frequently occuring elsewhere; and this meaning stands even if the clause *in the height* and *on the earth*, omitted by 𝔊, be not original. In view of the parallel *kings of the earth*, the particular reference in *the host of the height* is to those superhuman beings who had been conceived of as rulers over men or as receivers of men's worship, who had thus rebelled against Yahweh and intruded on His sole sovereign rights, the ἀρχαί, δυνάμεις, ἐξουσίαι ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις (or τοῦ ἀέρος, or τοῦ σκότους), θρόνοι, κυριότητες of the NT (Ro 8^{38}, Col 1^{16}, Mt 24^{29}, Lk 21^{26}, Eph 3^{10} 2^{2}, Col 1$^{13.\ 16}$, Eph 1^{21}, Col 1^{16}). Such superhuman beings might include the sun, moon, and stars, who, as "the host of heaven," had received men's worship (Dt 4^{19} 17^{3}, Jer 8^{2}, and often); and Enoch refers explicitly to the imprisonment of "the stars of heaven, and the host of heaven," but the sin charged against them by him is that "they did not come forth at their appointed time" (18$^{14f.}$; cp. Jude ^{13}). This writer is alluding here more particularly to the patron angels (connected with the stars in Dt 4^{19}) of the nations (Dn 10$^{13.\ 20f.}$, Sir 17^{17}, Dt 32^{8} 𝔊; the "gods" of Ps 58. 82).—*The kings of the earth*, who, spurred on by the angels,* have rebelled against Yahweh and His anointed people (Ps 2), will also be punished, that Yahweh may reign in undisputed majesty and glory on Mt. Ṣion (v.^{23}).—**22.** Rebellious angels

* Cp. En 56^{5} "In those days will the angels return and hurl themselves upon the East, upon the Parthians and the Medes, to stir up the kings and to provoke in them a spirit of unrest, and rouse them from their thrones . . .; and they will march up to, and tread under foot, the land of his elect ones."

and rebellious human beings alike Yahweh will imprison in a great subterranean prison, the Pit (cp. 14^{15} n.). For the subterranean prison, cp. 2 P 2^{4} and En 10^{4} "Bind Azazel hand and foot and place him in the darkness: make an opening in the desert . . . and place him therein, and place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness"; and 10^{12} (of the bastard offspring of angels and women) "bind them fast under the hills of the earth." To limit, as Di. does, the punishment mentioned in v.^{22} to one half only of the subject of v.^{21}, viz. the kings of the earth, and to interpret *the pit* of such a pit as Jeremiah was committed to (Jer 37^{16}), is altogether unreasonable. The fact that in v.$^{23a.\ b}$ a *part* of the host of heaven is specially mentioned *after* v.^{22} is no reason for exempting the *whole* of the host of heaven from the subject of *shall be imprisoned* in v.^{22}, and so limiting the punishment of the host of heaven to a loss of their brightness and of the human worship rendered to them. If we had no other evidence of the belief in the imprisonment of superhuman beings, such as we have, we should be bound to infer it from this passage. The general idea of such imprisonment is, however, differently applied; here it is punishment for intruding on Yahweh's sovereign rights, in En. for the violation of the natural order established by Yahweh.—*And after many days they shall be punished*] lit. *visited.* The vb. פקד can be used of either a gracious (23^{17}, Gn 21^{1}, Jer 27^{22}), or a punitive, visitation: the context must decide; as there is no indication in the context of a change from punishment to favour, it must here mean *to punish.* The contrary cannot be argued from the fact that the long detention before punishment is pointless; for, however the idea arose, the idea existed; cp. En 10^{12} $91^{12ff.}$, 2 P 2^{4}.—**23.** Yahweh's reign in glory on Mt. Ṣion. The white *moon* and the glowing *sun*, such is the force of the poetical terms here used (cp. 30^{26}), will pale before the coming manifestation of Yahweh's glory. So well known was the idea, that the writer does not need to state the cause so explicitly as in $60^{19f.}$, and therefore, instead of saying: For Yahweh will be instead of sun and moon, he says, briefly and tersely bringing out the main climax which he desires: *For Yahweh will have become king* (cp. 52^{7}); no more rebels (v.^{21}) in heaven or earth, but the everlasting kingdom, which all kingdoms shall serve and obey (Dn

$7^{27.\ 14}$), will have its centre in Ṣion (cp. Ps 2). The writer is dominated by the same ideas that govern the "accession" Psalms. Cp. *e.g.* Ps 96: there, too, Yahweh has become king in Ṣion (Ps $96^{8f.}$), universal king over gods (Ps 96^{4} = "host of the height" here, v.^{21}), and the whole earth (cp. here "the kings of the earth" and Zech 14^{9}), which is called upon to sing to Yahweh (Ps $96^{1f.}$; cp. here ? v.^{14}); earth and heaven, instead of mourning (Is $24^{1ff.}$), exult (Ps $96^{11f.}$), and the earth, instead of cracking, splitting, and quivering on its breaking supports (Is $24^{19b.\ 20}$), will become firm and unshaken (Ps 96). The emendations (see phil. n.) adopted, partly from 𝔊, in the translation of these lines does not materially affect the sense, with which cp. 4^{5}, but secures a better couplet. As once on Mt. Sinai (Ex $24^{9f.}$), Yahweh will manifest His glory to *His elders*, i.e. the elders of His people. Thus this writer finds no place for a Messiah, or for any other king than Yahweh Himself. When will the glory of this kingdom be manifested—before or after the second and final judgment of the host of heaven and the kings of the earth? If we press the order of the sentences, the later term would seem to be the correct one, and this would correspond, it is claimed (Du.), to the expectation in En ($91^{15f.}$) that the new heaven and the age when "sin will no more be mentioned for ever" follows "the great eternal judgment," *i.e.* the second and final judgment on the angels (cp. Rev 20^{11-14}). At the same time, once the rebels were securely imprisoned, there could be no hindrance to the actual completeness of the kingdom. The next scene is the Coronation Feast which follows the accession to the throne (25^{6-8}); the sequence is interrupted by a song, 25^{1-5}.

21. 𝔊 om. במרום, והיה ביום ההוא, and על־האדמה.—**22.** אספה אסיר] a verbal noun enforcing אספו and governing אסיר in the acc. (cp. 11^{9} n.); but read אסף האסיר; cp. 33^{4}.—ומרב ימים] 𝔊 *διὰ πολλῶν γενεῶν*; Lieb. ורב ימים; but was פקד applicable to the duration of punishment?—**23.** כבור] 𝔊 *δοξασθήσεται*; read וְנִכְבַּד. Possibly also הר and צבאות should be omitted with 𝔊, and also בירושלם; then an excellent balanced distich 3 : 3 remains. 𝔓 could be taken as a rather rough 4 : 4 distich.

XXV. 1–5.—*A song to be sung by Israel in celebration of Yahweh's wonders in deliverance.*

The lines as marked in the translation are of three accents except v.^{3b}, which in 𝔓 is four, in 𝔊 three; and ^{1d} which is four. Two distichs 3 : 3

form a strophe; the latter part of v.[4] and v.[5] seem to be seriously corrupt; see, further, *ZATW*, 1911, pp. 117–123.

[1] Yahweh, thou art my God,
I will exalt thee, give thanks to thy name;
For thou hast achieved wonders,
Plans (formed) long ago, in perfect faithfulness.

[2] For thou hast made the city a heap,
The fortified town a ruin;
The palace of the 'presumptuous' . . .,
It shall never more be built.

[3] Wherefore the strong people shall glorify thee,
The city of the awe-inspiring ∧ shall fear thee;
[4] For thou hast been a stronghold to the poor,
A stronghold to the needy in his distress.

. . . . . .
. . . . . [5] . . .
The noise of the presumptuous dost thou subdue ∧ ∧
The song of the awe-inspiring 'dost thou' humble.

This poem lacks a rubric such as those which introduce the other songs of this section (25^{9} 26^{1} 27^{2}). Yet, like the other songs, this, too, is intended to be sung after the world-judgment (ch. 24). The speaker is the Jewish community, which is now poor and hard pressed by some undefined oppressing power. Yahweh's wonderful deeds, which are the subject of the song, will have been wrought in accordance with His counsels formed long ago; the wonderful deliverance of His people will not only call forth their praise, but will so impress the mightiest people and city of the world that they, too, will do homage to Yahweh and become His worshippers.

What particular city is intended is as obscure here as in 24^{10} (see n. there); moreover, it is not clear whether the ruined city of v.[2] is the same as the homage-rendering city of v.[3], or whether "the awe-inspiring" of v.[3] and v.[5] are identical.

1a. b. Cp. 12^{1} n., Ps 54^{8} 118^{28} 138^{2} 145^{1}.—*Achieved wonders*] Ex 15^{11}, Ps 77^{15} 78^{12}.—*Long ago*] cp. 22^{11} 37^{26} n.—*In perfect faithfulness*] two synonyms אֱמוּנָה אֹמֶן are combined to give a superlative force; cp. 3^{1} 16^{6}: but the second does not occur

again, and may be a liturgical addition *Amen* (cp. 𝔊𝔖); the distich balances better without it. For the construction presupposed in the translation, see G-K. 118*q*; an alternative translation would be *plans are* (*perfect*) *faithfulness*; i.e. plans long since formed are now actually performed and thereby proved faithful: for the construction in this case, see Ex 17^{12}; Dr. § 189 (2).—**2.** *The city . . . the town*] the article is not expressed in 𝔐 on account of poetical style: so the anarthrous עיר and ארמן are used of Jerusalem in Jer 30^{18}: cp. also 27^{10} below. It is possible, but less probable, that 𝔐 means any city indefinitely (Che. *SBOT*), or, collectively, *cities* (𝔊𝔗, Box).—*Palace*] 32^{14} and in pl., 34^{13} 23^{13} (?), Am 1^{4} 3^{10} etc. — *The presumptuous*] 𝔊 τῶν ἀσεβῶν = זרים: cp. 13^{11} n.; 𝔐 זרים, *aliens* (1^{7} n., 61^{5}), is less expressive and, as the commoner word, the easier and less probable reading; yet see 29^{5} n.—**3.** The mighty and terrible nation which oppressed the poor Jews, when it has experienced the judgment of Yahweh (v.^{2}), will recognise in Him a mightier than themselves, acknowledge His glory, and become His worshippers; or, since again the terms in 𝔐 are anarthrous,* the meaning may be that the overthrow of the oppressing power will lead many another strong people to glorify God.—*Awe-inspiring*] 13^{11} n., 𝔐 (not 𝔊) + *nations*; see phil. n. — *Glorify thee*] acknowledge Yahweh's glory (6^{3} n.) displayed (24^{23} 26^{15}) in nature or, as here, in history; see 24^{15} 43^{20}, Ps 22^{24}.—*Shall fear thee*] shall become fearers, *i.e.* worshippers, of Yahweh (יראי יהוה): cp. Ps 65^{9} (8).—**4.** *Stronghold*] a place in which one seeks and finds refuge from weather or enemies: cp. 30^{2} n. and phil. n.—*The poor . . . the needy*] the Jews at present suffering and oppressed (cp. 26^{16}): cp. 14^{30} (n.) 26^{6} 41^{17} for the terms used as here, or with a more limited force, *e.g.*, 10^{2} 11^{4}.—What follows the distich ([4a, b]) down to the opening clause of v.^{5}, in so far as it shows rhythm and parallelism at all, differs in character from vv.$^{1-4a}$; either it contains, together with expansions, a distich, or it is entirely intrusive matter that has caused the loss of a distich which once stood before the distich preserved in v.^{5}; see, further, phil. n.—*A refuge from the storm . . . a shade from the heat*] the clauses occur in an amplified form in 4^{6}; cp. 32^{2}.—*For the breath of the awe-inspiring is like a winter storm*] this reads like a note on the previous clauses: the shelter and shade

* Oo. prefers to emend and read עמי עז, and to point קרוֹת.

of God was needed, for the breath of the awe-inspiring (v.[4]), breathed out in hostility on the poor Jews, was like a storm or heat: this is the only passage in which the breath of wicked man is regarded as destructive of others; elsewhere it is God's breath that consumes, or burns, or floods away, those whom it affects (see 30^{28}, Job 4^{9}; cp. Ps 18^{9}), or the breath of the Ruler of the stock of Jesse which slays the wicked (11^{4}), or the breath of the wicked consuming themselves (?), 33^{11}.—*A winter storm*] or *downpour*, before which who can stand unsheltered without suffering (cp. Job $24^{7f.}$, Ps 147^{17})? So probably 𝔙 (קֹר, as Gn 8^{22}). MT *as a storm of a wall*, has been explained hazardously as a storm that overthrows a wall (Rashi, Ges.), or both ineptly and hazardously as a storm that beats ineffectually against a wall (Del.).—5. *As heat in a dry place*] the clause is best taken as a second comparison completing the last clause of v.[5]. MT takes it with v.[5], thus destroying rhythm and parallelism and creating a most bizarre figure. ציון, *a dry place*, occurs in $32^{2f.}$: חרב has the sense of heat in 4^{6}, Gn 31^{40}.—*The noise of the presumptuous*] cp. "the noise of them that rise up against thee," Ps 74^{23}: for *the presumptuous* (𝔊), 𝔙 has *the aliens*, cp. v.[2] n. For שאון, *the noise* (17^{12}), Du., al. read, נאון, *the pride* (cp. 13^{11}, also Job 40^{12}); but, unless with Du. we reject the last line of the v. as a gloss, *noise* is a better parallel than *pride* to *song*.—At the end of line a. there stand in 𝔙 the words *heat with the shadow of a cloud*, which is taken by some as a comparison: as heat is brought low by the shadow of cloud, so is the song of the awe-inspiring. Most improbable. The words are either a dittograph of the similar clause at the beginning of the v., or another gloss.

1. אתה] 𝔊 om.: wrongly.—שָׂמְתָּ] instead of the pausal שַׂמְתָּ, to rhyme with ארומְמֶךָ.—פלא עצות] parallel terms rather than a single clause (Che. *SBOT*), *wonderful plans* (cp. 9^{5}).—**2a.** מעיר] can only be very artificially explained as a case of מן privative: *thou hast made* (the city) *away from* (being) *a city a heap*. Read עיר. 𝔊 πόλεις = עיר (cp. 24^{10}) rather than ערים. 𝔖𝔗 also take no account of the מ.—לְגָל] rather לְגַל: 𝔊 εἰς χῶμα.—**2c.** ארמון] scarcely collective (Di.), nor is 𝔊's αὐτῶν τὰ θεμέλια good evidence that a reading ארמנות existed.—מעיר] *not to be a city*: the privative force of מן is more possible here than in a.; yet the vbs. in such a passage as 7^{8} 17^{1} far more readily suggest its use than does שבת here. 𝔖𝔙 agree with 𝔙, but 𝔊 πόλ(ε)ις points to עיר. Possibly owing to the eye of a scribe passing back after writing ורים and before writing למפלה to the עיר before לגל, מעיר was accidentally substituted for the word which originally stood here, and which may have been either a third

synonym to גל and מפלה, though not the non-form (17[1] n.) מעי, or a vb. meaning *thou hast* (or *is*) *overthrown*, or the like; scarcely, however, קְעֵר (J. D. Mich.: cp. غبر, *to change*).—**3.** If גוים, which was absent from 𝔊, be omitted, this v. consists of two exactly balanced (3 : 3) and parallel lines. It is, therefore, a mistake by disregarding the parallelism, and by conjectural additions or transpositions, to represent it as containing two distichs (Bick., Che., Du., Marti, Box); Che. *e.g.* after Bick. restores as follows:

על כן יכבדוך
עם עז קרית גוים
עריצים ייראוך
כי [נורעה ימינך]

For fuller criticism and discussion, see *ZATW*, 1911, pp. 118–121.—עמ עו] 𝔊 ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός = עני עם; not to be preferred to 𝔗; note the parallel, and see Lieb.—**4.** מעוז . . . מעוז] one of these may have replaced a parallel and synonymous term such as מחסה: cp. 11[5] n. 𝔊 does not render the first.—**4c–5.** The textual problems here are complicated and far from solved. It must suffice to refer here briefly to points more fully discussed in *ZATW*, 1911, pp. 117–123: see also Lieb. At the end of v.[5], if חרב בצל עב be omitted as a dittograph or a gloss, there remains a distich marked by the characteristic balance (3 : 3) and parallelism of the poem; substituting זרים (𝔊) for זרים (𝔗) and תענה for יענה, this runs:

שאון זרים תכניע
זמיר עריצים תענה

The second line is absent from 𝔊, and is rejected as a gloss on the first by Du.: yet it is curious to find זמיר glossing שאון, and the gloss rhythmically equal and parallel to what it glosses. Du. al. obtain a distich by combining v.[4c] and the first of the foregoing lines (see under):

מחסה מזרם צל מחרב
ונאון זרים תכניע

but this lacks both balance and parallelism. It is possible that מחסה was a correct and misplaced variant of מעוז in v.[4a] or [b]: the following words מזרם צל מחרב כ were read by 𝔊 כְּזֶרֶם תַּצֵּלֶם צֵל חָרְבָּם; just below כזרם קיר was either not read by 𝔊, or rendered ἄνθρωποι ὀλιγόψυχοι, and all that corresponds in 𝔊 to תכניע חרב בצל עב זמיר עריצים יענה is οἷς ἡμᾶς παρέδωκας.

6–8. Yahweh's coronation Feast.—The continuation of 24[23]; translated, p. 407. As a feast formed part of the ceremonial of the coronation or solemn recognition of a king (1 S 11[15], 1 K 1[9ff. 25]), so, after his accession to universal sovereignty in Jerusalem (24[23]), Yahweh gives a feast to all His subjects—not only to the Jews, but to all the peoples. The kings and the patron angels, who hitherto have confused the peoples and kept them from recognising Yahweh as their sole lord and king, have been put out of the way (24[21f.]); the writer does not express, even if he

entertained (cp. 26^{21} n.), the idea that the peoples, rid of their kings, will withhold homage from Yahweh, and therefore does not need to mar his picture of joyous feasting by referring to the destruction (60^{12}), or misery ($65^{13ff.}$), of any who may refuse to acknowledge the king in Ṣion. He rather thinks of the incorporation of all nations in the new and universal kingdom which will have its centre at Ṣion (cp. Ps 87), and of Yahweh's gracious and tender care of all those of whatever nation who had suffered under other kings (cp. 1 S 8^{11-18}) than Himself. His next picture is of mankind with face hidden under the veil of mourning; the peoples come up to Ṣion (cp. 2^{2-4}), still wearing the garb of mourning, of mourning for all their sufferings ($24^{13.\ 17-20}$), for they have not yet realised that affliction is past (cp. $33^{18f.}$); Yahweh sees the veil and, tearing it off, destroys it; and on the face revealed, when the veil is withdrawn, he sees the tears with which recent anguish, and mourning for those who have died, have stained the face, and He wipes these away—the last tears of mankind, for death itself He has now destroyed. The passage closes with a special reference to the Jews, Yahweh's peculiar people: all over the earth, the Jews of the Diaspora as well as those of Palestine, have in the days of anguish that are now past suffered the reproach of the nations that knew not God; this reproach Yahweh will now remove.

The ideas that struggle for expression in these few verses are many and great; and it needs some imagination to expand the hints and recover all that filled the mind of the writer. The foregoing argument is in some of its details necessarily uncertain. But there seems no reasonable room for doubt that we have here one of the most catholic passages in the entire Old Testament, and one of the tenderest presentations of Yahweh. The writer has certainly not thought himself so clear of national limitations as to make Mount Ṣion a thing indifferent in the future (Jn 4^{21}), and it is probable enough that he conceived the kingdom of Yahweh with other Jewish limitations; but we may with even more confidence infer that he extended to the nations of the world all that is tenderest in the Hebrew thought of Yahweh's relation to Israel. There is no justification in the text for the narrow turn given to the thought in 𝔗 and by Ḳi., and, more elaborately in recent times, by Grätz: 𝔗 paraphrases v.^{6} "Yahweh of Hosts will make for all the peoples in this mountain a meal; and though

they suppose it is an honour, it will be a shame for them, and great plagues, plagues from which they will be unable to escape, plagues whereby they will come to their end."

The idea of the abolition of death is an advance on the expectatation of greatly prolonged life in the New Age (65^{20}); it is expressed here in an isolated monostich between the account of the abolition of the veil which reveals, and the removal from the face of the tears revealed; and for this reason Du., al. suspect that the line is an addition.

6. *Yahweh of Hosts*] these words would be unnecessary when v.[6] formed the immediate sequence to 24^{23}: they make the line in 𝔐 very long.—*For all the peoples*] repeated in v.[7] with the parallel *all the nations*.—*In this mountain*] Mt. Ṣion (cp. 24^{23}); the writer was probably resident in Jerusalem (cp. Jn 4^{21}).—*A feast*] the same word that is used in 5^{12}: for the phrase *to make a feast for*, i.e. *to give a feast to*, see, *e.g.*, Gn 19^{3} 26^{30}.—The feast of those who attain to the New Age, though without special reference to Yahweh's accession, is referred to in Apoc. Bar. 29, according to which the feast will be furnished by the flesh of the great monsters Behemoth and Leviathan (cp. also 4 Es 6^{52}, En 60^{24}), and the same general idea underlies several passages of the NT; see Mt 8^{11}, Lk 13^{28} 14^{15} $22^{16ff.}$, Rev 19^{9}. The feast will consist of food, *fat* and rich, and of *wine* that has acquired strength and flavour by remaining *on* its *lees* (cp. Jer 48^{11}) after the first fermentation, and has been rendered clear by being filtered before use.—**7.** The text is uncertain, and seems to have been read differently from 𝔐, not only by 𝔊, but even by 𝔖𝔗 Symm. (see phil. n.). If 𝔐 is correct (the versions are not to be preferred), the interpretation is most probably to be taken as above: from the peoples of the world assembled in Mount Ṣion, Yahweh will remove the symbols of mourning, for which there will be no more cause. For the covering of the head as a sign of mourning or grief, see 2 S 15^{30}, Jer $14^{3f.}$, Est 6^{12}.—*The veil*] lit. *the face*, i.e. the outward surface turned towards the beholder, *of the veil*: a curious expression after the vb. בלע (3^{12} 19^{3}, La $2^{3.5}$ etc.), but a fairly close parallel occurs in Job $41^{5\,(13)}$.—*The web*] the same word, differently applied, occurs in 28^{20}. It is a parallel to the veil of the previous line, and does not signify a covering of the eyes which renders spiritually blind (Del.: cp. 2 Co 3^{15}).—8a. Correctly paraphrased in Rev 21^{4}, καὶ ὁ θάνατος

οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι; cp. 1 Co 15^{54} κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος. The vb. can, of course, be pointed as passive בְּלַע, but between vbs. of which Yahweh is the subj. it is most properly treated as act.; so MT. St. Paul's εἰς νῖκος (so Aq., Theod.) rests on an Aramaic sense of לנצח (cp. *e.g.* Am 1^{11} in 𝔊), and is incorrect. See, further, above.—*For 'tis Yahweh hath spoken*] 24^{3} n.

6. On 𝔊, which is in no respect preferable to 𝔐, see Lieb.; but he is wrong in tracing χρίσονται μύρον to בלע in v.7: this clause, representing שמן ימשחו (cp. Am 6^{6}), is all that 𝔊 has for the last four words of v.6 𝔐. It is a mere accident that לכל העמים is omitted in MS Ken 23.—משחה שמנים] *a feast of fatnesses*, i.e. of rich foods: cp. גיא שמנים of a rich and fertile valley, and the use of שֶׁמֶן, adj., and משמנים of what is *eaten*, 30^{23}, Gn 49^{20}, Neh 8^{10}.—שמרים] *lees*, *dregs* (Jer 48^{11}, Zeph 1^{12}, Ps 75^{9}) is used by a striking brevilo-quence for יין שמרים; that wine, not dregs, is intended, is clear from the last clause of the v. Note the assonances in the v. שמנים—שמרים and ממחים—מזקקים.—ממחים] *ăπ. λεγ.*—a derivative from מַח, *marrow*. On the form, see G-K. 75*dd*.—**7.** On 𝔊, see Lieb., but with the qualification noted on v.6. 𝔊 omits ובלע; in place of פני הלוט הלוט על כל it has παράδος πάντα ταῦτα, and for והמסכה הנסוכה, ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ αὕτη. For הלוט הלוט, 𝔖 (cp. 𝔗) has ܗܘ ܕܡܫܠܛ ܒܟܠ, *the ruler that rules* (*i.e.* Death), but פני creates a difficulty in the way of accepting this otherwise attractive reading.—הַלּוּט] best taken as part. act., *veiling*: G-K. 72*p*; it might equally well be pointed as part. pass. מְלוּט (cp. 1 S 21^{10}).—על כל הגוים] 𝔖 על פני כל הגוים.—**8.** בלע המות לנצח] 𝔊 κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας, *Death*, *prevailing*, *swallowed* (*them*) *up*; Grätz proposes ויבלעם, *And death shall swallow them* (i.e. the nations) *up for ever*: this, of course, would only be possible on the improbable interpretation of v.6 that the feast is intended for the confusion of the nations; the transition, moreover, from the general reference to the nations to the special reference to the Jews only takes place after v.8b; כל פנים goes back to כל הגוים in v.7.—אדני] absent from 𝔊, is probably another late addition to 𝔐: cp. Lieb.—כי יהוה] 𝔊 כι πι יהוה: cp. 24^{3} n.

XXV. 9–12.—*A Song of Deliverance; and the humiliation of Moab.*

V.9 contains an initial formula and four lines arranged in two 3 : 3 distichs (see n. on v.9). In vv.10-12 the rhythm seems irregular; but the text is very uncertain.

9 And it shall be said in that day:—

Behold, this is our God,
We have waited for him that he might deliver us:
This is Yahweh; we have waited for him:
Let us rejoice and exult in his deliverance.

10 For the hand of Yahweh shall rest on this mountain,
10b And Moab shall be trampled down in its place,
As straw is trampled down in a dung-pit.
11 And he shall spread out his hands . . .
. . . . . .
And his pride shall be brought low . . .

And the fortifications the height of thy walls he hath abased,
Brought low, laid level with the earth, even to the dust.

9. The opening formula, *and it shall be said in that day*, does not state that the song which follows will be sung by Jews (ct. 26^{1}), but the contents of v.^{9} prove that this is intended; it is not to be sung by "all the peoples" of vv.$^{6f.}$, but by those last mentioned (v.^{8c}) who have long waited for, and have now experienced, Yahweh's favour. The song is, perhaps, confined to the two 3 : 3 distichs (cp. 25^{1-4}) of v.^{9}, and Di. may be right in regarding vv.$^{10-12}$, or perhaps rather vv.$^{10b.\ 11}$ as the writer's comment: the song will have been justified by the overthrow of Moab. Du., al. extend the song to v.^{11}, and see in v.^{12} a variant of 26^{5}: certainly the vocatives of v.^{12} differentiate it somewhat in tone from either v.^{9} or $^{10f.}$—*This is our God*] or, *our God is such*: if the rhythm of the v. is 3 : 3, MT is right in taking זה demonstratively (cp. Ps 48^{15}) and not as a rare instance of זה relative (see BDB 261*b*).

10. *The hand of Yahweh shall rest*] Apparently this means: the power of Yahweh will manifest itself, Ṣion will become the centre of the universal kingdom (Du.): the idea is then that of 24^{23}, but the expression of it is curious. For the vb. נוח in different connections, see 7^{2} 11^{2}, and cp., especially, the noun in 11^{10}. The absence of an expressed obj. leaves it doubtful whether 𝔊 is right in omitting יד and treating ינח (so read instead of תנח = 𝔐[1]) as Hiph., *God* (or, *Yahweh*) *will give rest*, viz. to Israel.—*In this mountain*] Ṣion: cp. v.^{6}.

10b. Instead of the national enemies of Israel in general, Moab is here singled out, as elsewhere Edom (ch. 34. $63^{1ff.}$) in similar descriptions. Saadia, therefore, renders *Moab* by "*the nations*" (Ges.). *Why* Moab is thus singled out is obscure, but see above, pp. 403 f. Other descriptions of calamities befalling Moab, or prophecies of the punishment of that people, are to be found in chs. 15 f., Jer 48, Zeph 2^{8-10}, Ezk $25^{8ff.}$ The tone here,

if the text of 𝔐 may be trusted, is more than usually contemptuous, and the comparison of proud (16⁵) Moab's end with that of a man drowned in dung-water recalls the malignancy of the saga that told of Moab's birth (Gn 19³⁰⁻³⁷).—*In its place*] in its own land: this idiomatic use of תחת is not uncommon: see, *e.g.*, 46⁷, 1 S 14⁹, 2 S 2²³.—*As straw is trodden down in a dung-pit*] so Ḳᵉrê: Kᵉtîb *in the water of a dung-pit. Madmenah*, with which *mathben*, *straw*, forms an assonance, is not only a common noun meaning *dung-place* or *dung-pit*, but also, if the text of Jer 48² may be trusted, the fem. form of the proper name of a Moabite town. At most a *double-entendre* is intended: the writer certainly did not mean merely *in the water of Madmenah.*

11. *And he*] viz. Moab personified; cp. 1⁵ n.; the point of the v. is pretty clearly this: do what he will, Moab will not escape, but his pride will be humbled; but the text is very uncertain: see phil. n. 𝔐 may be rendered literally, *And he shall* (or, *and though he*: Dr. § 147) *spread out his hands in his midst as a swimmer spreads out to swim*, (*and*) *one shall bring low his pride together with* (or, adopting a very rare use of עם (Neh. 5¹⁸), *in spite of*) *the artifices of his hands.* The idea of swimming in a dung-pit while being trodden down is extraordinary: Kennett (p. 68, n. 1) suggests that "Moab is not thought of as swimming, but as lying on the ground in the attitude of a swimmer. A man who lies flat on his chest with arms and legs extended, with the foot of his enemy planted on his back, is in a most helpless position." But had this been intended, passives in v.¹¹ would have been more natural, and "arms" rather than *hands* would have been specified: *and his arms shall be spread out like the arms of a swimmer* would require a very different text from the present. 𝔊 does not recognise any reference to swimming, and the original text may rather have referred to Moab's fruitless prayers to his god to save him in his distress (see phil. n.).—**12.** See above, and cp. 26⁵.

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9. הנה אלהינו זה קוינו לו ויושיענו זה יהוה קוינו לו] the original text of 𝔊 omitted the overlined words, but rather owing to homoioteleuton, which subsequently led to the omission of the same words from MS Ken. 30, than to their absence from the Hebrew text of that time. Du., al. omit זה יהוה קוינו לו, but retain ויושיענו.—**10.** במי מרכנה] Kᵉtîb בְּמֵי, Ḳᵉrê במו; but probably enough even the Kᵉtîb is a vocalic addition to במ מרכנה which arose from במרכנה by dittography of the מ. The Versions certainly did not read במי;

whether they read במו or ב cannot be determined.—For מרמנה, 𝔊 has ἁμάξαις =מרכבה or מרגים.—**11.** פרש ידיו [ופרש with ידים or כפים is commonly used elsewhere of the gesture of prayer: see, *e.g.*, 1^{15}, Ps 143^{6}; and this sense it may possibly have had here in the original text: see following notes.—בקרבו] the masc. sing. suffix does not refer naturally either to מי or מרמנה. The word is possibly not original: 𝔊 omits it.—יפרש] 𝔊 *καὶ αὐτός*: since this makes no very obvious or easy sentence in 𝔊, we may infer that 𝔊 actually read והוא instead of יפרש.—השחה לשחות] 𝔊 *ἐταπείνωσεν τοῦ ἀπολέσαι*=לשחת(ה)=השח=𝔓[1]. V.[10a. b] is certainly difficult in 𝔓, and may be merely a makeshift accommodation to a corrupt text of which 𝔊 in some points preserves a purer form. Lieb. may be right in suspecting that the original referred to Moab's fruitless appeal in his distress to his God, though his actual reconstruction of the text is far from certain: he proposes ופרש ידיו אל במוש והוא השחנו לשחת.—והשפיל] 𝔊[L] *καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται*=וְהָשְׁפַל.—גאותו] since the figure of swimming is very uncertain, it is unwise to postulate unknown meanings for נאוה, such as *his rising*, which might suit the figure better.—ארבה] אֶרְבָּה is ἅπ. λεγ.: cp. the masc. אֹרֶב in Hos 7^{6}, Jer 9^{7}; but the word is uncertain here.—**12.** כבצר משגב] 𝔊 *καὶ τὸ ὕψος τῆς καταφυγῆς*, which is *probably* a double rendering of משגב. In this case 𝔊's text lacked מבצר. Note (1) *ὕψος* in 𝔊 *never* renders מבצר; (2) *καταφυγή* occurs nowhere else in Is., though 13 times in Pss., 4 in the Pent., and 1 each in Jer., Dan. (Theod.), and 2 Macc.; (3) משגב, which is very variously rendered, =*καταφυγή* twice in Pss.; (4) משגב occurs but once elsewhere in Is. (33^{16}), and is there rendered *ἰσχυρός*: but שגב=*ὑψοῦν* in $2^{11.\ 17}$ 12^{4}.—השח השפיל] 𝔊 omits one of these.—לארץ] 𝔊 omits.

XXVI. 1–19.

Du. appears to have perceived correctly the remarkable and unusual rhythmical structure of vv.[1-19]. The poem consists of periods of six accents, which are divided into two equal sections (3 : 3) by a caesura, or into three equal sections (2 : 2 : 2) by a double caesura (cp. $1^{2.\ 3}$). Parallelism occurs, though it is by no means consistently used. Where the rhythm is 3 : 3, parallelism, if it occurs, occurs between these sections of the entire rhythmical period; where the rhythm is 2 : 2 : 2 the parallelism is between two of the three sections; or there is partial parallelism of the middle section with each of the other two; so in v.[2].

In the translation the lines correspond to the sections of the periods of six accents, and the arrangement will show whether these periods divide into 3 : 3 or 2 : 2 : 2.

The words in small print destroy the regularity of the rhythm: in some cases there are independent reasons (see Comm. and phil. nn.) for suspecting that they are intrusive. In addition the following irregularities, whether original or due to textual corruption, are to be noted:—v.[5d] is longer by a word than 5^{e} if ישפילה be retained: $7^{a.\ b}$ in 𝔓 is 3 : 4, but 𝔓 is almost certainly corrupt: v.[8] in 𝔓 is irregular: Du., Cheyne make of it two irregular periods, first 3 : 2 and then 1 : 1 : 2; see below for other possibilities: vv.[9b-12b] contain several uncertainties of rhythm, and also much that is textually uncertain (see below). V.[19a-d] 𝔓 (not 𝔊) is 2 : 2 : 2 : 2.

[1] In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah:

A strong city is ours,
Salvation doth he make
Its walls and outworks.
[2] Open the gates,
That the righteous nation may enter,
(Even he) that keepeth faith.
[3] The steadfast disposition
Dost thou maintain unharmed,
Because it trusteth in thee.
[4] Trust ye in Yahweh for ever,
For Yah Yahweh is an everlasting Rock.
[5] For he hath brought low
The inhabitants of the height,
The city set on high;
He abaseth it even to the earth,
He bringeth it even to the dust.
[6] The foot shall trample it,
The feet of the poor,
The footsteps of the needy.

[7] The path of the 'upright' is even ^,
The track of the righteous thou levellest.
[8] Yea, for the path of thy judgments—
O Yahweh we have waited for ^ thy name,
And for thy memorial hath been the desire of our soul.
[9] With my soul have I desired thee in the night,
Yea, with my spirit within me do I seek thee earnestly.
When thy judgments (come down) to the earth (?),
The inhabitants of the world
Learn righteousness.
[10] [No] favour shall be shown (?) to the unrighteous;
He hath not learnt righteousness
In the land of truth;
He acteth wickedly . . .,
And seeth not
The majesty of Yahweh.

11 Yahweh thy hand is exalted;
They behold (it) not;
They shall behold and be ashamed.
. . . . . .
Yea, a fire shall consume ^ thy adversaries.
12 . . . O Yahweh . . .
Thou wilt appoint for us welfare;
For even all our works
Hast thou done for us,
13 O Yahweh, our God.
(Other) lords (?) beside thee have owned us,
But of thee (?) only we will make mention, (even) of thy Name.
14 The dead shall live not,
The shades shall rise not;
Therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them,
And caused all their memorial to perish.

15 Thou hast added to the nation, Yahweh, thou hast added to the nation, thou hast shown thyself glorious;
Thou hast greatly extended all the borders of the land.
16 Yahweh in distress 'we' sought (?) thee,
'We cried out because of oppression,'
When Thy chastisement was upon 'us.'
17 As a woman with child,
When she is near giving birth,
Writhes cries out in her pangs,
So were we
Because of thy presence, O Yahweh;
18 We were with child, we writhed, when we gave birth, (lo!) wind.
We could not make the land safe,
And the inhabitants of the world did not fall.
19 Thy dead shall live,
'Their' corpses shall arise;
They that dwell in the dust,
'Shall' awake and give a ringing cry.
For the dew of . . . is thy dew,
And the earth shall give birth to shades.

The rubric, v.[1], fuller than in 25^{9} 27^{1}, quite clearly defines what follows to be a song which is to be sung in the land of Judah *in that day*, i.e. at the time when Yahweh will have delivered His people, and begun His glorious reign in Jerusalem (24^{23}). The rubric does not, of course, define the limits of the song; and it is only the opening verses which are strictly suitable to the occasion. Moreover, in vv.[1-6], with the exception (in the present text) of v.[3], Yahweh is the subject and is spoken of in the 3rd pers.: in vv.[7-19] Yahweh is addressed. For these reasons we might regard the song as closing with v.[6]; but it has been very pertinently observed in regard to vv.[1-19] that "the verse-connection is as a rule very close, and just at those points where some critics have recognised a discontinuity of thought (*e.g.* after v.[7] or v.[10] or v.[16]) the phraseology presents indications of a studied transition. The poem, indeed, is remarkable for its *concatenated* structure: that is to say, a word or idea is taken up from one verse and suggests a new thought for the next (vv.[2f. 3f. 7f. 8f. 9f. 10f. 17f.]" (Skinner). An additional common feature that binds together vv.[1-19] is the peculiar rhythmic structure: see above.

Either, then, an already existing poem (cp. pp 401 f. above) was here inserted on account of the suitability of the opening verses, or else the influence of the ideal situation with reference to which the opening verses were written weakens as the poem proceeds, and the writer expresses his hopes and reflections during the night (v.[9]) of sorrow through which he is passing rather than the triumphant joy in Yahweh's deliverance and the overthrow of "the city (now) set on high" (v.[5]) which he expects His people to experience when night has given place to morning.

There are several corrupt or obscure passages in the poem, and these are discussed in detail in the Comm. as they arise; but the line of thought and the relation of ideas within the poem seem to be as follows:

The Jews exult in Jerusalem made impregnable, v.[1], and refilled with righteous observers of the law, v.[2], but only with such, v.[10]; they find in Yahweh's maintenance unharmed of those who steadfastly relied on Him, v.[3], and whose loyalty to Yahweh no temptations had shaken, v.[13], ground for continued and enduring trust in him, v.[4]. The other side to the exaltation of Jerusalem is the humiliation and destruction of the City now set on high, vv.[5f.], and of all Yahweh's adversaries, v.[11e].

All this has not yet happened; but there are steadfast minds, v.[3], waiting for Yahweh's judgments, vv.[7f.], or renewed judgments (cp. v.[9]), to teach the world righteousness. But even in Judah, the land of true religion, there are wicked men who are contumaciously neglectful of the law, and blind to the majesty of Yahweh that was to be revealed, and even then was revealed to the eye of faith, vv.[10f.].

The Jews of themselves had achieved nothing; all that has yet been achieved is Yahweh's work, the pledge of what He will do for His people who, though aliens have exercised political dominion over them, have never swerved in their religious fidelity to Him, vv.[12. 13]. But once these tyrants have been destroyed by Yahweh (v.[11e]), they being dead cannot rise and again afflict the Jews, v.[14].

Already in fact, or to faith, the Jews have grown and their land has been enlarged, v.[15]; but once again the writer insists that the misery — "the night" of v.[9] — through which the Jews have been passing as a chastisement for their sins (v.[16c]) had not been (or will not have been) escaped by their own efforts: they had not made the land of Judah safe (cp. v.[2]), nor overthrown their foes (cp. vv.[5f. 11c]); this was Yahweh's work alone, vv.[16-18]. Nor will the power of Yahweh be exhausted in re-establishing His people who have survived on earth the perils past: He will raise from the dead the Jews who had died, and these will resume on earth the ordinary earthly life, and join their fellows who had not died in praising God in the land of the living, v.[19].

1–6. Jerusalem made impregnable; the city set on high destroyed.—1. The strong city that belongs to those who in the land of Judah sing this song is, though unnamed, unquestionably Jerusalem; the unnamed subject is Yahweh rather than indefinite. The *walls* and *outworks*, or *outer wall* (חֵל; cp. 2 S 20[15], La 2[8], Nah 3[8]), are made impregnable: cp. 33[20f.]. The words might have been written for an ideal situation (see above), or for some such actual occasion as the solemn dedication of the rebuilt walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12[27-43]). According to an alternative, but less probable, interpretation, the v. means that Yahweh's saving presence will serve the city instead of walls; cp. Zec 2[9], Ps 125[2]. Another, but improbable, alternative would identify the city with God (cp. Ps 61[4]): "urbs

fortitudinis nostrae Salvator est, id est Jesus. Et ponetur in ea murus et antemurale. Murus bonorum operum, et antemurale rectae fidei, ut duplici septa sit munimento" (Jer.).—**2.** Under the form of an address, not to angels (Jer.), but to the gate-keepers (cp. Ps 118^{19}), it is made clear that those only will have right of entry into the city who are *righteous* (cp. 1^{26}; ct. v.^{10}), and *keep faith* with Yahweh by observance of the law: cp. 33^{14} 35^{8-10}, Ps 15. 24^{3-6}.—**3.** *The steadfast disposition*] סמוך (cp. Ps 112^{8}) means *well-stayed* (on God), *steady*, undisturbed by fear, and expresses very much what Isaiah expresses differently in 7^{4} 30^{15}. The noun יצר (cp. the vb. in 22^{11} 37^{26}) commonly denotes in OT the *purpose formed* by man (Gn 6^{5} 8^{21}, Dt 31^{21}, 1 Ch 28^{9} 29^{18}), but here rather *disposition*—a transition to the meaning in the Rabbinic technical terms יצר הטוב and יצר הרע, *the good* and *evil impulse formed* by God; and this Rabbinic usage may have affected 𝔙, *vetus error abiit.*—*Unharmed*] cp. Job 5^{24}; or we might render *in welfare*: cp. *e.g.* Gn 43^{27}, and see 9^{6} n.: RV *in peace* is less satisfactory. The repetition of the word in 𝔐 would imply a superlative idea (G–K. 133*k*), *perfectly unharmed*; but it is not supported by 𝔊, and is probably due to dittography. —*Yahweh*] 𝔐 *in Yah* (12^{2} n.), *Yahweh*; but see phil. n.—*Rock*] 17^{10} n.—**5, 6.** Yahweh has just given proof that the trust (v.^{4}) of the righteous (v.^{2}) in Him is well founded: *for* He has, according to His wont (Ps 75^{5-11}), exalted the poor and lowly (v.^{6}), and humbled the proud (v.^{5}). He has laid in the dust *the City* that seemed out of reach, too *high* (נשגבה, cp. Dt 2^{36}, Ps 20^{2} 69^{30} 91^{14} 139^{6}, Pr 18^{10} 29^{25}) to be taken, challenging His sole exaltation (cp. 2^{11} 12^{4} 33^{5}), and has *brought low* (cp. $2^{9.\ 11}$) its *inhabitants*, who deemed themselves high up out of harm's way, secure in *the height* (cp. 33^{16}, Ps 75^{6}); He has given over the city to be trampled under foot (cp. Mal 3^{21} (4^{3})) of the righteous Jews whom by its oppression it had made, and in its pride regarded, as *poor* (25^{4} n.) and *needy* ($3^{14f.}$).

1. יושר] Hoph. here only; 𝔐^{1} ישר was probably meant to be Hiph.: cp. 𝔊 (pl. as in 25^{9}).—עיר עו לנו] MT עיר עוז לנו, *the city is a strength for us*, but makkeph rather, עיר־עו לנו (cp. Pr 18^{10}). 𝔊𝔖 om. לנו; 𝔙 prefixes *ἰδοὺ* (a dittograph of 'Ιουδ[αίας]?).—ישועה ישית חומה] on the alternative constructions possible, see Dr. § 195.—Note the two assonances ישׁועה ישׁית and חוֹמות וחֵל.—**2.** ויבא] 𝔊𝔖 om. וְ.—אמנים] Pr 13^{17} 14^{5} 20^{6} (Ps 31^{24}?): sing. Dt 32^{20}†.—**3.** יצר . . . תצר] another assonance. For יצר Origen's Hexapla has *ιεστρο, i.e.*

יצרו: the suffix would refer to צדיק (נוי), and the first two words of the v. would be not an acc. clause but a sentence.—שלום שלום] the second שלום is probably a dittograph: but see Lieb.—כי בך] 𝔊 כבכ (cp. 8^8 n.) may have been an error for כי בו=כב, and תצר above an error for יצר: then Yahweh would be referred to in this v. as throughout vv.[1-6] in the 3rd pers.—בטוח] pass. part., *trusting*: cp. Ps 112^7, and see Kön. iii. 235*d*; for the omission of the subj. see Dr. § 135 (6).—**4.** כי ביה יהוה צור עולמים] 𝔊 *ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ αἰώνιος*; כי־ביה, probably absent from 𝔊's text, may be a corruption of ביהוה, a correct marginal variant of יהוה, *Trust ye in Yahweh for ever, in Yahweh the everlasting Rock*. כי ביה would involve a remarkable use of בְּ: see BDB 89*a* (top).—**5.** וישבי מרום] according to Marti this is a play on the name שמרון: cp. 25^2 n. Cp. 25^{12}, which may consist mainly of variants on this v.—וישפילנה ישפילה] probably another case of dittography. 𝔊 has no equivalent for ישפילנה עד ארץ; on the other hand, at the beginning of the v. *ταπεινώσας κατήγαγες* is more than equivalent to השח and perhaps represents השח השפיל (cp. 25^{12} 𝔐). Such a reading in itself would be, on grounds both of rhythm and parallelism, altogether improbable; but it is barely possible that v.[5] originally consisted of two 3 : 3 distichs:

כי־השח ישבי מרום
קריה נשגבה השפיל
ישפילנה עד ארץ
יגיענה עד עפר

6. תרמסנה] the 3rd rhyme is ־ָה ־ֶה within a few words.—רגל רגלי] another case of dittography? But the mere omission of רגל (𝔊𝔖) would leave the rhythm irregular. Lieb. rejects רגל and conjecturally supplies תדרכנה after דלים: this would make v.[6] a distich 3 : 3. The sing. vb. might stand before either רגל sing. or (G–K. 145*k*) רגלי pl.—עני] read עניים: cp. דלים, and see 𝔊.

7–11. Waiting for Yahweh's discriminating judgments.—7. God makes for the righteous a smooth way of life free from stumbling-blocks such as cumber the way of the wicked and cause them to fall: the righteous thus pass through life easily and free from disaster. Cp. for the phraseology or ideas of the v., Ps 1^6, Pr 3^6 4^{26} $5^{6.\ 21}$ 11^5. It is most improbable that ישר refers to God, *Thou that art upright* (RV); but on the text see phil. n.—**8.** Speaking in the name of the community, the writer claims that they have patiently and longingly waited (25^9) for the manifestation of Yahweh's power.—*For the path of Thy judgments*] this entire clause is perhaps made up of a dittograph from *path* in v.[7], and a gloss (*Thy judgments*) on *Thy name*; the original rhythm of v.[8] would then have been normal (3 : 3); or, if the rhythm was abnormal (3 : 3 : 3) the clause may be taken as the object of the vb. emphatically placed first, and then resumed by an equivalent expression (cp. Dr. § 197, Obs. 2); but either *Thee* (𝔐), or *Thy name* (𝔊) would be a

strange permutative of *the path of thy judgments*. Reading קוינו we might render, *For the path . . . have we waited; For thy name and for thy memorial*, etc.; but this (like MT, RV) would give a very abnormal rhythm (4 : 4), and would crowd two parallel terms into a single line.—*Name . . . memorial*] the expressions are synonymous: see Ex 3^{15}, Ps $30^{5\,(4)}$. Yahweh makes His name remembered (Ex 20^{24}) by some striking manifestation of His presence and power.—*The desire of our soul*] this, the reading of 𝔊, is doubtless correct: it is tacitly adopted by RV. 𝔐 omits *our*.—9. Reinforces v.[8]; but, if 𝔐 is correct, with a transition from the 1st pl. to the 1st sing., such as often occurs in the Psalms: see, *e.g.*, Ps $44^{3\text{-}5\,(4\text{-}6)}$.—*In the night*] cp. $21^{11\text{f.}}$—*Within me*] cp. Zec 12^{1}, Ps 39^{4} $55^{5\,(4)}$ 109^{22}. 𝔊 omits the word altogether.—9c. d. e, 10. The desire for the manifestation of Yahweh's judgment or power is based on experience (למדו pf. of experience): when the judgments of God no longer remain high out of sight of the wicked (Ps 10^{5}), allowing him to flatter himself that he can sin on with impunity, but come down to earth, then the inhabitants of the world at large learn righteousness, though the wicked do not do so, with the result that the wicked are punished (Ps $9^{18\,(17)}$). Something like this seems to be intended, if 𝔐 is in the main correct; but the text of 𝔐 and 𝔊 differ considerably, and the original text cannot be detected with any certainty, and some of the more exact turns of thought remain very obscure; but apparently this writer distinguishes, whereas the author of Ps 9^{18} seems to identify, *the inhabitants of the world* (18^{3}), *i.e.* the heathen nations, and *the unrighteous*. Convinced by Yahweh's judgments of His power and Godhead, the nations learn righteousness of life from the God of the Jews (cp. $2^{2\text{-}4}$). But there is a class of wicked people who persistently shut their eyes (5^{12} n.) to *the majesty of Yahweh* (12^{5}) and refuse to learn and follow the way approved by Him, though they live *in the land of uprightness*. If the last phrase means, as it probably does, the land of Judah, then the *unrighteous* of v.[10] are not heathen (13^{11} $14^{5\text{f.}}$) but Jews, and the meaning is: when Yahweh manifests His power the very heathen will adopt His ways; but the ungodly Jews are past recovery in their wickedness, and (v.[2]) will have no right of entry into Jerusalem. —[*No*] *favour shall be shown*] for the conjecture and views of the cstr., see phil. n. 𝔐 might be translated *shall the unrighteous*

receive favour? (No), *he hath not*, etc.—In the translation above of vv.$^{9c\text{-}e.\ 10}$ 𝔐 is closely followed; an alternative translation based on a text tentatively reconstructed with reference to 𝔊 as well as to 𝔐 and to rhythmical considerations is now given:

^{9c} For thy judgments are a light;
The inhabitants of the world
Have learnt righteousness (cp. $60^{1\text{-}3}$).
^{10} The unrighteous shall cease to be
That learnt not righteousness
In the land of uprightness.
The wicked shall be taken away (cp. 57^{1}),
And shall not see
The majesty of Yahweh (cp. 24^{23}).

11. The wicked (v.^{10}) do not yet perceive the power of Yahweh, that it is He who really achieves all things (v.^{12}), but they soon will see it is to their confusion: Yahweh will consume them with fire (cp. 30^{33} 33^{14}).—*Thy hand is exalted*] cp. Dt 32^{27}; the uplifted hand is power in action as the dropped hand is absence of power, or power held in check; cp. 2 S 4^{1} 17^{2} 24^{16}.—Line d. omitted from the translation above is corrupt; instead of the three words required by the metrical structure two only survive in 𝔐: 𝔊, ζῆλος λήμψεται λαὸν ἀπαίδευτον, may have had more; but see Lieb. 𝔐 makes no sense, whether connected with what precedes (cp. RV) or with what follows. It is altogether improbable, apart from the violation done thereby to the regular metrical structure of the poem, that קנאת עם, *jealousy for the people*, is acc. to *they shall see* (line a.) in spite of the intransitive vb. intervening, so that the sentence would read *they shall see, and be ashamed, the jealousy for the people.* Mic 7^{16}, to which Di. appeals, is a good parallel for the general sense, none at all for such an extraordinary construction. RV really implies two conjectural emendations—the transposition of the two vbs. יחזו and יבשו, and עמך for עם. Others take קנאת עם, or, emending, קנאת עיך, as a first subject of the vb. at the end of the v., and render *jealousy for* (or, *of*) *the* (or, *thy*) *people, yea, the fire of* (i.e. ordained for) *thy adversaries will consume them. Jealousy of the people* might mean either jealousy displayed by the people, *i.e.*, the Jews, or jealousy (9^{6}) displayed by Yahweh for (cp. Ps 69^{10})

the Jews. Originally line d. probably consisted of three words, and was parallel in sense to line e. (𝔊) as translated above.

7. The v. contains seven words, whereas the rhythm requires but six. ישר in its present position is not satisfactorily accounted for, whether explained as a vocative addressed to God, as in apposition to the subj. of תפלם, or as a second acc. to that vb. Du., al. therefore reject it. More probably ישר is the misplaced parallel to צדיק in line b. ; omit לצדיק, which, coming up from line b. [למען]לצדיק, drove out ישר, and read ארח ישר. For other examples of accidental repetitions of the same term to the exclusion of one of the synonymous terms in parallel lines, see 24^{8} n. 11^{5} n.—**8.** קוינוך] read with Lowth, al. קוינו.—אף ארח משפטיך יהוה] 𝔊 ἡ γὰρ ὁδὸς Κυρίου κρίσις.—נפש] 𝔊𝕊𝕋 נפשנו : in 𝔐 the suffix was lost before נפשי.—**9a. b.** 𝔊 omits נפשי אויתך, אף, and בקרבי, but adds ὁ θεὸς at the end of b. 𝔐 is to be preferred.—רוחי . . . נפשי] each word is a "double subject"; 10^{30} n.—אשחרך] 𝔊 ὀρθρίζει ; but it is questionable to read on this account תשחרך and above אִוָּתְךָ—vbs. 3rd sing. fem.—כי כאשר] 𝔊 διότι φῶς = כי אור or (8^{8} n.) באור. Possibly 𝔊 is right, and לארץ, which would then overload the line, a gloss. Bick., Du. omit כאשר as a prosaic variant of כי. If כאשר be retained, cp. for the form of sentence 23^{5}.—**10.** יחן רשע בל למד צדק] this would be a very exceptional form of hypothetical sentence (Dr. § 155 : cp. 136γ). Either בל was lost through haplography after תבל (Marti), or יחן is an error for יחדל (or חדל) : 𝔊 πέπαυται γάρ.—נכחות יעול] 𝔊 ἀλήθειαν οὐ μὴ ποιήσει· ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής = נכחות בל (י)עשה נֵאֶסַף מְעַוֶּל ; this may be nearer the original text than 𝔐, עשה, however, being a variant of למד. Possibly v.[10] once read

יחדל רשע | בל־למד צדק | בארץ נכחות
יאסף מעול | ובל יראה | גאות יהוה

With מְעַוֶּל ‖ רשע, cp. Ps 71^{4}.—יהיה] probably a dittograph of יהוה, v.[10].

12–19. The Jews achieve nothing for themselves, but Yahweh everything for them, including the raising from the dead of those of them who had died. Cp. Ps 44^{1-8}.—**12a.** If the rhythmical structure is maintained, two words have been lost here.—**12b–d.** National *welfare* (v.[3] n.) must come from Yahweh; the Jews themselves can achieve nothing.—**13.** Politically the Jews have passed into other ownership (cp. 1^{3}) than that of Yahweh (cp. 63^{19}); *lords* (19^{4}), *i.e.* foreign rulers, have made Judah part of their property; yet, though the Jews have not been politically free, they have not acknowledged the right of any except Yahweh to own them: they have been loyal to their religion, not confessing any other God (cp. Ps $44^{18-23\ (17-22)}$). 𝔊, if correct, would express very indirectly what 𝔐, which is not free from difficulty (see phil. n.), expresses directly.—**14.** No more will a foreign yoke rest on the Jews, for Yahweh has destroyed these alien rulers, banished

all memory of them, all that would call them to mind, such as foreign coinage, taxes, and the like; these lords are dead men all, *shades* (14^9) that will never return to vex the earth (14^{21}, Jer $51^{39.\ 57}$). The writer shares the old view (cp. Job 14^{14}) that, so far as mankind at large is concerned, there is no resurrection, no ascent from the realm of the shades to a fuller or higher life. For the Jews he has a different expectation (v.[19]): resurrection is national, not universal.—*Therefore*] the *therefore* indicates not "a consequence of v.[a] but the development of what is implicit in it" (cp. 61^7, Jer 2^{33} 5^2, Job 34^{25} (BDB 487*a*).

15–19. The writer is certain (prophetic pf. in v.[15]) that Yahweh will magnify the Jewish nation and extend far and wide the borders of their land (cp. 9^6 33^{17} $54^{2f.}$). His chastisement (v.[16]) had meant distress, foreign domination, and decaying population, and that the Jews could make no headway against their foes (v.[18b]); but Yahweh will listen to the cry of His people, withdraw His chastening hand, achieve for them (cp. v.[12]) what they could not achieve (cp. v.[18]), making their land secure, enlarging it, and filling it with inhabitants by calling back to life those Jews who had died loyal to their religion (v.[19], cp. v.[13]).—**15.** *Thou hast added*] "spoken from the standpoint of the future" (Dr. § 20 n.). Di. objects that this is "impossible" after the perfects of vv.[13f.]; but on his own view the perfects of vv.[13-16] refer to different periods: vv.[13f.] recent past, v.[15] the days of David and Solomon, v.[16] the recent past again. His alternative view, that the sentence may be interrogative—*Hast thou increased the people* as thou didst promise (Hos $2^{1f.}$, Mic $2^{12f.}$, Is 11^{14} $49^{10ff.}$ $54^{1f.}$, Jer 30^{19}, Ezk $36^{10ff.}$—is most improbable. Others give the imperative a precative force: *Add to the nation* (cp. G); but this is illegitimate (Dr. § 20), unless we prefix לְ as in 63^{19} (Cond.), and then the form of the wish is not very natural: *O that thou hadst added to* (Dr. § 140); in the hour of distress their wish would have been for deliverance rather than enlargement. The only alternative to the view taken above which is worth considering, is that, like vv.[13f.], it refers to the recent past: Yahweh has already not only overthrown the foreign domination, but also widely extended the borders of Judah; Du., Marti, who interpret thus, see in v.[15] a reference to the extension of Jewish territory by John Hyrcanus. But this fails to do adequate justice to v.[18b], and less naturally leads

up to v.[19].—*Thou hast shown thyself glorious*] cp. 24[23] as emended, Ezk 28[22] 39[13]. 𝔐 could be rendered *glorious things*, an acc. to *thou hast added* (Oo.); but the parallel supports MT.—*Thou hast greatly extended*] lit. *thou hast made far away*, viz. from the centre of the land: for the sense of great distance suggested by רחק and its derivatives, see, *e.g.*, 6[12], Ps 103[12].—*All the borders of the land*] of Judah: the same phrase with another sense in Ps 48[11] 65[6 (5)].—**16.** *In distress*] 25[4].—*We sought*] 𝔐 has *they sought*; but note 1st pl. in [12f.] and [17f.], and that there are signs of corruption in this v.—*We cried out because of oppression*] the translation follows Cheyne's emendation. 𝔐 is altogether improbable: it ought to be rendered *they melted* (Job 28[2]) *a charm* (3[3] n., Jer 8[17], Ec 10[11]: cp. Is 3[20]†), and this has been supposed to mean, *they poured out a whisper*, i.e. they prayed* (in a low voice). Lieb. attempts a different reconstruction of the text, which might be rendered, *thy visitation involves distress, thy chastisement of us constraint and oppression.* See, further. phil. n.—**17, 18.** The elaboration of the figure (cp. Hos 13[13], Mic 4[10]) in this connection may have suggested the later technical term for the troubles which were expected to herald the Messianic age, חבלי המשיח, "the birth-pangs of the Messiah."—*So were we*] 𝔊+ *to the beloved*: on this (? Christian) addition see Lieb. i. 42–44.—*Because of thy presence*] to chastise us (cp. v.[16]), 𝔊 διὰ τὸν φόβον σου: for the phrase, cp. *e.g.* 64[1] (63[20]), Jer 4[26].—**18.** *When we gave birth, (lo!) wind*] rhythmically the words appear to be superfluous, and they may be a gloss intended to complete the figure so as to make it applicable to the two following lines—all our distress issued in wind, *i.e.* nothing; cp. 41[29], Ec 1[14]. Ges. discusses at length the supposed reference to the symptoms of pseudo-pregnancy.—**18b. c.** We could not, as Yahweh can and will (v.[1]), deliver our country from the enemy: *the inhabitants of the world* (v.[9]), who were all attacking us, *did not fall* before us in battle. This interpretation gives to the lines parallelism. Modern commentators,† however, have generally given to the line c. another sense: *inhabitants of the world*, "an artificial poetical expression" (Du.), meaning "young, new-born 'mortals'" (Del.), *do not fall*, viz. from the womb, *i.e.* are not born. On either interpretation the phraseology is

* *e.g.* Ḳi., Ges., Del.

† Coccejus, Ges., Del., Di., Cheyne, Du., Marti.

unusual. There is no direct evidence that נפל in the Kal meant *to be born*; yet it is not improbable that it did; for the Hiph. probably means *to give birth to* in v.[19], the noun נֵפֶל means *an untimely birth*, and the Arabic سقط, *to fall*, also means *to be born*; see illustrations of the last and of the Greek πίπτω, καταπίπτω (Wis 7[3]) in Ges.—**19.** G's text is shorter by one, and *possibly* by two words (see phil. n.) than H: and one of the lines a.–d. may be an addition (see note on the rhythm), but the essential idea is expressed more than once. The Jews who have died will not share the common lot of man (v.[14]), but they will rise from their graves, not as spirits of the dead, but bodily, and to resume with gladness life upon the earth, in the new vast territory of the Jews (v.[15]). This remarkable expression of what must have been already a well-defined and clear belief in a bodily resurrection of Jews who had died before the New Age began (cp. Dn 12[1]), forms an abrupt but effective close to the poem; abrupt, for v.[18] would naturally have had as its sequence a repetition of the opening thought: thou, Yahweh, will secure our safety: what we could not achieve, Thou wilt; effective, for it uses the belief in resurrection with all its emotional richness at once as an answer to the question how shall the nation be increased (v.[15]), and as a climax to the whole poem.—*Thy dead*] Yahweh is still addressed: Yahweh's dead are those who died loyal to Him, or even were slain for His sake (cp. Ps 47[23 (24)])—"mortui tui, qui interfecti sunt propter te" (Jer.).—*Shall live*] not *may they live* (Di.), even if the imperatives of H in line d. are correct; but even if [19a. b] were taken optatively, the remainder of the verse shows that we have not to deal with a hope in resurrection that is merely breaking through, as in Job, but with a belief well established in the circle to which the writer belonged, though not necessarily, nor probably, throughout the entire nation (ct. Eccles. and later the Sadducees), which included wicked unbelievers in this, as in other things, that the power of Yahweh could achieve.—*Their corpses*] H *my corpses*, i.e. the dead bodies of the writer's fellow-countrymen; but the expression would be unnatural. The writer emphasises the belief that the actual body that died will be revivified, that it is no mere ghost that is to arise; and the same idea is implicit in the next line, *they that dwell in the*

dust (cp. Job 21^{26}, Ps 22^{16}), now sleeping there the sleep of death (cp. Dn 12^{2}), which is not to be for them eternal (Jer 51^{39}, Job 14^{12}), *will awake and ring out* their joy.—*Shall awake and give a ringing cry*] cp. 𝔊: 𝔐 *Awake, and give . . . ye that dwell*, etc., which makes the clause an address to the dead, interpolated between clauses addressed to Yahweh.—*For the dew of . . . is thy dew*] God's dew, or more strictly *night-mist* (18^{4}), falling on the graves of His dead, and, descending to the bodies that rest there, will cause them to live again; in the case of God's dead there is not the difference that Job bewailed between the vegetable world, which, when apparently dead, is revived by water, and man (Job 14^{7-12}), who, once dead, cannot revive. For the importance of the *dew* or *night-mist* for the life of vegetation in Palestine, see 18^{4} n. Ges. quotes parallels to the thought of the moistening of the dead body with rain: *e.g.* "visit Ma'an and say to his grave, May the morning clouds water thee with rain upon rain." The definition of the dew that is to restore life to the dead Jews is unfortunately obscure; 𝔐 and 𝔊 differ— 𝔐 אורת, 𝔊 ארכה or ארכתם (see phil. n.). If 𝔊 was correct we should render literally *for thy dew is the dew of* (*their*) *new flesh*; as God revives the vegetable world by dew, so He will cause new flesh to sprout (58^{8}) and cover the skeletons (cp. Ezk 37^{6}) of the Jews now lying in the grave, thus preparing them for re-birth (cp. Ps 139^{12-16}). The meaning of 𝔐 is obscure: ארת in 2 K 4^{39}† is a term for *herbs*, hence the rendering of EV here, "the dew of herbs," which should mean that the dew that is to fall on the dead will be as reviving in their case as the dew that falls on herbs (Ḳi.)—very improbable. Most modern commentators see in אורת an intensive pl. of אורה (Ps 139^{12}, Est 8^{16})— and in *the dew of light* "the dew of the highest heavenly region, where is the light with which Yahweh wraps Himself" (Ps 104^{2}), as Marti explains, or, light and life being "interchangeable ideas" (Ps $56^{14\,(13)}$, Job 3^{20} 33^{30}), as Di. puts it, the dew that restores to the life of light.—*The earth shall give birth to* (*the*) *shades*] the rendering is not certain: on הפיל, *to give birth to*, see v.^{18} n.; 𝔊's text of 19^{c} leads up to the idea of birth. *Shades* are in v.^{14} dead men in general, here dead Jews. Other renderings labour under the disadvantage of giving the line a poorer connection, and *shades* an entirely different sense from that in v.^{14}: thus *and the land of the Rephaim*, i.e. giants (*e.g.*

Dt 2^{11}), regarded as impious (𝔊), *dost thou bring down* (in ruin).

12. תשפת] שפת with the meaning *to ἀπρoint* (𝔊, *δός*) occurs here only in OT; in 2 K 4^{38}, Ezk 24^{3}, Ps 22^{16} †שפח has other meanings: see BDB.—**13.** בעלונו אדנים זולתך לבד־בך נזכיר שמך] (1) everywhere else זולת is used with a negative; (2) לבד־בך cannot be satisfactorily explained: Di. treats בך as the object (cp. 48^{1}, Ps 20^{8}) prefixed to נזכיר, שמך being in apposition to it; Ges., al. make בך mean *by means of thee, of thy help*. In the text of 𝔊 both these doubtful points disappear: 𝔊 reads *κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς· ἐκτὸς σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἴδαμεν, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν*, which represents not 𝔐 (cp. Lieb.), but

בְּעָלֵנוּ אדני | זולתך בל־נדע | נזכיר שמך׃

Be our owner, O Lord;
We acknowledge none beside thee,
We make mention of thy name.

We might adopt this, but that it gives us no antecedent for the 3rd pl. pronoun of v.^{14} (ותשמידם). This we could obtain, though in a rather bare way, by reading בְּעָלֵנוּ אדנים׃ *Lords* (*i.e.* other lords) *have owned us*, (*but*) *none beside thee do we acknowledge*. For זולת = *none beside*, cp. 1 K 12^{20}, 2 K 24^{14}. —**15.** יספת לגוי יהוה יספת לגוי נכבדת רחקת כל קצוי ארץ] 𝔊 *πρόσθες αὐτοῖς κακά, Κύριε, πρόσθες κακὰ τοῖς ἐνδόξοις τῆς γῆς*. To what extent 𝔊's text differed from 𝔐 is not clear; it does not seem to have been in any respect superior. On 𝔊 and various unconvincing emendations that have been proposed, see Lieb. 𝔐 probably preserves the sense, though if we may assume that the rhythm was regular throughout the poem, יהוה יספת לגוי is an amplification of the original text.—**16.** פקדוך] 𝔊 *ἐμνήσθην* (HP 14 *ἐμνήσθημεν*) *σου* = וְכָרַתִּיךָ or וְכָרַנְךָ; Cheyne, פקר[נ]ך; Lieb. וְקָרָתָךְ. פקר occurs here only of man's seeking God.—צקן לחש כומסרך למו] for למו read לנו: so 𝔊 *ἡμῖν*, and cp. 1st plural in vv.$^{12f.\ 17f.}$. צקון לחש is also corrupt; not only is the meaning commonly extracted from 𝔐 most questionable (see above), but the form of the 3rd perfect pl. with ן is anomalous and open to the gravest suspicion even in the latest OT literature: see Dr. § 6, Obs. n., and G–K. 44*l*. The anomalous form is avoided, but a sense no more probable is obtained, if we point צָקוֹן לַחַשׁ, and assume that צקון is a *ἅπ. λεγ.* having the same meaning as צוקה (8^{22}) or מוצק (8^{23}), and render *constraint such as is enforced by a charm was thy chastisement* (Koppe, Di.). 𝔊 *ἐν θλίψει μικρᾷ* scarcely = 𝔐, but it is ambiguous, perhaps קמין לחץ? Cheyne, modifying a suggestion of Houb., proposes צעקנו כולחין (cp. 65^{14}); Lieb. (who discusses other less probable suggestions) צוקת לחץ. Lieb.'s emendation of $^{16a,\ b}$ keeps nearest to the evidence of 𝔐 and 𝔊 combined: Cheyne gives what appears to be a sense rather more suitable to the context.—**17.** תחיל] absent from 𝔊: it is rhythmically superfluous, and is probably an addition made out of regard for חלנו below. —**18.** כמו ילדנו רוח] כמו (= כאשר, Gn 19^{15}) is absent from 𝔊.—ובל־יפלו] 𝔊 *ἀλλὰ πεσοῦνται πάντες*: see Lieb.—**19.** יחיו מתיך נבלתי יקומון הקיצו ורננו שכני עפר] 𝔊^{B} *ἀναστήσονται* (^{A} + *γὰρ*) *οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται οἱ ἐν τῇ γῇ*; *perhaps* this is = (or יקיצו ויקומון) יחיו מתים ונבלת ורננו שכני עפר; but 𝔊 clearly renders one word less than at present

stands in 𝔐. Cheyne has argued that the original text of 𝔊 rendered two words less, arguing that the overlined words are doublets, each rendering שבני עפר; but this is far from certain, for *οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις* is an admirable rendering for נבלת in a passage where its common equivalent *νεκροὶ* has already been used. Nor in view of 38^{9} is it *certain* that *ἀναστήσονται*=יקומון (as in v.[14]) rather than יחיו.—מתיך] 𝔊 מתים: 𝔐 is to be preferred.—נבלתי] the unsuitable ' is derived by dittography from the following יקומון; but נבלת (? 𝔊) is scarcely the original reading, rather נבלתם (𝔖). נבלה is frequently used collectively as here.—וְקִיצוּ וְרַנְּנוּ] read יָקִיצוּ וְרַנְּנוּ (cp. 𝔊).—תפיל] 𝔊 *πεσεῖται, i.e.* תפל, which would be ambiguous, but might be rendered, *But the land of Rephaim will fall,* i.e. come to ruin: this certainly explains the order of the words; but against it, see above. For the order, subject, object, predicate, see Dr. 208 (3).

20–XXVII. 1. The Jews are to keep safe, while Yahweh is abroad in the world exacting from it penalty for its crimes.—Continuation from 25^{8}: translation on p. 407. Before the final consummation, when Yahweh is to ascend His throne in Ṣion (24^{23}), give His coronation feast to all peoples ($25^{6f.}$), and remove for ever the reproach of His people, the Jews (25^{8}), there will be a moment during which His anger will be abroad, exacting from the inhabitants of the world penalty (cp. 24^{17-20}) for their deeds of blood which the earth will then reveal (cp. 24^{5}); during this moment of wrath, let the Jews keep close at home, in their chambers with closed doors (cp. Ex $12^{22f.}$, also Job 14^{13}). At the same time, Yahweh will punish all that is opposed to Him in heaven: as of old He pierced the dragon, the personification or leader of Chaos, before creating the present world, so now is He about to slay these monsters who have misled His creatures, as the immediate prelude to a new heaven and new earth over which He will exercise sovereignty (24^{23}). In the same way in Babylonia the killing of a monster precedes Marduk's accession to sovereign power (*KAT*[3] 499).—**20.** *Hide*] not in terror, as in 2^{10}, for Yahweh now intends to do His people no hurt, but as a precaution, lest the wrath of God, as it roams abroad, should unintentionally do hurt to the Jews as well as to others. — *Wrath*] can scarcely be here the last expiring traces of Yahweh's anger against His people (10^{25} n.), which are to vanish completely when Yahweh proceeds (v.[21]) to punish the world (Di.); v.[21] is rather a reason why an explosion of wrath is about to take place, from which the Jews must keep out of the way.—**21.** *From his place*] heaven; Mic 1^{3}.

—*Inhabitants of the earth*] cp. 24^{17}: sing. collective in ℌ.—**21c. d.** When Yahweh comes to punish, the earth will lay bare the blood of the slain which it has drank in, and the uncovered blood will cry aloud to Yahweh to avenge it: cp. Gn $4^{10f.}$, Job 16^{18}, Ezk $24^{7f.}$. Line d. is simply parallel to line c.: it does not introduce the new thought that the martyrs themselves, as well as their blood, will arise to testify (Del., al.).—**XXVII. 1.** Does this v. refer to war in heaven or war on earth? Do the two Leviathans and the dragon belong solely to the host of heaven? or do they symbolise three earthly kingdoms, or a single earthly kingdom, or indefinitely all earthly powers opposed to Yahweh and to Israel? If the reference is to earthly kingdoms, what were these kingdoms? On all these points interpreters have differed, and continue to differ. The close correspondence of 24^{21-23} and 26^{20}–27^{1} strongly favours the view that this v. refers to that "war in heaven" (Rev 12^{7}) which must precede the birth of the New World as it preceded the birth of the present (cp. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 367–371; *KAT*^{3} 507 f.); 26^{20}–27^{1} carries us back to the time before the removal of the reproach of the Jews (25^{8}) and Yahweh's glorious reign in Jerusalem ($26^{23c.\ d}$), and is therefore parallel in time to 24^{21-23b}; as 26^{21} corresponds to Yahweh's visitation on "the kings of the earth" (24^{21c}), 27^{1} might well correspond to the punishment of "the host of the height in the height." The host above and the kings are doubtless related (see n. on 24^{21}), but we need not seek for any specific identification of the three heavenly beings with three earthly kingdoms. Those who do seek such identification, whether including or excluding any heavenly reference, differ much: *e.g.* Ḳi., Rashi think of Assyria, Egypt, Tyre; Del. sees in *the dragon which is in the sea*, Egypt (cp. 57^{9}, Ps 74^{13}, Ezk 29^{3} 32^{2}), in *the fleeing serpent*, Assyria situated along the rushing, rapid Tigris, and *in the twisted serpent*, Babylon situated along the Euphrates, "which has many turns and labyrinth-like windings"; Cheyne and Box equate the dragon with Egypt, and the two Leviathans with Babylon and Persia; Du. agrees as to the dragon, but equates the fleeing serpent with the Parthians on account of their well-known manner of fighting, and the other serpent with Syria. Ges., a representative of the view that all three descriptions signify the same monster, identifies this monster with Babylon. It will

be seen that there is no agreement except with regard to Egypt; and it should be observed that in some of the passages quoted above more than one of these mythological epithets is conferred on Egypt: *e.g.* in Ps 74^{13} Egypt is both the dragon and Leviathan. The point, then, of the whole v. is just this: Yahweh will make an end of all that is opposed to Him in heaven, even as He executes punishment on all who have offended Him on earth (26^{21}); and in order to make this point the writer avails himself of current mythological ideas and terms. Fundamentally, according to this mythological theory, the opposition was between the gods of order and the power of disorder — the Chaos-monster: there is, therefore, a certain element of truth in the view that the three designations — the two Leviathans and the dragon are a single being; but the Hebrew writer clearly intends three distinct objects and, possibly, as Dr. Burney has recently suggested,* the three conspicuous constellations of serpentine form. It is conceivable, as Zimmern remarks (*KAT*^{3} 501 n. 2), that several constellations were at one and the same time regarded as representatives (*Entsprechungen*) of the Chaos-monster.—*His sword*] the conception of the mighty sword of God "is, no doubt, ancient (cp. Gn 3^{24}), but it is specially prominent in late eschatological descriptions; cp. 34^5 66^{17}, Zec 13^7, En $90^{19.\ 34}$ 91^{12}, Rev 1^{16} 2^{12} etc." (Cheyne, *Introd.* p. 151). It is suggested that three epithets are applied to the sword to gain symmetry (Du.) with the three monsters on whom it is to be used. The first epithet, קשה (𝔊 קדשה, *holy*), may mean *fierce*, *relentless* (cp. 19^4, Jg 4^{24}), or, perhaps, *well-tempered*, doing much work without becoming blunted, a meaning which would have its nearest analogy in the application of the adj. to a *stiffened* neck. — *Leviathan*] a mythic serpent; cp. Job 3^8, Ps 74^{14} 104^{26}, En $60^{7-9.\ 24f.}$, 4 Es 6^{49-52}, and see *EBi.* 520 ff. The ideas doubtless go back to Babylonian mythology in which the conflict of Marduk with mythical serpentine monsters plays a conspicuous part (cp. Zimmern, in *KAT*^{3} pp. 498 f., 500–504), but the term Leviathan has not yet been found in Babylonian: its origin is obscure, *perhaps* it means *the wreathed* or *twisted* (√לוה). The duplication of Leviathan here and in the next line is curious; but it is scarcely due to the fact that the writer needed

* *JThS*, 1910, pp. 443 f.; see also Smend's earlier identification with the same constellations, *ZATW* iv. 213.

three names for three different world-powers, and therefore used Leviathan twice, differentiating by means of different epithets (Gunkel, p. 47); if he merely needed another name, Rahab was at his disposal (cp. 51^{9}, Job 26^{12}): others think that the two Leviathans denote two closely connected kingdoms, such as two in the Euphrates-Tigris valley. The first Leviathan is described as *the fleeing serpent*, which in Job 26^{13} is intimately associated with the sky. Burney would identify this Leviathan with the constellation *Serpens* with which Ophiuchus, "the serpent-grasper," is closely associated. The conception of Yahweh smiting with a sword a serpent that flees from Him, has its analogy and probably its origin in a Babylonian myth which is pictorially represented, for example, on a Babylonian seal of a serpent pursued and about to be smitten, presumably Tiamat pursued by Marduk; see illustration in Cheyne, *SBOT*, p. 206, and cp. *KAT*^{3} 503. The second Leviathan is the *crooked* or *twisted* (עקלתון) serpent: this is identified by Smend and Burney with the constellation *Draco*, "which winds its long-drawn length between *Ursa major* and *Ursa minor*." Gunkel, on the other hand, traces the epithet to the association of Leviathan the primeval monster with the sea, which, according to Babylonian and also Greek conceptions, flowed twisting round all lands.—*The Dragon*] cp. 51^{9}, Job 7^{12}, Ps 74^{13}; also Ps 148^{7} (pl.). The *dragon* is described in 𝔐 as that *which is in the sea* (absent from 𝔊), and the whole according to Di. means *the crocodile which is in the sea*, i.e. *the Nile* (19^{5} n.), a symbol of Egypt. But if, as is more probable, we have here to do with constellations, *the sea* is the celestial ocean, and the constellation is *Hydra*, which lies south of the Ecliptic in that part of the Heavens which ranked with the Babylonians as the ocean (Burney, p. 445).

20. בְּלִתֵּיךְ] K^{e}tib; בְּלָתֵךְ, K^{e}rê. The latter assumes an otherwise unknown form בְּלָה: if sing. (𝔊 *τὴν θύραν σου*), as in 2 S 13^{17}, 2 K 4^{33}, point rather בַּלְּתֵךְ.— בעריך 𝔊 omit; but cp. Jg 3^{23}.—חבי] not fem. (G–K. 75*qq*), a view for which Del. offers a Rabbinical explanation; but the form is either an Aramaic 2nd masc. sing. (Olsh. 235*e*; Kön. i. 623), or point חֲבֵה=חֲבֵה.— **21.** ממקומו] 𝔊 freely *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου*. — לפקד עון ישב־הארץ עליו] 𝔊 *ἐπάγει τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*: it is doubtful how far 𝔊 differed from 𝔐; see Lieb. With the cstr. of 𝔐, cp. Am $3^{2.\ 14}$.—עור] 𝔊 omits: 𝔐 is correct.

XXVII. 2–6.— *Yahweh's delightful vineyard.*

The song consists of short lines of two or three accents for the most part grouped in distichs. A remarkable feature of it is the sustained rhyme in ־ָהּ in vv.[2-3]. The text and, consequently, in detail the structure, are very uncertain.

A delightful vineyard—
Sing ye to it (?).

3 I, Yahweh, am guarding it,
Constantly I water it;
Lest its leaves be missing,
Day and night I guard it.

4 Wrath (?) have I none (?);
O that I had thorns, briars (?);
In battle would I step (?) on them,
I would burn them altogether

5 Or else let him lay hold on my refuge,
Let him make peace with me,
Peace let him make with me.

6 . . . Jacob shall take root,
Israel shall blossom and bud,
And they shall fill the face of the world with fruit.

In these verses, as in most of this chapter, either the text is corrupt and unintelligible, or the thought of the writer is expressed obscurely and in very remarkable ways. But apparently we have here a kind of contrast to the song of the vineyard in 5^{1-7}: there, Yahweh exercises all possible care, gets no return from it, and in anger hands over the vineyard to be wasted and trampled down: here, Yahweh constantly tends His vineyard, and His hostility is reserved for thorns and briars, which seem to symbolise Israel's enemies; these, He will wage war on, and burn with fire, unless they come to terms with Him. In any case the vine of Israel will grow marvellously and fill the world. Such is as probable a view as any of the meaning of 𝔐; but 𝔐 is curiously expressed, and 𝔊, from which, however, it would be even harder to extract any intelligible meaning than from 𝔐,

may have had a very different text.—For another view of the interpretation, see on v.[4a. b]; for some of the variations of 𝔊, see the phil. nn. below, and see, further, Lieb.—**2.** *In that day . . .*] unless the words are corrupt, something has dropped out, probably either *shall be said* (cp. 25[9]), or *shall be sung* (26[1]). Di. suggests, indeed, that v.[2] as a whole constitutes an artificial variant on the introductory formulae in 25[9] 26[1], and that we should render, *On that day a delightful vineyard—sing of it, i.e.* the following song of the delightful vineyard will be sung. Of this Du. reasonably remarks, "Even the most helpless writer would not stammer thus."—*A delightful vineyard*] כרם חמד (𝔊 and some Heb. MSS) is a vineyard which is an object of desire (2[16] phil. n.), or delight; cp. Am 5[11], and "delightful fields," 32[12]; cp. also the use of the vb. in Ps 68[17 (16)], Ca 2[3]. 𝔓𝔖𝔗 read כרם חמר, *a vineyard of wine*; חמר, *wine*, occurs elsewhere only in Dt 32[14]; but חמרא, خمر are regular terms for *wine*. The following words, ענו־לה, may be rendered, *sing ye to it* (cp. Nu 21[17]), or *sing ye of it* (cp. 5[1]); neither seems very probable, and the text may be suspected.—*I, Yahweh, am guarding it*] cp. 26[3], or *am its watchman*, cp. Job 27[18], Pr 27[18]; also Is 1[8].—*Constantly*] לרגעים, cp. Job 7[18], Ezk 26[16].—**3c.** This line may be rendered, *lest its leaves*, shrivelling and dropping from lack of water (ct. Jer 17[8]), *be missing*, or *lest visitation be made upon it* (cp. Nu 16[29]); by giving to פקד על a shade of meaning not supported by usage, we could obtain something more natural than either, *lest any hurt it* (RV). Very probably the text is corrupt.—**4.** *Wrath*] This is merely one way of interpreting 𝔐; equally possible renderings are *wall* (חֹמָה; *e.g.* 26[1]), or *sun* or *heat* (חַמָּה, 24[23], Ps 19[7]). None of them gives a satisfactory sense. Lowth adopted *wall* (𝔊𝔖), and, treating vv.[1-6] as a dialogue between Yahweh (vv.[3. 4c. d. 5a. 6]) and the ungrateful vineyard (vv.[4a. b. 5b. c]), saw in v.[4a. b] a complaint of the vineyard, *I have no wall* for my defence: *O that I had* a fence of *thorns* and *briars*. Most modern interpreters agree in rendering *wrath*, but differ as to the object of the wrath: if the meaning is,* I am not angry with my vineyard (ct. 5[5f.], Ezk 17[19f.]), it seems very superfluous after v.[3]. On the other hand, Di. (cp. Ew., Hitz.) has

* Ges., Del., Che., Du., Marti, Skinner.

to assume an antithesis which is in no way indicated when he interprets: Now that judgment has been executed, I have no wrath against any one, but (v.[4b-d]), if occasion arise, I would take the field again.—*O that I had*] an optative phrase (G–K. 151*a*, *b*), lit. *who will give me.—Thorns, briars*] 5[6]. The asyndeton is improbable: supply *and*; or omit *briars* as an accretion. But corruption of the text may go deeper: if not, the thorns and briars on which battle is to be waged (cp. 7[24], 2 S 23[6f.]) by Yahweh must symbolise His enemies, *i.e.* the enemies of Israel.—*Step*] the vb. פשע occurs here only in OT; but the nouns פֶּשַׁע, *step* (1 S 20[3]), and מִפְשָׁעָה (=שְׁחוֹת, 2 S 10[4]), *buttocks* (1 Ch 19[4]), are found. In NH and Aram. the vb. means *to step*, and in Syriac with ܦܫܥ (ct. ב here), *to trample on.* —5. *Let him*, i.e. one of the offenders symbolically called "thorns and briars" in v.[4], if he does not wish to share the fiery fate of his fellows, *lay hold of* (cp. 1 K 1[50] 2[28]) *my refuge* (30[2]), *i.e.* let him seek my protection.—6. As in the other song of Yahweh's vineyard, the vineyard is at the end of the poem openly identified with Yahweh's people, *Israel*, *Jacob*, who are, with a slight modification of the figure, now depicted as a gigantic vine, deep-rooted, spreading over even vaster tracts than the vines of 16[8], Ps 80[11f.] (cp. also 37[21], Hos 14[6f.]), filling the whole world with its produce, *i.e.* the Jews will cover the earth or be a blessing in its midst (19[24]).—*Shall blossom and bud*] the reverse order, Ps 92[8]; on these and other terms of growth, see *Numbers*, p. 216 f.

ביום ההוא] it is *possible* that בי(ו)ם is a dittograph of בים, v.[1], and that ההוא was subsequently added: if not, add ואמר or ישר׳.—כרם חמר] 𝔊 ἀμπελὼν καλός. ἐπιθύμημα=כרם + a double rendering of חמר. 𝔗 may also have read חמר: it paraphrases ענו לה—כנשתא דישראל דהיא ככרם נציב בארעא טבא] 𝔊 ἐξάρχειν κατ' αὐτῆς (-οῦ)=ענות לה. 𝔙, which implies that כרם is fem. here though it is elsewhere masc., is uncertain; but 𝔊 gives no clear light. Ruben (*Critical Remarks*, p. 16) proposes קניתי לי׳.—3. יהוה] 𝔊 πόλις.—לרגעים] 𝔊 ματήν, probably for לריקם.—נצרה] 𝔊 read the same consonants, but treated the form as fem. part. Niph. of צור. Lieb. would read נִטְעָה.—פן יפקד עליה] 𝔊 ἁλώσεται γάρ, 𝔖 ܣܠܩܒܝܢ ܒܗ, 𝔗 אלולי חוביהון גרמין לאתפרע מנהון. 𝔊 omits עליה, and it is doubtful whether either 𝔊 or 𝔖 read פן; but 𝔊 supports 𝔐 in reading the vb. in the 3rd person against the 1st person of 𝔖, which has been adopted by Lowth, Houb., al. עליה, if it means *leaves*, is probably an incorrect *plene* form of עֲלָהּ: for *leafage* is עלה, collect. sing. (*e.g.* 1[30]): the pl. (Neh 8[15]†) is used of plucked leaves.—For יִפָּקֵד, *be missing*, cp. *e.g.* 2 K 10[19], Jer 23[4]; Oo.

proposes יִפְרֹק, *be torn off*. MT יִפְקֹד is best explained as a case of the indef. subj. 𝔙 is doubtful, but none of the emendations proposed are convincing: from Lieb. these examples may be quoted of substitutes for the פן יפקד of 𝔐: אפקד (𝔖, Lowth), פְּנֵי יִפְקֹד (Bredenkamp), כן אשקר (Grätz), פֶּן יְמוֹל (Ruben), אני שקד or, in place of the whole clause in 𝔙, אני פקד אֹתָהּ (Lieb.). If the פן of 𝔙 be correct, the sentence may depend on what precedes (Du., Cheyne), or on what follows.—**4, 5.** חמה אין לי]. Ruben proposes חַמָּה אֶתֵּן לָהּ.—שמיר שית] 𝔊 *φυλάσσειν καλάμην ἐν ἀγρῷ* shows (1) that שמיר is a *plene* form of an original שמר, which may or may not have meant *thorns*; (2) that שית was asyndeton as early as 𝔊: the emendation שמיר ושית is, therefore, rather risky where much would still remain that is suspicious.—במלחמה] Du. proposes מי יתנני שמיר | שית בַּמִּלְחָמָה, which would account for the asyndeton (see last n.) and get rid of Yahweh's battle against thorns: Lieb. achieves the last point by reading בחמה: both very uncertain. בָּהֵמָּה . . . הֵנָּה] fem. suff. referring to שמיר שית used collectively: G.-K. 135*p*; Kön. 348*g*, *h*.—**5.** שלום יעשה לי] possibly an addition (cp. 𝔊), but the repetition may have been intentional. —**6.** הבאים] scarcely a breviloquence for הימים הבאים, Ec 2^{16}: nor is it very probable that ביום ההוא (Lieb.) would get corrupted into הבאים. 𝔊 *οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, τέκνα* probably read שרש instead of ישרי; possibly הבאים conceals a vb. governing שרש, and the whole was a phrase meaning *struck deep root*: Lowth's conjecture הַבָּאִים מְשֹׁרָשׁ, or Du.'s modification of it הבא משרש, *that which comes from the root of Jacob shall blossom*, would give poor parallelism and bad balance with v.^{6b}.—יִשְׁרַשׁ] the punctuation expresses a hope of the punctuators: point יְשֹׁרֵשׁ.—ומלאו] trans.: cp. 14^4; but perhaps וּמָלְאָ should be read: note the singulars in lines a. b.

XXVII. 7–11.—*The limited punishment, and the conditions of the complete expiation, of Israel.*

There is a considerable amount of parallelism and of balanced rhythm (3 : 3 or 4 : 4) in these verses; but the text (see v.^{8}) is not always certain, and it is very doubtful whether the verses were originally continuous. The balance in v.^{10}, though scarcely the sense, would be improved by taking כמדבר with v.^{10c}; v.$^{9c, d}$ balances badly, and the balance of v.$^{11a, b}$ would be improved by omitting באות.

7 As his smiter is smitten did he smite him?
  Or as his slayers are slain was he slain?
8 . . . by dismissing her dost thou contend with her;
  He hath removed her by his fierce wind in the day of the sirocco.
9 Therefore on this condition shall the iniquity of Jacob be expiated—
  And this shall be all the fruit (?) of removing his sin—
  That he make all altar-stones like pounded chalk-stones,
  That *ashērim* and *ḥammānim* stand erect no more.

10 For the fortified city is desolate,
An abode deserted and forsaken like the wilderness;
There the calf feeds,
And there lies down and consumes the branches thereof;
11 When the boughs thereof are dry, they are broken off;
Women come, make a fire of them;
For it is not a people of understanding,
Wherefore its Maker shall show it no mercy,
And its Framer shall show it no favour.

The connection of these verses with what precedes and with what follows is loose, and they probably formed no original part either of the apocalypse, or still less of the song (vv. 2-6). It is not certain even that they are all of a piece: the internal connection is in places very far from clear: see on vv.8. 9. 10f..

7. The meaning probably is: Has Yahweh made Israel suffer as severely as those who had inflicted suffering on Israel? No, for Israel at least survives for a glorious future (v.6), his smiters (10[20]) are annihilated. Cp. Jer 10[24f.].—**8.** The fem. suffixes, which distinguish this v. from v.7, where both suffixes and participles are masc., and בשלחה (cp. משלח, v.10) form some point of connection between this v. and v.10. It may perhaps be a gloss on that v. (Du., Che., Marti) that has crept into the text. Of attempts to connect the v. with the context, that of Di. is no more unsuccessful than others; according to him, the meaning is: Israel has been punished by expulsion and exile only, and has therefore suffered less than her enemies (v.7); following 𝔊, from which 𝔊 differs, he renders the first line, *By expulsion, by dismissing her* (as a divorcee), *dost thou contend with her* (49[25], Job 10[2]); and he explains the use of the impf. tense—inadequately—as due to the fact that the time of Yahweh's disfavour is not yet quite over (26[20]). Smend explains: "finally, Israel's enemies must suffer far more severely than Israel itself. The storm wind will carry them off, and they will perish for ever." This does more justice to the impf. of v.[8a], but fails to explain the 3rd fem. sing. suffixes. The first word of the v. is particularly uncertain: since 𝔗, many have connected בסאסאה with סאה, *the third of an ephah*, which is supposed to bear also the general sense *measure*: בסאסאה is then supposed to be a contraction for בסאה סאה, and to mean either (1) *measure*

for measure; so 𝔗, "with what measure thou metedst shall it be meted to thee who didst dismiss and oppress them"; or (2) *with exact measure*: cp. RV. All this is most improbable. Others, including apparently 𝔊 (μαχόμενος), see in the form a Pilpel infin. preceded by ב, and followed by the fem. ending, or as in בשלחה by the fem. suffix; then it is guessed from the context that סאסא meant *to expel*: the etymological support for such a meaning is precarious in the extreme: the Arabic ساسا means to make the noise made by camel or donkey-drivers to hurry up their beasts; hence it is *inferred* the word may have come to mean more generally *to expel*!—**8b.** Seems to describe a very severe fate: cp. Hos 13^{15}, Jer 18^{17}, Job 27^{21}. That a sirocco as blowing from the east is symbolical of the Eastern peoples, Assyrians and Babylonians (Di.), is not very probable.—*The sirocco*] *the east wind* of Palestine, blowing from the wilderness, is hot and suffocating, and destructive of vegetation (Gn 41^{6}, Hos 13^{15}); it may also be very violent (Ezk 27^{26}, Ps 48^{8}), and carry all before it (Jer 18^{17}, Job 27^{21}). It has been frequently described by modern travellers: see, *e.g.*, G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* 67–69, and cp. Dr. on Am 4^{9}.

9. Israel's iniquity will be wiped out, and his sin with all its grievous consequences removed, by His purging His land from all illegitimate worship and objects of worship: this seems to be the meaning of the v.—*Therefore*] can only be laboriously explained: because Yahweh is more favourable to Israel than to his smiters, and does not annihilate him, *therefore on this condition*, i.e. the condition defined below (v.$^{9c.\ d}$), he can be rid of iniquity and its consequences; בזאת is resumed by בשומו, exactly as by בחמול in Gn 34^{22}: cp., too, 1 S 11^{2}.—*The iniquity of Jacob shall be expiated*] ct. 22^{14}.—The parallel line instead of running, *and on this condition his sin shall depart* (cp. 6^{7}), reads in 𝔐 thus: *and this is all the fruit of making his sin depart.* Cheyne once (*PI.*) explained the two lines as meaning that Israel's repentance was at once the cause and effect of its forgiveness; "Justice and mercy are combined in the removal of sin and guilt according to the Old Test. as well as the New." Such excellent theology fortunately does not rest alone on so strange an expression of it as is given, if given at all, here; 𝔊 reads "and this shall be his blessing when I remove his sin."—*Altar-stones*] *altars*, *'ashērim* and *ḥam-*

mānim (cp. 17^{8} n.) are seductions from the sole worship of Yahweh, and all such will be absent from an ideal community: the altars are the altars other than the legitimate altar at Jerusalem, such as the altars that survived from, or were restored after, Josiah's reformation; or, if the prophecy were so late, altars on which the Hellenizing and apostate Jews offered (cp. 1 Mac 2^{23-29}).

10 f. Description of a once strong and fortified city that is now desolate, a spot where cattle feed (cp. *e.g.* 5^{17}) and women come in search of firewood—a vivid trait peculiar to this passage; the reason of this fate was that the inhabitants were without understanding and, therefore, obtained neither favour nor mercy from its maker. What city is intended is altogether uncertain; some think it is the capital of the world-empire oppressing the Jews;* others, that it is Jerusalem;† others,‡ Samaria, the home of the people without understanding (Sir 50^{26}). *For* is a difficulty in any case.—**10.** *A fortified city*] cp. 25^{2} 26^{3}.—*Is desolate*] alone, dwelling apart; of Jerusalem, La 1^{1}.—*An abode* (34^{13}) *deserted*] lit. *expelled*, i.e. an abode from which the inhabitants have been expelled: cp. *an expelled nest*, 16^{2}.—*And consumes the branches thereof*] *i.e.* the branches of the bushes and trees that had overgrown the long-deserted spot, cp. 34^{13}; but the expression of the idea is curious and the text doubtful. Du. by emendation (see phil. n.) substitutes for [10d] as it reads in 𝔊, *And thorns and briars grow branches*: cp. 32^{13} 33^{12}.—**11a. b.** The dried and broken-off branches (קציר, Ps 80^{12}, Job 14^{9} 18^{11} 29^{19}†) serve women for firewood.—*For it is not a people of understanding*] this might apply to Israel (cp. 1^{3}), or Samaria (Sir 50^{26}); but since heathen nations can be described as doomed to Sheol because forgetful of God (Ps $9^{17\,(16)}$), any such nation might well be described as failing to obtain mercy from God because without understanding, *i.e.* knowledge of God's ways (cp. 44^{18}, Ps $74^{18.\,22}$). It is, indeed, a characteristic of late Jewish thought that the nations must get instructed in Yahweh's ways (2^{2-4}), that if they fail to do so or to act upon their knowledge, they will perish (60^{12}).—*Its Maker . . . its Framer*] the pronouns refer to Israel, 43^{1} 44^{2}; but they might certainly refer, if the context required it, to other nations: for Yahweh has *made* all nations (Ps 86^{9}).

* Di. † Del., Du., Box, Skinner. ‡ Marti.

7. הרגיז הרג . . . מכהו הכהו] probably this was originally either מכיהו הכיהו. The pass. יְהֻרְגָיוּ, MT, is in any case most improbable.—8. בסאסאה בשלחה תריבנה] 𝔊 μαχόμενος καὶ ὀνειδίζων ἐξαποστελεῖ αὐτούς; Lieb. argues that this rendered בסאסאה בריבה ישלחנה, or בריבה בס׳ ישל׳. 𝔊 ought not to be quoted as reading בסאסאה, and it is, of course, not certain that it read precisely בסאסאה. For בסאסאה יריבנה, Cond. proposes בטאטאה (cp. 14^{23}). See, further, the full discussion in Kön. i. 655–658; and for sundry proposed emendations, Lieb.—הָגָה] MT probably intends the form to be 3rd pf. of הגה, *to muse, meditate*: cp. 𝔗. This, of course, is impossible. הָגָה, 3rd pf. of הגה, *to separate, remove* (cp. Pr $25^{4f.}$†), with the 3rd fem. suffix as in line a., may have been intended. To explain the form by reference to La 1^{5} (Cheyne), or to the doubtful 2 S 20^{13} (Du.), as Hiph. of יגה with the suffix, הֹגָהּ, is less satisfactory.—9. לבן בואת] 𝔊 διὰ τοῦτο, reading perhaps only one of the two words.—וזה . . . בואת] a curious change of masc. and fem.—פרי] *fruit*, suggests result; J. D. Mich. (cited by Lieb.) proposed פָּרִי, *the bullocks*, i.e. offerings, required *for removing his sin*; though this is quite improbable, it shows a sense of the difficulty of 𝔐 which modern attempts at explanation have failed to surmount satisfactorily (see above).—יקומו . . . בשומו] cstr. as 5^{8} n. With קום, *to stand erect*, cp. the use of the Hiphil=*to erect*, e.g. in Jos 4^{9}.—נר] Dn 5^{5} (*Aramaic*)†; גירא in Am 2^{1} 𝔗=שיר 𝔐.—**10 f.** On 𝔊, see Lieb.'s full discussion; but he is wrong in representing כי as absent from 𝔊; כי עיר in the form כיער is represented by ὥσπερ δρυμὸς in a clause at the end of v.[9] which is incorrectly rejected by Lieb. as a Greek gloss.—ושמיר וקץ יעלה סעפות . . . ושם ירבץ ובלה סעפיה] Du. 𝔊 already read ושם ירבץ.—**11.** האיר] [מאירות *to kindle*, as Mal 1^{10}, Ps 18^{29}, and perhaps 50^{11}.—קצירה תשברנה] if the text is correct, the 3rd fem. pl. is due to קציר being regarded as collective (G–K. 145*c*); cp. בהן referring to מקל, Gn 30^{37}, and הֵגָּה to עיר in Jg 19^{32} (cp. Jer 4^{29}), but below אותה is fem. sing. —בינות] pl. here only; but cp. תבונות, 40^{14}, and see G–K. 124*e*.

12, 13. Conclusion of the Apocalypse. . . . Continuation of v.[1]; translation, p. 408. The Jews will be gathered together, whether those who dwell scattered (and mingled with the heathen (?)) within the limits of the ideal boundaries of the Land of Promise (v.[12]), or those who have wandered, or been exiled, beyond those limits, eastwards or westwards; these latter, now too far dispersed to do so, will come and worship Yahweh in Jerusalem. The more detailed meaning and significance is unfortunately obscure, especially in v.[12]; but the situation presupposed is similar to that in $25^{8c.\,d}$, possibly also to that in $26^{20f.}$, or, as Marti puts it, these verses give us the positive side of those passages and the conclusion of the Apocalypse: the reproach of the Jews will cease (25^{8}), those who reproached them will be punished ($26^{20f.}$), the Jews themselves will be gathered to Jerusalem ($27^{12f.}$) and to the glory of Yahweh's reign there (24^{23}).

— *Yahweh will beat out* (*grain*) *from the corn-ears of the River to* (*those of*) *the Wady of Egypt*, or *Yahweh will beat off* (*olive-berries*), or *beat out* (*grain*) *from the current* (cp. 𝔊) *of the River to the Wady of Egypt*: both translations can be defended, neither can be maintained with complete confidence. The vb. חבט (28^{27}) means either *to beat out* grains of corn with a stick, Jg 6^{11}, Ruth 2^{17}, or *to beat* an olive tree so as to bring *off* the berries, Dt 24^{20}; the noun שבלת means either an *ear* (not *grain*, the object of חבט in Jg 6^{11}) of corn, *e.g.* 17^{5}, Gn 41^{5}, or else *a flow*, or *current*, of water, Ps $69^{3.16}$ and, probably, Jg 12^{6}. The use of שבלת is in either case unnecessarily awkward: for in the neighbourhood of חבט it is natural to take it of ears of grain; but, on the other hand, attached to a term for water like river, its most obvious meaning is *current*: the river Jordan flowing past suggested testing the fugitives by the pronunciation of Shibboleth in particular (Jg 12^{6}), though, of course, any word beginning with שׁ would have done equally well. Again, there seems no particular point in saying *from the current of the River* instead of *from the River* simply; but it is equally difficult to see why, if the writer meant, *Yahweh will beat out corn from the River to the Wady*, he chose to say instead, *Yahweh will beat out from the corn-ears of the River to the Wady*;* שבלת must, moreover, if this is intended, be taken as a collective, though it is so used nowhere else. Again, לקט, *gleaning*, takes place before חבט, *beating*, of wheat (Ru 2^{17}); but berries would be *picked up* after they had been *beaten off* the tree. On the whole, the awkwardness seems less if חבט can be taken of olive-beating. But in either case the figure seems to be badly expressed. Ges. understands the meaning to be that Israel's territory in its widest extent will be as thickly and quickly populated as though men fell from trees; Smend (pp. 192, 207), that Yahweh will gather the entire Jewish community, now scattered between Egypt and the Euphrates, together, without exception, as individual olives at the gleaning are knocked off the trees and collected. Many modern commentators explain much as Marti, "Yahweh institutes a great threshing, the Jews are the good corn, the heathen the straw; the Jews are

* Unless, indeed, as Del. suggests, the writer intended a "beautiful [?] dilogy" which might be roughly represented in English by, "Yahweh will pick from the currents of the River," etc., meaning "Yahweh will pick currants from the River to."

picked up one by one, the heathen removed." The straw in this case might also perhaps include unworthy Israelites: cp. Zec 5^{1-4}.—*The River*] the Euphrates, 7^{20} n. In 24^{13} olive-beating is a sinister figure.—*The Wady of Egypt*] mod. Wady el-ʿArîsh, the ancient Rhinocolura (so 𝔊 here) which flows into the Mediterranean at el-ʿArîsh, about half-way between Gaza and Pelusium; see *Numbers*, p. 454. For the *River* and the *Wady of Egypt*, as ideal boundaries of the promised land, see Gn 15^{18}, which mentions both; Ex 23^{31}, Dt 1^{7}, Jos 1^{4}, which mention *the River*; and 1 K 8^{65}, which mentions the Wady.—**13.** *A great trumpet*] the summoning of the elect by means of a trumpet-blast appears frequently in late eschatology: see Mt 24^{31}, 1 Co 15^{52}, 1 Th 4^{16}; cp. also the different use of trumpets in Zec 9^{14}, Rev 7. 8.—*They that were lost*] הָאֹבְדִים, *i.e.* away from home in a strange and unfamiliar land. So is אבד used of sheep that have been allowed to stray off their owner's land, and so become lost, and consequently exposed to peril of perishing: cp. Jer 50^{6} "Lost sheep have my people become: their shepherds let them go astray . . . they have gone from mountain to hill, they have forgotten their place of lying down (רֵבֶץ: cp. Is 27^{10}); Jer 23^{1} "Woe to the shepherds that have let the sheep get lost (מְאַבְּדִים) and scattered. . . . Ye have scattered my sheep, and cast them out (וַתְּדִיחֻם); Ezk $34^{4f.}$ "The outcast (הַנִּדַּחַת) ye brought not back (home), and the lost (הָאֹבֶדֶת) ye sought not, and they were scattered from having no shepherd, and became food for all the beasts of the field"; vv.$^{12-16}$ "As a shepherd seeketh out his flock . . ., so will I seek out my sheep, and rescue them from all the places whither they have been scattered; and I will bring them out from all the peoples, and collect them from all the lands, and bring them to their ground; and I will feed them on the mountains of Israel. There shall they lie down in a good home-stead. . . . I myself will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down. . . . The lost (הָאֹבֶדֶת) I will seek, and the outcast (הַנִּדַּחַת) will I bring back (home)." Cp. also Ps 119^{176} and (of asses) 1 S $9^{3.\ 20}$. So in the liturgy of Dt 26 the Israelite at home in the land of promise (vv.$^{1.\ 3}$) contrasts (vv.$^{3.\ 9.\ 10}$; ^{5}) his present position in his own land under the constant care of Yahweh with that of the

father of the nation who was ארמי אבד, *a lost*, i.e. a homeless, *Aramaean*, passing down into Egypt, a country not his own, to live there as a *gēr* (14^2 n.). As the homeless children of Jacob were once brought out of the alien land of Egypt into their own home-land, so will the Jews, now again away from home, in the alien lands of Egypt and Assyria, return home to Jerusalem.—*The land of Assyria*] not necessarily the land of the Assyrians of Isaiah's time, so that we must suppose the v. to have been written before the fall of Nineveh, or that a later writer looking back to that time means in particular the ten tribes who were exiled in Isaiah's day to Assyria (Di.); but Assyria, as in Ezr 6^{26}, is the same district, retaining its old name after the fall of the Assyrian Empire: cp. the classical use of Ἀσσυρία, and see on 11^{11}—a passage which the present in other respects closely resembles.—*The outcasts*] הַנִּדָּחִים: cp. 11^{12} $16^{3f.}$; cp. the terms in which Marduk proclaims Merodach-baladan II. (728–701 B.C.) king, "This is the shepherd who brings together the scattered" (*mupaḫḫiru sepḫati*: see *KAT*^{3}, p. 382; Gressmann, *Eschat.* p. 267.

12. לאחר אחר] cp. אחת לאחת, Ec 7^{27}: for the punctuation אחר, see G-K. 130*g*: the form is not cstr. (cp. Gn 48^{22}, 2 S 17^{22}).

ADDITIONAL NOTE

ON THE STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF XXIV.–XXVII.

It has been claimed above (pp. 401 f.) that the style and language of Is 24–27 independently point to the post-exilic origin of these chapters. A number of peculiarities have been pointed out in the Commentary and philological notes, and reference has been made to the lists of peculiarities given by Smend and Cheyne. But a synopsis, such as is given below, of some of the peculiarities in the words used, or the meanings with which certain words are used, and of certain significant forms, may enable the reader more readily to appreciate the linguistic character of these chapters.

These peculiarities and the affinities with later writers are the more noticeable because they occur in the work of a writer who was well versed in Scripture (p. 401), and who, apparently, endeavoured to reproduce the style of prophecy.

At the same time, it is important to bear in mind certain dissimilarities between Is 24–27 and most *late* post-exilic writers. The style of Is 24–27 forms no such transition as does Ec. to the New Hebrew or Rabbinic style, nor is it marked (except in corrupt passages) by that uncouthness * which characterises Chr., Dan., and Est. Yet even a writer as late as the 2nd cent. B.C. could write with ease and fluency. "The language" of Ben Sirach "is classical Hebrew, the syntax displaying no traces of the peculiar New Hebrew constructions, such as occur, for instance, so frequently in Ecclesiastes. . . . The style is occasionally a little heavy, but this may sometimes be due to corruption of the text. Otherwise (especially chs. 44 ff.) it is remarkably easy and flowing. It stands throughout on an altogether higher level than that, for instance, of Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, or the Hebrew parts of Daniel." †

And not only in the general character of the style is Is 24–27 distinguished from most *late* post-exilic works except Sir. It contains no Greek words such as (though few in number) form such a significant feature of the Book of Daniel; nor, unless רזי meant *secret*, and formed an original part of the text (but see n. on 24^{16}), does it contain any Persian words, such as appear in Ec., Cant., Est., Dan., Chr.,‡ and even, in spite of its generally more classic style, in Sir.§ (*e.g.* רז, *secret*). And, further, Is 24–27 may be said to be relatively free from such marked Aramaisms as occur in Jon., Pss 139, 144, Sir., as well as in the late post-exilic writings already mentioned; see Dr. *LOT*, references in Index i. *s.v.* "Aramaisms," and the glossary in Cowley and Neubauer's edition of Ecclus.

Che. finds the style of chs. 24–27 artificial, and the chief elements of its artificiality in "the singularity of many phrases . . . the sixteen paronomasias (cp. esp. $24^{1.\ 8.\ 4.\ 6.\ 16\text{-}19}$ $25^{6.\ 10}$ 26^{3} 27^{7}), the numerous rhymes ($24^{1.\ 8.\ 16}$ $25^{1.\ 6.\ 7}$ $26^{2.\ 13.\ 20.\ 21}$

* Cp. Dr. *LOT* 505.

† Cowley and Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus* (*xxxix. 15–xlix. 11*), pp. xiii f.; cp. Norbert Peters, *Hebr. Text des Buches Ecclus.* 85^{x}. It must, however, be remembered that the judgment cited above was based on chs. 39–49 only, and could hardly be passed on all the portions of Sir. that have been discovered since. Still, even chs. 39^{15}–49^{11} alone are between three and four times the length of Is 24–27.

‡ See Dr. *LOT*, references in Index, *s.v.* "Persian Words."

§ But see p. 466 n.

$27^{3.\ 5}$), the antitheses ($24^{4.\ 8.\ 19}$ 27^{7}), the emphatic doubling of words * (24^{16} 25^{1} $26^{3.\ 5.\ 15}$ 27^{5}), characteristic also of the II Isaiah, which indicate a consciousness of poverty in the writer (or writers)." But mere artificiality of style does not closely define the age of a writer; and the phenomena correctly described by Che. do not justify any more precise conclusion than that which he draws, viz., "that they point to an age much later than that of the true Isaiah, and later even than that of the . . . Second Isaiah." And so Smend, after citing several singular expressions, discreetly leaves the definition of time somewhat vague: "these modes of expression belong essentially to rhetoric; but, taken in conjunction with the dependence of the author elsewhere on other writers, they indicate a conscious striving after originality, and thereby betray a later age" (p. 197).

The synopsis that follows must be left to make good the claim that the style and language of Is 24–27 independently prove its post-exilic origin. They cannot, as the ideas probably can, be safely used to show that Is 24–27 is a *late* post-exilic work. And if the ideas contained in these chapters were compatible with an *early* post-exilic date, it would be simplest to account for the dissimilarities between the style of Is 24–27 and of such works as Chr., Dan., Est., Ec., by the assumption that it is earlier than they. If, however, the ideas compel us to seek the origin of Is 24–27 in one of the centuries that saw the production of Chr., Dan., Est., Ec., Sir., we must suppose that the author having, like Ben Sirach, "much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers," was as successful as Ben Sirach in avoiding the uncouthness of Chr., Dan., Est., and somewhat more successful in preserving the classicism of his vocabulary, avoiding (probably) altogether the

* But most of these were probably not present in the original text; see notes above on 24^{16} 25^{1} $26^{3.\ 5.\ 15}$ 27^{5}. The same is true of some of the paronomasias (see n. $24^{1.\ 16}$); yet the number of paronomasias remains strikingly large. Moreover, the use made of paronomasia is different from Isaiah's use of it (see p. 401), and more resembles that made of it by Ben Sirach (see a collection of paronomasias in Sir. in Norbert Peters, *Ecclus.* p. 85*). So far, indeed, is the writer from resembling the earlier prophet in his use of paronomasia, that he might rather be described as being in this respect a degenerate from Isaiah.

use of Persian words and the particle שׁ (for אשר), and making less use of Aramaisms.*

To guard against misunderstanding, it may be well to state explicitly that *not every word or usage cited below, even though no example of pre-exilic usage can be given, was necessarily unknown before the exile.* It is the multiplication of words or usages for which little or no early evidence exists, but for which Aramaic or late analogy can be found, that is significant.

i. Particles:

All that is peculiar in the use of the particles is confined to the song in 26^{1-19}.

1. בל, one of the Phoenician negatives (Cooke, *NSI*, p. 33), is in Hebrew confined to poetry; moreover, (1) it often occurs aggregated 3–7 times in one passage: (2) it is particularly frequent with the vb. מוט (Pss 10^{6} 16^{8} 17^{5} 21^{8} 30^{7} 46^{6} 93^{1} 96^{10} = 1 Ch 16^{30}, Pr 10^{30} 12^{3}, Job 41^{15}: ct. מוט with לא, Ps 15^{5} 112^{6} 125^{1} $62^{3.\,7}$, Is 40^{20} 41^{7}). In OT it occurs 69 times (BDB), and of these occurrences 7 are in Is $26^{10.\,11.\,14.\,18}$. Proof of pre-exilic usage rests on two uncertain occurrences in Hosea 9^{16} (K^{e}rê), 7^{2} (𝔐, but see 𝔊), and, as some would claim, on certain occurrences in Is 33, Psalms, and Proverbs. Apart from Is 26 and Hos. the usage is as follows (for references, see Mandelkern, *Conc. Minor*):

Is	14^{21}	1
,	$33^{20.\,21.\,23.\,24}$	7
	35^{9}	1
	40^{24} (3 t.) 43^{17} $44^{8f.}$ (4 t.)	8
Pss.	(10 (5 t.). 16 (4 t.). 17 (3 t.). 21 (3 t.). 30. 32. 46. 49. 58. 78. 93. 96. 104 (3 t.). 119. 140 (2 t.). 141. 147)	31
Pr.		10
Job		1
1 Ch	16^{30} (= Ps 96^{10})	1

* It is important, however, in making this comparison, to allow for the probability that the text of Ben Sirach has suffered considerable contamination in transmission, and that some of the late words may not have stood in the original text.

2. אף, $26^{8.\ 9.\ 11}$. The use of this particle is very characteristic of Is 40–48 (25 times): see Dr. *LOT*, p. 240; but the particle, mainly poetical, is not confined to post-exilic literature: see, *e.g.*, Jg 5^{29}, Dt $33^{3.\ 20.\ 28}$.

3. עֲדֵי (26^{4}) is (probably) etymologically the earlier form of עד; yet in OT it occurs mainly, perhaps even exclusively, in post-exilic writings: see Nu $24^{20.\ 24}$, Is 65^{18}, Pss 83^{18} 92^{8} 104^{23} $132^{12.\ 14}$ 147^{6}, Job 7^{4} 20^{5}†. So also אֲלֵי (for אל) occurs in Job 3^{22} 5^{26} 15^{22} 29^{19}†.

עֲלֵי (for על) certainly occurs early (Gn $49^{17\text{-}22}$ (4 times), Nu 24^{6} (twice), Is 18^{4}), but also twice in Dt 32^{2}, 10 times in Psalms, 15 in Job, and 3 in Pr.

4. למו, $26^{14.\ 16}$ (but in v.^{16} rd. לנו). Elsewhere as follows:

Pre-exilic Prophecy,	Is 30^{5} (?), Hab 2^{7} (? Is 16^{4} 23^{1})	
Other pre-exilic Poetry,	Gn $9^{26f.}$, Dt 33^{2} *bis*	
Is	35^{8} (?)	1 time
	43^{8} 44^{7} (?) ^{15} 48^{21} 53^{3} (?)	5 times
Pss.	(2. 28^{8} (but read לעמו) 44. 49. 55. 56. 58. 59. 64. 66. 73. 78. 80. 88. 89. 119)	22 „
Dt	32^{2}	2 „
Lam.		4 „
Pr	23^{20}	1 time
Job		10 times

Cp. G–K. 91*l*: "the termination מו־ . . . like מו and מו־ occurs with the noun (as with the vb. § 58*g*) almost exclusively in later poets." Of other particles, to the use of which Che. (p. 148) draws attention, a brief notice may suffice: the relative use of זה in 25^{9} is uncertain and indeed improbable; במו in 25^{10} (K^{e}rê) is textually doubtful; and כמו ($26^{17.\ 18}$) and זולת (26^{13}) have no significance in reference to date.

ii. Forms and Constructions:

חֲבֵי, unless it is an orthographic anomaly for חֲבֵה, is a rather striking Aramaism (see 26^{20} phil. n.).

עקלתון and לויתן are both examples of the ending וֹן, ־ן attached to the *feminine* ת and not direct to the third radical. The only other example of this in the Hebrew of the OT appears to be

נחשתן (2 K 18^4), which Lagarde (*BN*, p. 205) treated as a loan-word. On the other hand, in Aramaic the formation is far from infrequent; Barth (*NB*, § 207*c*) cites amongst others these examples: אימתנו (Dn 7^7), עינותן, וסנלא, Mandaitic ראבותאנא. As against the significance of these facts, it should, however, be observed that עקלתון shows the peculiarly Hebrew development of the old Semitic ending -ân (retained in Arabic, Assyr., and Aramaic).

The *hapax legomenon* שְׁאִיָּה (which is, however, from a root early in use, see Is 6^{11} 17^{12}) is of a formation for which NH showed a particular fondness (Strack, *Lehrbuch der Neuhebr. Sprache*, 39*c*), yet which was not unknown in early Hebrew; cp. *e.g.* בְּוִיָּה, Ex 21^{25}. The new Hebrew nouns of this form are mainly "nomina actionis."

The *multiplication* of intensive plurals is probably not insignificant; for the instances cited in G–K. 124*e* are largely late. In Is 24–27 note אמנים (26^2), מישרים (26^7; see p. 471), נכחות (26^{10}), ישועת (26^{18}), בינות (27^{11}), and ?? אורת (26^{19}), and ארים (24^{15}).

Che. (p. 149) claims that there is "neglect of Waw Conversive"; but at most this neglect is very relative as compared with the conspicuous neglect of it in Ec. (Dr. *Tenses*, § 133). For the Impf. with Waw Conv., see $24^{6a.\ 18}$ 26^{14}; and for the Pf. with Waw Conv., see $24^{1.\ 20.\ 22.\ 23}$ $25^{6.\ 7.\ 8.\ 10.\ 11}$ 26^{21} $27^{1.\ 10.\ 13}$. Moreover, the author of Is 24–27 does not discard the old construction of Waw Conversive in favour of the later construction with the simple Waw (yet see, *perhaps*, 24^{6d}), which is what Ḳoheleth does do (except in 1^{17} $4^{1.\ 7}$); his avoidance of Waw Conversive is mainly due to another characteristic of style less indicative of date, viz., his fondness for asyndeton: cp. *e.g.* 24^4 (similarly 33^9, but ct. Hos 4^3, Jer 12^4) 24^5 (last three clauses) $24^{7.\ 8.\ 9.\ 10.\ 11.\ 13.\ 14.\ 15.\ 19}$ $25^{1.\ 2.\ 3}$ $26^{5.\ 7.\ 14.\ 15.\ 17.\ 18.\ 19a.\ b}$ 27^{11}. But though there is no such preference for simple Waw as would point to a late post-exilic date, the use of Waw Conversive cannot be treated as proof positive of early post-exilic date; Ben Sirach also employs the construction: see Cowley and Neubauer, p. xiii n.

iii. Vocabulary and meanings of words:

Certain peculiarities in the application of words, such as the use of הקיץ (26^{19}) of rising from the dead, צדיק (24^{16}) in reference

to Israel, ברית (24^5) with a religious meaning (though not quite the same as attaches to ברית in Is 40–66; Dr. *LOT* 240) are not classified here; they are certainly significant, but their significance falls to be treated under the religious ideas characteristic of the writer (see above, pp. 399 f.).

Included in the list of *hapax legomena* given by Smend and Cheyne, are several words which are textually uncertain, or which may be glosses: such are ארים (24^{15}), רזי (24^{16}), אספה (24^{22}), אמן (25^1), יושר (Hophal, 26^1), צקון (26^{16}), אורת (26^{19}). סאסאה (Pilpel ?, 27^8†). These are discussed above in the notes, and need not be further considered here. It would be unwise to attach any weight to them in determining the date of Is 24–27.

The following unique or very infrequent usages are mostly commented on in the notes above, but may for convenience be grouped together here: שאיה (see under ii., p. 468), פְּשַׁע (27^4†), שמרים (25^8), *matured* wine (elsewhere, *lees*, *dregs*), מחה (denominative of מח, 25^6†), לוט (25^7†), מחבן (25^{10}†), ארבות ידיו (25^{11}†). With יסף used with ל and the omission of the acc. (26^{15}), cp. יסף with על and the omission of the acc. in 2 Ch 9^6 (ct. 1 K 10^7).

The following are (A) words the use of which is suggestive of late date; (B) words used with peculiar meanings, or meanings suggestive of late date. It is true most of these are attested independently as occurring by or before the close of the exile: but a few suggest a later date; and in the aggregate, taken in conjunction with those on pp. 466–9, they seem to suggest a date as late as ± 400 B.C.

A.

1. עולמים, 26^4 (†צור עולמים). Cp. שנות עולמים, Ps 77^6; דורות ע', Is 51^9; תשועת ע', 45^{17}; מלכות כל ע', Ps 145^{13}; צדק עלמים, Dn 9^{24}. In such genitival phrases the singular עולם is a frequent *alternative* to the pl. in the later literature: in the earlier literature it is exclusively employed; see אל עולם, Gn 21^{33}; גבעת עולם, Gn 49^{26}; זרעת עולם, Dt 27^{33}.

   Evidence of the early use of עולמים (though not in such phrases as those just cited) consists of 1 K 8^{13} 𝔊, מכון לשבתך עולמים, 𝔊 . . . ἐπὶ καινότητος; in 2 Ch 6^2, where the passage is cited, 𝔊 renders ἐπὶ τοὺς

αἰῶνας. Some might claim Ps 61[5] (אנורה באהלך עולמים) as another pre-exilic occurrence. But in any case the great majority of the occurrences in OT are exilic and post-exilic, see Is 45[17] (*bis*) 51[9], Ps 77[6. 8] 145[13], Dn 9[24], Ec 1[10]†: and so in the *Aramaic* of Dn 7[18] 2[44] we find עלמיא, and in 2[4] (ct. 1 K 1[31]) [44] 3[9] 5[10] עלמין. The pl. of עלם also occurs in 𝔗; see, *e.g.*, Ex 15[18] לעלמי עלמיא, and in Ps. לעלמין is the regular equivalent of סלה. Cp. also *CIS* ii. 197[9], a Nabataean Inscription of 1 B.C., לעלם עלמין.

2. עדי עד, 26[4]: also 65[18], Ps 83[18] 92[8] 132[12. 14]†. On עדי, see above, i. 3.

3. גר, 27[9]: also Dn 5[5] (Aramaic)†. See 27[9] phil. n.

4. צוחה, 24[11]: also Jer 14[2] 46[12], Ps 144[14]†; vb. צוח, Is 42[11]†. Note that in 𝔗 צוח, ציוחא render צעק, צעקה the earlier Hebrew equivalents of צוח, צוחה: see, *e.g.*, Gn 27[34] 𝔗 וצוח צוחתא רבא, ויצעק צעקה גדולה 𝔊: see also 2 K 2[12] 4[1], Jer 48[3].

5. רעע Kal and Hithpo. 24[19]. The Hithpo. is not a ἅπ. λεγ., as Sm. and Che. claim, if להתרועע (Pr 18[24]) be rightly taken as Inf. Hithpo. of רעע (see Dr. in *Exp. Times*, xi. 230 f.). The use of the Aramaic רעע for the Hebrew רצץ (רעע in 𝔗=רצץ in 𝔊) appeared in Hebrew as early as Jer., *if* רעו in Jer 11[16] is derived from this רעע, and if the text of Jer 15[12] can be trusted. For the other occurrences (several questionable) in OT, see 24[19] phil. n.

6. פרר (distinct from פרר, whence הפר, *to annul*), Kal and Hithpo., 24[19]†. In addition to فرفر, cited above in the phil. n., Ges–B. cites Aram. פרפר, ܦܪܦܪ.

7. התמוטט, 24[19]†. Also Sir 33[2] לא יחכם שונא תורה ומתמוטט במסער אניה? It is noticeable, too, that in 𝔗 אתמוטט several times renders the Kal of 𝔊; see Ps 46[3] 𝔊 ארץ . . . במוט הרים, 𝔗 כד מתמוטטין טוריא; 60[4] 𝔊 כי חבל בל 𝔊 מטה, 𝔗 ארעא . . . ארום אתמוטטת; 96[10] 𝔗 תמוט, 𝔗 חבל דלא תתמוטט. See also Ps 94[18] 121[3].

8. לויתן, 27[1]: also Ps 74[14] 104[26], Job 3[8] 40[25]†. See above, ii.

9. חמנים, 27[9]: also 17[8] (gloss), Ezk. twice, Lev. once, and Chr. three times. See 17[6] n. (for references).

10. תהו, 24^{10}: also used by Jer. and later writers: see Gn 1^{2} (P), Dt 32^{10}, 1 S 12^{21} *bis* (probably D), Is 29^{21} (probably post-exilic) 34^{11} $40^{17.\ 23}$ 41^{29} 44^{9} $45^{18f.}$ 49^{4} 59^{4}, Jer 4^{23}, Ps 107^{40}, Job 6^{18} 12^{24} 26^{7}†: also Sir 41^{10}.

11. מזער, 24^{6}: also 10^{25} 16^{14} 29^{17}† (probably all post-exilic), Sir 48^{15}. Ct. מצער; *e.g.* Gn 19^{20}. The only other derivative of $\sqrt{\text{זער}}$ in OT is זעיר, Is $28^{10.\ 13}$ (an early colloquialism?); cp., perhaps (Ges–B. p. 201), *zirti*, a Canaanite gloss in Tell el-Amarna 127 (137)[34]; Job 36^{2}; Dn 7^{8} (Aramaic). Early Hebrew regularly, and late Hebrew also, employed צער and its derivatives.

The particular phrase אנוש מזער used in 24^{6} is a variant on the early Hebrew מתי מספר (*e.g.* Gn 34^{30}; cp. אנשי מספר, Ezk 12^{16}). It may be worth observing that whereas 𝔗 keeps close to אנוש מזער, rendering אנשא כזעיר (cp. Is 10^{25} 16^{14} 29^{17} כזעיר=מזער), it departs further from מתי מספר, rendering by עם דמנין (cp. 𝔖, ܥܡ ܡܢܝܢܐ), *e.g.*, in Gn 34^{30}.

12. אֵיֵי הים, 24^{15}: also 11^{11}, Est 10^{1}†. The use of איים pl. is mainly late: the use in 24^{15} is somewhat different from that in Is 40–66 (Dr. *LOT* 239).

13. נאנח, 24^{7}; see phil. n.: also Ezk 4 t. (9^{4} $21^{11.\ 12}$), Ex 2^{23} (P), La $1^{4.\ 8.\ 11.\ 21}$, Pr 29^{2}, Jl 1^{18}. But in respect of this word Is 24–27 does not so much approximate to Aramaic usage as Sir., who uses the Hithpa. (12^{12} 25^{18} 30^{20}): cp. Ithpa. in 𝔗 of Is 24^{7} 21^{2}.

14. מישרים, 26^{7}: also 33^{15} 45^{19}, Ps 9^{8} 17^{2} 58^{2} 75^{3} 96^{10} 98^{9} 99^{4}, Pr 1^{3} 2^{9} (?) 8^{6} (23^{16}), Ca 1^{4} (7^{10}), Dn 11^{6}, 1 Ch 29^{17}†. Cp. p. 468 (on the pl.).

B.

The following are examples of words used with peculiar meanings, or with meanings that are found mainly or exclusively in exilic or post-exilic writings:

1. יֵצֶר, *disposition*, 26^{3} (see n. there). Cp. Sir 27^{6} על עבדת עץ יהי פרי בן חשבון על יצר איש: also (with the context) 15^{14}

אלהים . . . ברא אדם ויתנהו ביד יצרו, and presumably $17^{31\,(30)}$ 21^{11} 23^{2} 37^{3} (see Smend, *Sirach*). See, further, Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 37 f., 148–152, 159; *Jewish Encyc.* xii. 601 f.; Porter, *The Yezer Hara*, in *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Bicentennial publications), 1901; and Charles, *Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. 161 f. (on the יצר הרע and יצר הטוב, in the *Twelve Patriarchs* and Rabbinic Literature).

2. שפת, *to appoint* (cp. נתן, שים), 26^{12}†. See n.
3. חלף (with חק as obj.), *to transgress*, 24^{5}†. See n.
4. נפל, Kal (probably meaning, *to be born*), 26^{18}† and Hiph. (probably) *to give birth to*, 26^{19}†. Cp. נֵפֶל, *an untimely birth*, Ps 58^{9}, Job 3^{16}, Koh 6^{3}†; also (by conjecture) Ex 21^{22}. Cp. Aram. אפיל *to give untimely birth to*: *e.g.* Ex 21^{22} 𝔗 Jer ויצאו ילדיה = ואפילת ית וולדהא 𝔊; Levy, *NHB* and *Chald. Wörterbuch*, s.v. נפיל, נפל.
5. זקק, Pual, *to be refined*, 25^{6} (of wine †): elsewhere (chiefly of metals): Kal, Job 28^{1} 36^{27}; Piel, Mal 3^{3}; Pu., 1 Ch 28^{18} 29^{4}, Ps 12^{7}†.
6. מרום, *height*, as a synonym for heaven, 24^{18} n. ^{21} n. (in 24^{4} and 26^{5} the sense is probably different); also Mic 6^{6} (אלהי מרום), Jer 25^{30}, 2 K 19^{22} = Is 37^{23} (?), La 1^{13}, Is 32^{15} 33^{5} 38^{14} 40^{26} 57^{15} 58^{4}, Ps 7^{8} 18^{17} (= 2 S 22^{17} hence Ps 144^{7}) 68^{19} 71^{19} 93^{4} 102^{20} (מרום קדשו).† Note also the use of מרומים Ps 148^{1}, Job 16^{19} 25^{2} (מרומיו) 31^{2}†. The use of the sing. in Jer 17^{12}, Ps 92^{9} 10^{5}, and of the pl. in Is 33^{16}, is scarcely to be classed with the foregoing; but see, further, Sir 16^{17} (אל תאמר מיהוה נסתרתי וממרום מי יזכירני) 43^{9} (מרומי אל) and 24^{4} (ἐν ὑψηλοῖς = במרום or במרומים).

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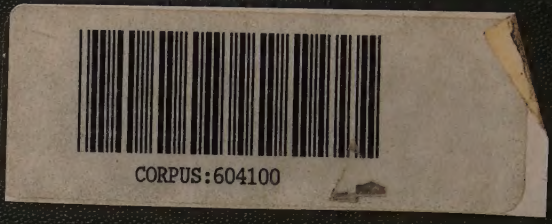
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